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# HISTORY

## of Buddhism in Nepal

With special reference to
**VAJRAYANA BUDDHISM**

Dr. Khadga Man Shrestha

3 BY MAHENDRA MAHARJAN

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# HISTORY

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Dr. Khadga Man Shrestha

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DEDICATED TO
MY BELOVED PARENTS

LATE TIRTHA MAN SHRESTHA
&
LATE ASHTA MAYA SHRESTHA

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# Preface

Buddhism is regarded as the most scientific religion in the world. The Buddhist way of life has become increasingly popular in modern society. Nepal being the land of three Buddhas, the people of the country boast of being adherents of Buddhism. Nepalese continue to repose strong faith on Buddhism. The Nepalese history, culture and civilization are highly inspired by the teachings of Lord Buddha. Buddhism has become the subject of study at all levels of education today. In the past *Viharas* were the centers of learning. Education in the twenty first century lays a special emphasis on learning to know, learning to do, learning to be and learning to live together to dig out the treasure from within. Society today is knowledge oriented. Knowledge is no longer confined for its own intrinsic value. It must also contribute to cogitation (thinking). Besides it must serve as the raw material for exploring new ideas and arriving at a new interpretation of things. The cognitive domain of education is concerned with knowledge, the affective domain with attitudes, feelings and emotions and the psychomotor domain with coordination and muscular movement etc. Buddhism includes all the three domains of education. Lord Buddha, all the time preached to his disciples and others to cultivate mind for *Bodhicitta* (enlightenment).The Buddha's teaching are based on one's own experience. He advocated for peace, compassion, amity, joyfulness and equanimity. His teaching "*Attanohiattanaath* " P. (you are your own master) is applicable all the time in our society. Thus Buddhism has a great role to play to ensure for perpetual peace in the modern society. The Buddha's *Dharma* has become the way of life for peace, prosperity and harmony. Nepal remains as the *Dharma* land vibrating with Buddhist traits and virtues. The Buddha always preached for the liberation of mind.

Although the rulers of Nepal followed Hinduism, they were tolerant to Buddhism. During the Licchavi period, Buddhism was at par with other religions of Nepal. It is attested by the epigraphic evidences. Although history records that there was religious conflict in India, Nepal never had such experience. The followers of one sect respected the feelings of the other. Religious toleration has become the hallmark or the life style of all Nepalis. A comprehensive history of Buddhism, therefore, has become the need of the hour. The author of this work has tried his level best to write the history of Buddhism in

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Nepal making use of all available resource materials. Buddhism as the subject of study is related with different disciplines. This work deals mainly with the historical aspect of Buddhism.

I have been inspired to write this work after I met the Ambassador plenipotentiary of India to Italy, when I participated in the World Heritage meeting held in Naples, Italy in 1997 A.D. The meeting had incorporated Lumbini, the birthplace of Lord Buddha in he World Heritage List.

I should like to express my sincere gratitude to the respected teacher and supervisor Prof. Dr. Tulasi Ram Vaidya, Former Head of the Central Department of History, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu and currently the Vice Chancellor of Lumbini Bauddha University who provided me unstinted guidance, encouragement, inspiration, and warm affection to complete this dissertation leading to a PhD degree. Likewise, Co-Supervisor Prof. Dr. Krishna Bahadur Thapa, former Chief, Central Department of History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, offered regular encouragement and valuable suggestions during my research work. Similarly, Co-supervisor Prof. Dr. Vijay Kumar Manandhar, Central Department of History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, always encouraged me with valuable suggestions and information. I would like to express my sincere thanks to both the co-supervisors for their valuable and commendable suggestions and guidance. I express my grateful thanks to Prof. Dr. Mohan Prasad Lohani, a prominent scholar, former Head of the Central Department of English, and also former Ambassador to Bangladesh for editing the text of this work.

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to Bhuvan Lal Pradhan, the historian, the patron of the History Association of Nepal and former Minister, Badri Prasad Shrestha, former Finance Minister, former Ambassador to Japan and a prominent scholar, Lok Darshan Vajracharya, former Principal Private Secretary to King Mahendra and Ex-Chairman of Lumbini Development Trust, Hem Raj Shakya, a prominent Buddhist scholar and former epigraphist, National Archives Kathmandu, Prof. Chandra Prasad Budhathoki, Jnanamani Nepal, former academician and historian, Nepal academy, Suwarna Shakya, a Buddhist scholar and Vice Chairman, Dharmodaya Sabha, Sarala Manandhar, Chief of National Archives, Sukra Sagar Shrestha and Shyam Sundar

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Shrestha, archeologists, Department of Archeology not only for their support and suggestions but also for making avaliable resource materials.

Likewise, I express my gratitude to Phanindra Ratna Vajracharya, a Buddhist scholar and former Under Secretary, Ministry of Education, Kedar Man Dangol and Soviet Ratna Tuladhar for providing not only books on Buddhism but also their valuable suggestions and for furnishing valuable information related to Buddhism. Thanks are gone to local informants and local people who have help the researcher by sharing information and also giving an opportunity to observe their rituals.

I express my respect and gratitude to Prof. Dr. Tri Ratna Manandhar, former Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, T.U. for suggesting the subject of dissertation and for suggesting relevant books on Buddhism.

Finally I would like to express my sincere love and gratitude to my wife Kamala Devi Shrestha who looked after me with caring love during my research work. My sincere thanks also go to my daughter Sajani Shrestha, grandsons Prabal Man Dhaubhadel, Prajwol Man Dhaubhadel, grand daughter Sama Shrestha and niece Timila Mathema for their help and computer typing of the manuscripts.

Khadga Man Shrestha

(Khadga Man Shrestha)
Registrar, Lumbini Bauddha University
Chairman, Nepal Research Society

Kathmandu Metropolitan City Ward 14
University Road, Kalimati
7th January 7, 2008 A.D

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# FOREWORD

I consider it an honor to write this foreword on the scholarly research work entitled *History of Buddhism in Nepal up to 1956 with Special Reference to Vajrayana Buddhism* written by Dr. Khadga Man Shrestha. Dr. Shrestha is a dedicated scholar who has meticulously carried out the research work.

Dr. Khadga Man Shrestha has been intimately known to me as a friend since 1960. After doing his M.A. (History) from Tribhuvan University; he joined the Bhaktapur College and then the Padma Kanya College as a Lecturer of history and literature. He taught for many years at different colleges, and later on he joined the administration. He became Director General of Department of Archaeology, (the then HMGN) and Joint Secretary (first class officer), Ministry of Education. As close friends we share identical views on the educational and archaeological aspects of Nepal. We have participated in many meetings and shared the same opinion. In course of our talks in the past, he used to request me very often to supervise him in his Ph. D. program. On the next day of his retirement from the government service, he registered himself for Ph. D. program under the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University and asked me to be his supervisor. I felt very much happy to become his supervisor. As per my commitment, I gave my consent and both of us continued our concerned academic work. As a Supervisor, I had found him very dedicated and hard working. He was always willing to abide by my suggestions during explorations and field visits and to undertake necessary interviews in connection with his research work. Moreover, his experience as the Director General of the Department of Archaeology proved to be very much useful for his research work. Thus, he completed on time his Ph.D. research on the *History of Buddhism in Nepal up to1956 with Special Reference to Vajrayana Buddhism.*

The present book is one of the most scholarly, exploratory and appreciable research works on Buddhism in Nepal. Earlier Dr. Rajendra Ram, a dedicated scholar and friendly with Nepal and the Nepalis, had done his Ph. D. on *History of Buddhism in Nepal* from Patna University in 1968 ) and published the work in 1977 A.D. in the form of a book. Research is always an ongoing process. Many scholars have taken pains to undertake research on various aspects of Buddhism in Nepal.

Dr. Shrestha has done extensive and intensive work on the theme of this book from the earliest time up to 1956 A.D. This book deals with the various aspects of Buddhism i.e. the mythological, historical, cultural, ritualistic etc. in a scholarly way. As such it is one of the most authentic research works which would not only enlighten readers but also pave the way for further research on the subject. In fact, it is the outcome of the most meticulously worked out research work or his Ph.D. thesis in revised form, for which I should like to congratulate Dr. Shrestha. I am fully confident that this book will also be useful to the scholars and research students of Lumbini Bauddha University. Finally I look forward to receiving valuable contributions from Dr. Khadga Man Shrestha in the future as well.

Prof.Dr.T.R.Vaidya
Vice Chancellor
Lumbini Baudha University

August 3, 2007 A.D

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# GLOSSARY

Spelling of Sanskrit and Pali terms follows international convention. Deviation from international transliteration occurs occasionally "sh" instead of "s" and "Shree" instead of "Sri".

**Abbreviations**:

Following are abbreviation used in this glossary

c – about
ca – about
Sk. – Sanskrit
P. –Pali
n.-noun
HMG – His Majesty's Government, Nepal.
ISMEO - Instituto Italiano Per IL Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, Rome.
KMC – Kathmandu Metropolitan City.
MOE – Ministry of Education, Nepal.
Nepnatcom- Nepal National Commission for UNESCO.
RNA – Royal Nepal Academy, Nepal.
SvP – Svayambhu Purana.
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UNESCO – United Nations Educational Science and Cultural Organization.
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**A**

**Abhidharma** (Sk), Abhidhamma (P) n. Higher Dharma, Metaphysics.

**Abhiseka** (Sk)Abhiseka (P) n. Consecration- Abhiseka is the ritual anointment required in the observance of the mystic ceremony.

**Adi Buddha** n. The first Buddha, the Buddha of the beginning time, the primordial Buddha: (*Adi* = the beginning)- The *Adi* Buddha concept is limited to Mahayana Buddhism.

**Amitabha** n. The Buddha of Infinite Light- The fourth of the *Jinas* or *Dhyani* Buddhas on the original *Dhyani* Buddha system.

**Anagarika** n. a homeless one.

**Anatman** Sk (Anatta P.) It is the doctrine of non- ego.

**Annihilationism**: It is materialism called Charavaka or Lokayata doctrine. According to this concept, a man after death meets with complete extinction

**Asrava** Sk (Asava P) n. defilement, mental intoxication, sometimes synonymous with Klesa (P Kilesa).

**Ashoka** n. He was the Emperor of India of 3rd century B.C., grandson of Chandra Gupta, founder of Maurya dynasty, the Great Buddhist patron and ruler.

**Ashvaghosa** n. He was a Buddhist writer and a poet of the first century A.D. He wrote *Buddha Carita*, a famous life story of the Buddha in beautiful Sanskrit poems.

**Avalokitesvara** .n. lit. The Lord (*Isvara*), who has been looking down from a high pedestal (Ava-lokita) also called, Padmapani (having a lotus in his hand). Avalokitesvara

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is the *Dhyani Bodhisattva* of the *Dhyani* Buddha Amitabha and is the personification of the self-generative creative cosmic force.

**Avatara** lit. incarnation-Vishnu, the preserver's appearance in the world to protect the world from dangers arising from evil principle is called *Avatara*.

**B**

**Bhikshu** (P. Bhikshu) n. monk.

**Bhikshuni** (P. Bhikkuni) n. A formally ordained nun.

**Bhumi**, n. the ground land, or the world- *Bhumi* is a stage of progressive religions development towards the idealistic goal.

**Bodhi** (P and Sk ) n. Supreme wisdom, perfect wisdom, enlightenment.

**Bodhicitta** n. lit. The thought towards enlightenment- In Mahayana Buddhism, it is primordial essence of mind which consists of supreme *Bodhi*. It is that mental attitude which aspires to Buddhahood or Bodhisattvahood for the welfare of all.

**Bodhisattva** Sk (P.Bodhisatta) n. He is the one who has *Bodhi* or perfect wisdom as his essence, an aspirant for Buddhahood.

**Brahmanism** n. A loose term for Hinduism

**Brahma Vihara** n. lit. The abode of *Brahama*- In Theravada Buddhism, it consists in the perfect exercise of the qualities of *Maitri* (friendliness), *Karuna* (sympathy, active compassion) *Mudita* (sympathetic or altruistic joy) and *Upeksya* (equanimity, serenity). It is called the four Boundless States. The state is reached by practising goodwill towards all beings. The state can be achieved when one identifies oneself with all beings in the entire world with the mind completely free from hatred and ill will.

**Buddhaghosa** n. The greatest of the commentators on the Pali or the Theravada *Tripitaka*..He wrote *Visuddhimagga* known as encyclopedia of the Buddha's teachings in Theravada Buddhism. He lived in the 5th century A.D.

**Buddha Nature** n., another name for Mahayana.

**C**

**Cakra** (Sk) n., In *Tantric* Buddhism- A *Cakra* in which a mystic ceremony (*Cakrapuja*, the circle worship) is performed. The circle itself is called *Cakra* or *Mandala*.

**Caste** n. (Sk.) *Varna*, P. *Vanna*, lit.,color of the skin, complexion- The word caste in English is derived from *Casta* (meaning lineage).

**D.**

**Dependent Origination** n. (P.*Paticcasamutpada*) Sk. *Pratitya-samutpada*) It is the chain of phenomenal cause and effect by which death and rebirth occur. It is a well known formula which sums up the twelve principal causes.

**Dharmadhatu** n. *Dharma* means Law. All phenomena and all experience and *dhatu* mean cosmic elements. *Dharmadhatu* is defined as the abode of three jewels of Buddha who aspires *Nirvana* exists in the form of *Prajnopaya* (skillful means) and five kinds of knowledge and Vairochan exists in the centre of the lotus.

**Dharmaduta** n. A goodwill messenger, whose mission is to propagate the Buddha's teachings in foreign lands.

**Dhrmapala** n. Name of several elders in Theravada Buddhism.

**Dharmashastra** n. A law-book or Code of Laws.

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**Dhyani Buddha** n. They are hypothetic personification of the attributes of *Dhyani* Buddha. They are the objective aspects of self creative forces of the *Adi* Buddha. Avalokitesvara is the *Dhyani Bodhisattva* of the present age

**H**

**Heruka** An extremely frightful *Tantric* being endowed with powers.

**Hinayana** The narrow vehicle, contrasted with Mahayana, the Great vehicle- The term was first used by Mahayana adherents with the connotation that the Hinayana doctrine is narrow which admits only a few to final salvation. The term *Hina*, however, also means base or low. The Hinayana Buddhists, to avoid calling themselves or their doctrine "Hinayana" adopt the more neutral name "Theravadin" or "Theravada". Literary Theravada means the doctrine of the elders.

**J**

**Jatakamala** n. The Garland of Birth Stories, a text belonging to the Hinayana Buddhism- The work contains thirty four *Jatakas*. These stories are intended to illustrate the *Paramitas* or perfections of a *Bodhisattva*.

**K**

**Khandha** (Sk. Skandha). The five casually conditioned elements of existence forming a body or entity. The five *Skandhas* are inherent in every form of life, either in an active or potential state.

**Kanishka**.(Sk. Kaniska) n. Name of a powerful Kushana king of India who established Shaka era starting from the year 78 A.D. His capital was Puruspura (now Peshawar in Pakistan.)

**Kathavastu** n. It is one of the texts, incorporating *Abhidharmapitaka* of Theravada Buddhism.

**Karuna** Active compassion.

**Klesa** (p. Kilesa) n. Defilement- It is a hindrance to religious attainment by moral faults, such as passion.

**Kushana** n. An aggressive nomadic group nomadic group which succeeded in establishing control over Gandhara, with the centre power at Taxila now in Pakistan and Puruspura (modern Peshawar) as the capital. Kanishka was the well known king of this dynasty.

**L**

**Lama** n. lit. He is the superior one, the head of a monastery or the head of the congregation.

**Lotus Sutra** n."The Lotus of the True Law" *Saddharmapundarika Sutra*, is one of the most important Mahayana text, *Sad* + (good, true, real) + *Dharma* (law)+*Pundarika* (a kind of white lotus).The author of the text is unidentified. This famous Mahayana text was written around the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. It is speculated that *Bhakti* cult was introduced in Buddhism for the first time through the teaching of this *Sutra*.

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## M

**Madhyamika** It is another name of Buddhist school of *Sunyavada* that teaches the theory of *Sunyata* (void). The *Madhyamika* means "the middle path", *Sunyata* of two extremes. Nagarjuna in the *Parthasatya* writes –"there is neither self nor non-self as these are subjective device. Reality as ultimate (*Sunya*) is free from conceptual construction."

**Maudgalyayana** Sk. n. He was the second of the chief disciples of the Buddha, the first one being Sariputta (p) ( Sk. Sariputra) who was highly esteemed for his wisdom ,called *Dharmasenapati*. Maudgalyayana and Sariputra were friends from childhood. They decided to renounce the world on the same day.

**Mahaparinirvana Sutra** It is the *Sutra* of *Mahaparinirvana* or the Passing Away of the Buddha. It is one of the most important discourses.

**Mahasanghika** n. It is one of the schools which separated out from Theravadins at the second council which took place a hundred years after the passing away of the Buddha.

**Mahavastu** n. It is an old text of the Mahasanghikas. The chief context of the text is the biography of the Buddha, but is full of miracles. The language is mixed Sanskrit or Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. The work is attributed to be of the 1st or 2nd century B.C. but some additions are of the 4th century A.D.

**Maitreya** n. (p. Mitteya). It is the name of the Buddha to come in this (Sk. *Kalpa*) *aeon*.

**Mandala** n. In *Tantrism* a *Mandala* is a ritual or mystic circle, in which a ritual or ceremony is performed. A *Mandala* is a diagram used in invocation, meditation and religious services.

**Manjushree** n. He is the personification of Perfect Wisdom (*Prajna*) in Mahayana. He is one of the two most important *Bodhisattvas* in Mahayana (the other one being Avalokitesvara, the personification of *Karuna* (compassion). In *Saddharmapundarika*,,he appears as the principal *Bodhisattva* Maitreya seeking instruction.

**Mantra** n. A magic formula of invocation A verse or saying which is considered as sacred when properly recited.

**Mantrayana** n. It is a late form of Mahayana Buddhism, characterized by the use of *mantras* to attain enlightenment.

**Middle Way** n. The *majjhima patipada*, the Middle Way (or the middle path) described by the Buddha in the *Dharmacakraprvartana Sutra* in the Deer Park near Banaras (now Sarnath). It is the avoidance of two extremes of self indulgence and self mortification. The Noble Eightfold Path is the key to the Middle Path that leads to Enlightenment.

**Mogalliputta Tissa** n. He was the president of the third council held at Ashokaram at Pataliputra (now Patna) in the reign of king Ashoka.

**Mulasarvastivada** After hundred years of *Parinirvana* of the Buddha, his *Sangha* is said to have split into eighteen schools, three of which are significant; the Sthaviravada, (P. Theravada), the Sarvastivada and Mahasanghika. It is within the Sarvastivada School that the Mulasarvastivada was formed. The *Avadana* literature of the Sarvastivada School seems to have been based on the *Vinaya* of the Mulasarvastivada School.

## N

**Nagarjuna** n. He was the Indian Buddhist philosopher of the second century A.D. He was the founder of the Madhyamika School of Mahayana Buddhism.

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**Nirvana** (P.Nibbana) n. It is the ultimate goal of Buddhist endeavor, the release from the limitation of existence. Liberation from three characteristics of existence (i.e. suffering, impermanence, and non-self) is the real goal

**P.**

**Padmasambhava** n. He was the "Lotus Born", a native of North India.
**Paramita** n. Perfection, highest state, completeness.
**Pindapatra** n. lit. Food received in the alms bowl of a Buddhist monk.
**Pitaka** n. Originally the term means basket (where things can be stored or kept). There are three large sections the *Pitakas*, namely the *Vinaya Pitaka,* the *Sutta Pitaka*, and the *Abhidharma Pitaka* (Code of Discipline, Collection of Discourses and Books on Dharma or Metaphysics).
**Prajna** Sk. (P. Panna) n. wisdom In Theravada Buddhism, *Prajna* or wisdom constitutes the third and highest level of the Buddhist life the other two being *Shila* (morality)and *Samadhi* (meditation). *Prajnaparamita Sutra* is devoted to the discussion of the theme *Sunyata* or void.
**Prajanparamita** n. It is one of the most important Mahayana texts. The lengthy one is *Satasahasrika Prajnaparamita* with 100,000 strophes then *Ashtasahasrika* with 8,000 strophes.
**Pratimoksa** n. It is the collection of various precepts and rules contained in the *Vinaya*.
**Pratyeka Buddha** (P. Pacceka Buddha), solitary Buddha- He is the one who has attained, like a Buddha, by his unaided powers the knowledge necessary to *Nirvana*.
**Pudgala** n. person or individual - A Buddhist sect, which appeared about two hundred years after the death of the Buddha-Vatsiputra, a converted Brahman put forward this theory. It is against the *Anatma* doctrine.

**S**

**Saddharma Pundarika Sutra** n. "The Lotus of the True Law" The original work contains the heart of Mahayana teaching.
**Shaivite** An adherent to Shaivism.
**Shakta** An adherent to Shaktism.
**Sramana** Sk.(Samana ) An ascetic- The term applies to a Buddhist monk or a recluse of other faith.
**Sramanera** Sk (Samanera.P.) n. A novice.
**Sangha** n. The congregation of Buddhist monks
**Sarvastavada** A Buddhist School which was separated from Theravada School - It is regarded as constituting a transitional stage between the older and conservative schools of Buddhism and Mahayana. The formation of Sarvastivada doctrine is said to have started early but was not evident before the Third Council held in Pataliputra (now Patna) in the time of Ashoka (3rd century B. C.)The Sarvastivadins were adherents of Sarvastivada ( all exists). They were realists. Although, they asserted the existence of everything, these are taken in a state of continued flux and restless change.
**Sautantrika** A Buddhist school, originally belonging to the Theravada - The split came when the adherents of this school refused to accept the *Abhidharma Pitaka* as being authentic teaching of the Buddha. They appeared in the early part of the second century B.C. For them only the *Sutras* (the *Sutra Pitaka)* were authoritative and were "end" or

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"final authority" of the genuine teaching. They admitted that there was no *Atman* or self of a being, an individual did exist. They asserted that the continuity of the individual or a being was possible due to the continuous existence of the very subtle consciousness.

**Sthaviravada** lit. The teaching of the elders.

**Sutrapitaka** Sk.(Suttapitaka P.) The second main division of the Theravada or Pali, canon The *Vinayapitaka* is the division dealing with the regulations of the Buddhist *Sangha* and life of monks, the *Sutrapitaka* is the collection dealing with *Dharma* Sk (Dhamma P.) or the teaching of the Buddha in the form of dialogues, sayings and narratives, in prose as well as verse. It consists of five major collections. *Nikayas* P.); 1)*Dighanikaya* 2)*Majjimanikaya* 3)*Samukttanikaya* 4) *Angutaranikaya* 5) *Khuddakanikaya*..

**Shakya** Sk. (Sakiya P.) Name of the community to which Gautama belonged.

**Sunyata** n. Nothingness, the void-It is said that *Nirvana* is the idealistic goal of a Theravada Buddhists. *Sunyata* is the idealistic means of Mahayanists to attain the final goal.

**Sunyavada** A theory holding that the world is void (*Sunya*) or unreal. It is the chief doctrine of the Mahayana School as founded by Nagarjuna of about the second century A.D.

## T

**Tantra**. It is a late development of religious interpretation of the power and of Gods.

**Tathata** (Sk.) Suchness- It is a common term in Mahayana Buddhist doctrine for the ultimate and unconditional nature of life. In one sense, it is *Sunyata* which is the void, but is expressed here in a positive sense.

**Theravada** It is one of the schools of Buddhism of elder monks.

**Trikaya** n. Mahayana doctrine which holds that absolute Buddha exists in three *Kayas* (bodies) but essentially related to each other. The doctrine is also called *Buddhakaya*, the body of Buddha. They are 1) *Dharmakaya* (*Dharma* body) representing the absolute body of the Buddha, the Buddha *Svabhavakaya* (the essential body of the Buddha or the Buddha nature.) Being transcendental, it is above all limitations and cannot be grasped by senses.or intellect. The Madhyamika School looks upon *Dharmakaya* as *Sunyata* or the void. 2)*Sambhogakaya* (the body of bliss) or refulgent body.. It represents the super mundane manifestation of all the Buddha-nature (Buddha *Svabhava*).to the initiated elects. It is the summation of all the spiritual disciplines which the Buddha chooses to manifest them to the *Bodhisattvas* and other religiously perfect beings.3)*Nirmanakaya*, the Transfermation body -*Nirmanakaya* is the body that the Buddha chooses to remain in contact with the phenomenal existence for the benefit of men by helping humanity on the way to pilgrimage. Thus this *Nirmanakaya* is the historical manifestation of the Buddha *Svabhava* as Gautam Buddha

**Trishna** Sk. (Tanha P.) thirst, craving, longing- There are three kinds of *Trishna*, a) *Kamatrishna* (sensual pleasure),b) *Bhavatrishna* (longing for existence),c) *Vibhavatrishana* (a desire not to be born).

## U

**Upanisadic-** pertaining to the Upanishads.

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V

**Vaibhasika** During the reign of Kanishka, the patron of Sarvastivada School, commentaries on *Tripitaka* were composed in Sanskrit. The commentary for *Sutrapitaka* was called *Upadesa* and those for the *Vinaya* and *Abhidharma* were called *Vibhasa.* The philosophy based on *Vibhasa* commentary was known as *Vibhasika.* It was studied in Kashmir in the time of Kanishka.

**Vajra** n. In Sanskrit *Vajra* has two important meanings. In the *Veda*, *Vajra* is the thunderbolt, the weapon of Indra by which he defeats the demon of drought. In Sanskrit literature *Vajra* means diamond, especially its property of being hard, imperishable and indestructible. In Buddhism *Vajra* is used sometimes to denote *Sunyavada* or the void, which is indescribable in Madhyamika School. The Yogacarins who hold that *Vijnana* or consciousness is the only reality also occasionally call it *Vajra.* In Vajrayana that is in the extreme *Tantric* Buddhism, *Vajra* means the male organ just as the *Padma* or the lotus as female organ.

**Vajrasattva** n. In Vajrayana, the extreme *Tantric* Buddhist sect, Vajrasattva is the supreme reality like the *Paramatman* or *Brahman* of the Upanishads. Vajrasattva is immanent in all beings, because all men are Buddha.

**Vajrayana** n. It is the last phase of the development of Buddhism. In the 4th century Yogacara school of Buddhism arose. It emphasizes the importance of meditation method and discipline. The practice developed further with the use of sacred mantras or formulas, which are held to be the most direct method of attaining more advanced spiritual state. This form of Buddhism, which is called Mantrayana, will lead to final salvation through the recitation of potent mantras or magic spells, the adherents believed in the Hindu Gods and demons the supernatural power to be gained by *Yoga* and related practice. They conceived of the numerous Buddha and *Bodhisattvas* like other Hindu divinities of glory and pleasure.

**Vasubandhu** n. He was a Buddhist writer born in Peshawar in the fourth century A.D. *Abhidharmakosha*, commentaries on *Saddharmapundarika Sutra*, the *Mahaparinirvana Sutra*, the *Vajraccedika Prajanaparimita*, the *Vimsatika* and *Trimsika* are his works. It is the doctrine of pure consciousness. He is regarded as Mahayana philosopher.

**Varsa-vasa** n (Vassavasa P.) The rainy season retreat- It is the requirement of the Order that a monk shall stay in one monastery during (*Varsa*) rainy season. During this period a monk is forbidden to travel for practical reasons. A monk traveling during the rainy season might crush the tender springing plants and destroy crawling insects.

**Vibhajyavada** n. It is a name of Theravada sect in the time of the Mauryan Emperor Ashoka.

**Vijnaptimatravada** n. The doctrine that nothing but consciousness (*Vijnana* or *Vijnapti*) is real.

**Vinaya** In Buddhism, *Vinaya* means code of conduct, discipline as regulations on the behavior of individuals. *Vinayapitaka* deals with the proper behavior of the members of the Buddhist community: the *Bhikshus, Bhikshunis, Upasakas* and *Upasikas* (monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen).

**Vipassana** n. It is intuitive vision or self introspection. *Vipassana* is produced by the successful exercise of concentration meditation (*Samadhi*) and is an indication that one is on the right path to Arhatship. Another term of *Samatha* (tranquility, cessation) is often

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mentioned together with the term *Vipassana* as a of Arrer of *Arhat* (one who never returns to worldly life) of Theravada.

**Y**

**Yana** n. Vehicle, carrier, way- The term *Yana* in Buddhism means the vehicles which will lead the followers to salvation. The two often used *Yanas* are Hinayana and Mahayana (narrow or small vehicle and the great vehicle.).The followers of Hinayana often decline to accept the term Hinayana, but show strong preference to use the term Theravada, The Doctrine of the elders (Sthaviravada Sk) instead. Hinayana doctrine is sometimes spoken as Dviyana, the Shravakayana or Prateyekayana. Mahayana Buddhism on the other hand holds the theory that each individual has the *Bodhicitta*, that mental attitude which aspires to Buddhahood. A Mahayana *Bodhisattva* chooses to renounce *Nirvana* and remain a *Bodhisattva* to lead mankind to salvation. The term Buddhayana therefore represents here the ideal being a Buddha or *Bodhisattva*. The goal is one (*Eka*). So it may be called Buddhayana, Tathagatayana or Bodhisattvayana or Triyana. Speaking of both Hinayana and Mahayana, the *yanas* are three: Shravakayana, Prateyekayana , or Buddhayana i.e. Triyana. Another *yana* that developed during 500-1000 A.D. was influenced by *Tantrism*. It employs sacred chants, mantra, ritualism, mysticism and symbolism, and is known as Vajrayana or Mantrayana.

**Yoga** n. It is characterized by emphasis on self control and meditation. There are two systems of Yoga: the *Hathayoga* and *Rajayoga*. The Hathyoga concentrates on the posture and control physical body whereas the *Rajayoga* on meditation and contemplation with a view to develop inner power. Asceticism is pronounced in *Yoga* practice. A man who practices *Yoga* is called *Yogi* and a woman is called *Yogini*.[1]

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[1] Visudh Busyakul, "Golssary" *Buddhism in the year 2000, InternationalConference Procedings* , (Bangkok:Dharmakaya Foundation, Department of International Relations,1994 A.D.

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# CHAPTER I

## Introduction

Buddhism is one of the most popular religions of the world. There are many books written on Buddhism. Nepal, being the birthplace of the three Buddhas viz. Krakucchanda, Kanakmuni and Shakyamuni, is guided by the spirituality of Buddha and the ideals of Buddhism. The archaeological explorations and excavations carried out so far attest or corroborate the information derived from the Buddhist scriptures. Excavations and explorations carried out at Gotihawa, Niglihawa and Lumbini have made it clear that the Ashokan pillars discovered over there are still in situ, and so are the ancient votive *Stupas* indicating the holiness of the sites as the birthplaces of the three Buddhas. Emperor Ashoka had visited the sites as a Buddhist pilgrim in the third century B.C. and had paid homage to the holy sites and erected the pillars in commemoration of and dedication to the three Buddhas. Extensive excavation is still impending in Niglihawa and Kapilvastu, Nepal. The contemporary detailed accounts of the sects of Krakucchanda and Kanakmuni Buddha are not available. However, literary sources furnish information about Krakucchanda and Kanakmuni Buddhas. Hence Shakyamuni Buddha is thus taken as a historical Buddha by the Lumbini pillar inscription. Scholars have traced the history of Buddhism from the 6$^{th}$ century B.C. only. On the basis of archaeological remains, some Indian scholars assume that the history of Buddhism is more than five thousand years old. Some scholars in Nepal also assume that the ancient civilization of Nepal is contemporary to the Indus Valley Civilization. An Indian historian says that study and research of Aryo-Dravida culture by some scholars have indicated the large scale ignorance or negligence and spread the false and fictitious aspect of history. He adds that the remains of Harappan culture are referred to as Buddhistic. *Pipal* leaves, the *Svastika, Dharma Chakra*, row of peacocks, deer, bulls etc, on Harappan potteries are evidently the imprints of the indigenous Buddhist culture.[1] Scholars have made general observation that Nepal practised the Buddhism during the time of Buddhas prior to Gautam Buddha. The existence of *Kanaka Caitya* from which

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[1]. Rajendra Ram, (Preface) *Intellectual Perspective of Rahula Sankrityayana, Essays and Reminiscences*, (Patna : Janajagarana Prakashana, 2005 A.D.), p. VII.

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the *Baha* takes its name as *Kanaka Caitya Mahavihara* [2] and the habitation of Koliyas beside the complex at Kel Tole, Kathmandu make us believe that the Koliyas followed Kanakmuni Buddha's creed in the Kathmandu Valley even after the advent of Gautam Buddha. To establish the fact more scientific research work is needed. The Niglihawa pillar inscription mentions the name (Konagamana). J.K. Locke mentions that the Kanaka *Caitya* of Kela Tole belongs to the Licchavi Period. [3] From the presence of the *Caitya*, it is assumed that Kanakmuni Buddha preached his philosophy long before the advent of Gautam Buddha. But Laksman Shakya, a Buddhist scholar refers that Kanakmuni Buddha's identity is based on myths and legends.[4] Archaeological remains in Niglihawa have made the archaeologists and historians accept Niglihawa as the birthplace of Kanakmuni Buddha. This research work deals with the history of Buddhism from pre and proto historic periods. Some scholars remark that the information so far available about the Buddhas prior to Siddhartha Gautam is not enough to establish the fact more authentically. It needs comprehensive and extensive approach. This research work sketches the history of Buddhism from pre historic period on the basis of mythological accounts. Local and foreign scholars have presented the bright and gloomy aspects of Buddhism in Nepal. Only by collecting information from myths and legends without analytical and in-depth study, complete and true history of Buddhism cannot be presented. However, an attempt is made in this research work to give an account of creed on the basis of tradition followed by the general people. The Buddha guided human beings on the path of peace, compassion, non-violence and a disciplined life. His greatness lies in his teachings about the freeing of mind. He has attracted many people by propagating religion based on his own experience. Buddhism has thus gained importance in the present society. Many research works are conducted relating to Buddhism. Studies were made in the past and researches were carried out on relevant subjects. Some are preaching the didactic philosophy and secularization of the religion. Meticulous and comprehensive research on the history of Buddhism in Nepal has not seen the light of the day. This research work is the need of the time. Scholars who love humanity at large uphold, peace, non-violence, amity, love, compassion, mutual respect and cooperation

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2. John K. Locke, S.J., *Buddhist Manuments of Nepal*, (Kathmandu : Sahayogi Press Pvt. Ltd., 1985 A.D.), pp.10, 310.
3. Laksman Shakya, *Bauddha Itihasma Shakyamuni Buddha* (Shakyamuni Buddha in the Buddhist History), (Kathmandu : Human Gem. Study Circle, 2005 A.D.), p. 1..

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and the virtues taught by Lord Buddha. This research work makes an attempt to focus on the historical development of Buddhism in Nepal in a historical perspective. It deals with the history of Buddhism from prehistoric period to 1956 A.D. when the Fourth Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists (WFB) was held in Nepal under the patronage of the king. It has become a landmark in the history of the Buddhism in Nepal.

Scholars mention that Nepal follows Shravakayana, Bodhisattvayana and Samyeksambodhiyana. Some other scholars refer to them as Theravada, Mahayana and Vajrayana. Shravakayana is the preliminary stage of the Buddha's teachings. It is also known as Theravada (*Vada* of elder *Bhikshus*). Theravada aims at *Shrotapati* (stream entrant), *Sakridagami, Anagami* and Arhathood. *Arhat* is that person who has attained *Summum Bonum* i.e. the highest stage of monkhood. *Shravaka's* (disciples) laid emphasis on *Samyeksambodhi*. Shravakayana or Sthaviravada or Theravada being directed towards Arhathood of a single individual is termed as agnstic or unpopular school of Buddhism. It believes in four noble truths, eightfold noble path and twelve principles of causation. *Tripitakas* are the teachings of the Buddha which remain as the *Sutras. Suttapitaka* or *Sutrapitaka* is one of the three texts of *Tripitakas. Digha Nikaya*, the first *Nikaya* of *Sutrapitaka* mentions thirty seven aspects of *Bodhipakshit Dharma* (thirty seven aspects of enlightenment) These are *Smritiprasthana* -4, *Samyekpradhan*-4, *Riddhipad*-4, *Indriya*-5, *Bala* (strength)-5, *Bodhyanga* (awkening)-7, *Ashtangamarga* (eightfold noble path) -8, all together 37. In short these are the teachings of Buddhism.[4] It lays emphasis on *Shravakashila* (discipline, the noble precepts of novice monks), *Samadhi* (mental fixity) as well as *Prajna* (wisdom). *Majjhima Nikaya* lays emphasis on *Kayanusmriti*, *Vedananusmriti*, *Cittanusmriti* and *Dharmanusmriti* for attaining Buddhahood.

On the other hand, Bodhisattvayana, Mahayana (greater vehicle) lays emphasis on altruistic motive and it is geared towards the popularity of Buddhism. It popularizes mysticism in order to attract the people and allure them about the prospect of attaining *Akanista Bhuvan* (heaven). It urges people to renounce ego, possessive nature, pride, aggression, ambition, *Tamashi* feelings and inspire people to get involved in benevolent activities for the welfare of all sentient beings, practisng *Bodhisattva Carya*. It teaches

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[4]. Rahula Sankrityayana & Jagadish Kashyap,(Trans), *Digha Nikaya*, (Benares: Devapriya,Mahabodhisabha,1937 A.D.) p.247.

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people to practice *Chaturbrahmaviharas i.e. Maitri, Karuna, Mudita, Upekshya* (amity, compassion, joyfulness and equanimity), Six *Paramitas* (perfections *i.e. Dana, Shila, Kshyanti, Veerya, Dhyana, Prajna* (charity, discipline, love for all or equality or equanimity, meditation and wisdom) and remove defilements. Thus Mahayana follows *Bodhisattva Carya* for the welfare of sentient beings. It also teaches them to perform mental worship. Mahayana also adopted *Tantra* and *Mantras* for *Siddhi* (perfection).

Vajrayana (the diamond way) or Samyeksambodhiyana is taken as the last phase of the development of Buddhism. It follows *Sutras* of Theravada, *Mantra* and *Tantra* of Mahayana. It is the integration of Mahayana and Theravada. It is syncretic in nature. Vajrayana is also called Mantrayana or radical form of *Tantra Mantra* of Mahayana. In Vajrayana the mind should be like thunderbolt. The Vajrayanists give more importance to non attachment. They study *Nava Sutra Sangrah* (nine Buddhist scriptures), recite *Prajnaparamita, Namasangiti*, practice the unity of *Smatha* and *Vipassana*, realize the emptiness of all body and ephemeral nature of all phenomena, perform *Gurumandala* rites for the purification of *Kaya, Vac* and *Chitta* ( body, speech and mind). They practise *Tantra* tradition. This tradition is known as *Agama* in Sanskrit. They also observe thiry seven aspects of *Bodhipakshya* (enlightenment). They worship *Adi* Buddha Vajrasattva, tutular deities, give offerings, practise *Dashasanskaras* (ten rituals) perform meditation, recite *Jap* (mental prayer), perform *Caryas* for the attainment of *Mahamudra* (Buddhahood). They believe that *Sunyata* (nature of mind) exists as the form of all the deities who appear in the form of compassion. They take refuge in *Tiratna* (Triple Gems).

The research work deals with the history of Buddhism in Nepal in the pre and proto historic period along with the concept of spiritual Buddha, *Manushi* (mortal or human) Buddhas and the historic Buddha. In other words, it is the history of Buddhism of past, present and future. It enumerates twenty eight Buddhas of the past starting from Dipankara Buddha and the accounts of the last seven *Manushi* (human) Buddhas in details. It also explains the divine concept of *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu, primordial Buddha, self immanated who is regarded as the *Adi* Buddha, venerated by the schools of Shravakayana or Hinayana (lesser vehicle) or Theravada, Mahayana (greater vehicle) or Bodhiasattvayana or Buddhayana or Agrayana and Vajrayana Buddhism. The Buddhas before Gautam Buddha were the Buddhas of the past. Gautam Buddha is regarded as the Buddha of present time and Maitreya Buddha is taken as the future Buddha. This

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research work thus relates with the history of Buddhism from ancient period. It also deals with the conceptual development of Buddhism in different periods. It includes the history of Buddhism in the ancient, early medieval, medieval and modern periods. The subject matter discussed in this period includes the faith of the Licchavis, the Vaishya Thakuri, the Mallas and the Shah rulers of Nepal on Buddhism. Many Buddhist *Viharas* were made in different periods in the history of Nepal. During the Licchavi period all forms of Buddhism developed in Nepal. During early medieval period many *Viharas* of Patan were made. It is regarded as the age of preachers and *Siddhas*. The period witnessed the development of *Tantrism,* Mantrayana, Sahajayana and Kalachakrayana, the various sub-sects of Buddhism.Vajrayana developed as syncretic religion. It is also known as the radical form of Matrayana. Yogic practice was in vogue in this period. There was change in monastic practice also. The *Siddhas* got popularity in Buddhism. The intervention of *Nath* sects such as Gorakha Nath, Mina Nath and Matsyendra Nath and popularity of *Tantric* Buddhism as well as Shankaracharya's visit and spread of Shaivism changed the characteristics of Buddhism in Nepal. It also deals with the development of Buddhism in the Malla period. Although the Malla rulers were Hindus, they were tolerant to Buddhism as the Licchavis. It explains how the Malla rulers contributed to the development of Buddhism in Nepal. *Bhakti* cult was very popular during this period. *Hom*a (fire sacrifice) was performed and *Caityas* were worshipped for the merit of the deceased. The religious syncretism was the distinct feature of the period. One of the inscriptions referring the version of the Brahmains mentions *Svayambhu* as *Svabhu* and *Shambhu*. It is revealed in the Bungamati inscription dated 1681 A.D. (N.S. 801).[5] It clearly indicates that during the times of Shreenivas Malla, Svayambhu was venerated as Lord Shiva too. The medieval period witnessed the reforms of Jayasthiti Malla and Siddhinarnarsimha Malla on the organization of the Buddhist *Viharas* and classification of Buddhist community on the basis of profession they followed. It also reveals that the development of iconography based on the *yebyum* (double) form. These cultural goods were popular in Tibet. It promoted Nepal's trade with Tibet. The commercial relations with Tibet benefited Nepal economically and also brought about change in the ideas of the Buddhists.

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5. Dhanavajra Vajracharya, *Madhyakalka Abhilekh*, (Inscription of Medieval Period), (Kirtipur : Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1999 A.D. (2056 V.S), pp. 206-207.

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## 1.1. Objectives of the Research Work

The objectives of the research work are as follows;

a. To trace the history of Buddhism in Nepal from earliest time to present time in 1956 A.D.

b. To make analysis of the distinctive features of Buddhism prevalent in Nepal.

c. To assess the intra and enter-religion relationship of Buddhism, Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Shaktism and other sects popular in Nepal.

d. To make detail analysis of the origin, growth and development of Vajrayana Buddhism in Nepal.

e. To assess the strength and weakness of Buddhism in Nepal in historic perspective for culture in making

f. To sketch the historical development of Buddhist thought and philosophy with Buddha's impetus in various walks of life.

## 1.2 Justification of the Research work

This research work is concerned with the need of time. How Buddhism developed, what sort of approach it made are the concern of all. History of Buddhism is related with the development of different concepts of Buddhism. Its correlation with myths and legends is also established. This research work deals with of these concepts, their relation with local traditions and their establishments. Scholars say that there is no clear idea about how Buddhism came to Nepal even before the time of Gautam Buddha since primordial times. It is stated that Shravakayana was in vogue in the 6th century B.C. before the rise of Buddhism. Scholars have different opinions on the Buddhism of Nepal. They say that the primitive Buddhism of Nepal was the religion of Krakucchanda Buddha related with the thirty seven aspects of enlightenment. These aspects are meant for generation of *Bodhicitta* (enlightened attitude) geared towards the attainment of Buddha hood.

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*Paramitayana* is referred as the creed of Krakucchanda Buddha. Wright edited chronicle mentions - "Krakucchanda taught the four castes (i.e. Hindus) the way of living as *Grihasthas* and *Bhikhsus*, worshipping Swayambhu and Gujeswari."[6] In the introduction of his work, Min Bahadur Shakya gives the account of Krakucchauda Buddha, the Buddha of the past. Krakucchanda Buddha gave discourses on true *Dharma* at *Sankha Parvat*, Sankhu, (Newari-Sako). [7] Local Buddhist scholars write that after covering the eternal light called Svayambhu, Shantikaracharya built *Dharmadhatu Caitya*. The *Caitya* stands near *Dharmadhatu*, which represents the purified universe as directly perceived by the Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas*. Svayambhu *Caitya* represents the ultimate reality of the world or Buddha Nature or the nature of mind i.e *Sunyata*.. Therefore most of the *Bahas* and *Bahies* have *Dharmadhatu Caityas*. It is stated that the descendants of Shantikaracharya still live in Makhan Bahal. Their tradition started from Manjudeva better known as Manjudevacarya or Manjuhree *Bodhisattva*. Bodhisattva cult was preveling during that time. According to their belief Manjushree was the first Vajracharya of Nepal *Mandala* who ordained Gunakara *Bhikshu*. Thus the Vajracharya tradition started in Nepal. [8] The tradition is based on mythological tradition. Generally mythology is based on the belief on God. Scholars seek reliable basis on it. We come across with two Manjushrees in ancient time. The one is *Bhikshu* Manjushree of India and the other is *Bodhisattva* Manjushree. Some say that *Bhikshu* Manjushree was a saint who came from Orissa while the others say that *Bodhiattva* Manjushree came from China. Different assumptions are there. There is strong opinion that glorification of the Manjushree has created several legends. Manjushree is also presented as *Bodhisattva* who represents wisdom. Svayambhu is also represented as *Vagishvara*. Mukunda Raj Aryal writes - "The *Bhakti* cult was primarily responsible for the evolution of the cult of Svayambhu, *Adi* Buddha (akin to the Hindu *Brahma*) who, according to the *Svayambhu Purana* (SvP) manifested himself in the form of a light." [9] Accounts of Buddhism developed in the pre and proto historic period seem to have been based on mythological

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6. Daniel Wright, *History of Nepal*, (New Delhi : Asian Educational Services, Reprint, 1993), p. 6.
7. Min Bahadur Shakya (Intro), *Svayambhu Purana*, (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Institute of Exact Methods, 2001 A.D.), pp 38 - 39.
8. Badri Ratna Vajracharya, (compiler) *Prasidha Vajracharyapinigu Samshipta Parichaya* (A Short Introduction of the Renowned Vajracharyas of Nepal), (Kathmandu : Hira Shobha Tuladhar, 1989 A.D. ( N.S. 1109). p.1.
9. Mukunda Raj Aryal, "Buddhist Art in the Kathmandu Valley", *Buddhist Collection of the National Museum, Chhauni*; (Kathmandu : National Museum of Nepal, 1998 A.D.), p. 34.

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accounts. Scholars say that the Buddhism was divided into two sects after the death of the Gautam Buddha. Rahula Sankrityayana has briefly described the development of Buddhism in India. He gives account of Nagarjuna's *Madhyamika* philosophy of the 2nd century and Asangs's philosophy of *Yogacara* of 4th or 5th century and Dinanaga's Mahayana philosophy. He also mentions the *Tantric* school of Buddhism that originated among the mystics. After the Muslim invasion in India, the whole foundation of Buddhism became rotten. The Buddhist monasteries and the great educational centers as the monasteries of Nalanda, Udantapuri, Jagadal and Vikramashila were raised to the ground by the Muslims. By the end of the 14th century it became assimilated by Brahmanism or the adherents' acceptance. This version of Rahula reveals the development of Buddhism in the early medieval period. It is stated that Rahula Sankrityayana, Ambedkar, Ananda Kausalyayana, Rhys David termed the esoteric elements of Vajrayana Buddhism as unscientific creed. Western scholars say that Theravada or Shravakayana is the earliest and pure school of Buddhism. This idea is refuted by the local scholars. People moved with religious feelings are reluctant to accept it. Scholars opine that Mahayana was developed during the time when Theravada was developed. They say that Mahayana Buddhism of Nepal believes on altruism. Sridhar Rana writes that Mahayana is synonymous with *Mahasanghika* schism. It has its own *Mahayana Pitaka* known as *Bodhisattva Pitaka* as *Theravada*. It is pure and also is the earliest school of Buddhism. In consideration of the evolution and modification of Buddhist thought, Mahayana came as modified form of Buddhism which is directed against the self centered behaviour of the *Arhats*. Bodhisattvayana is the other name of Mahayana and it is known as Agrayana. Rana further writes that Vajrayana in short is a system which adopts *Shravakashila* (discipline) as its foundation and *Bodhicitta* (enlightened mind) of *Paramitayana* as its motivation. It follows six *Paramitas* and thirty seven aspects of enlightenment. Vajrayana lays emphasis on *Shamatha* and *Vipassana* (self introspection) and *Chaturbrahmaviharas*. Acharya Shantideva was the follower of Vajrayana Buddhism. He outwardly followed the rules of *Pratimokshyasamvar* strictly as *Bhikshu* and inwardly he was originating *Bodhicitta* imbibing *Paramitayana* to originate *Bodhicitta*. In other words he was practicing *Shamatha Vipassana*. He was the real practitioner of Vajrayana Buddhism. In his work *Jomo Sun Len* (Advice to *Dakini*), he mentions that in Vajrayana the conduct should be of *Shravakayana*, the thought should be

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of *Bodhisattvayana* and meditation view should be *Jhokchhen* (*Mahasandhi*). In the name of *Guhya Mantra* Vajrayana, those who take alcohol would not be practicing Vajrayana in true sense of term. Scholars say that Theravada has become attractive to the Newar youths now a day because the Newer Vajrayana had experienced the pressure of the Hindu rulers in the last one thousand years. Secondly it has lost its "right view" which the western psychologists regard as refined and profound one. Vajrayana has its own original symbolic method and process of translating every concept of the creed into action. It possesses many of the original rites such as the traditional *Tantric Abhishekh* and *Sadhanas* (austere or arduous practice). These features have not gone to Tibet. If the tradition of the rites and rituals and *Sadhana* (austere practice) are related with right view and *Vipassana* (introspection), Vajrayana will regain its traits which it has lost. It aims as the exchange of self with the other. It is obvious that Nepalis Buddhism is based on *Bodhisattva* practice in order to generate *Bodhicitta* (awakened thought). It follows moral precepts of the Buddha and aim at right view and right intention. Pure Mahayana Buddhism lays emphasis on *Boddhisattva* concept i.e. *Sunyata*, compassion and wisdom. Vajrayana is also based on *Prajnopaya* (combination of wisdom and skillful means) for genius people. It is not the offshot of Hinduism. Although Vajrayana is based on *Tantricism,* the Buddhist *Tantra* is different from Hindu *Tantra*. Its paradigm is different. Scholars point out that Hindu *Tantra* is based on "*Atma Brahma*", whereas Buddhist *Tantra* is based on *Anatma* (nonsoul) *and Sunyata* (voidness) both are different in their paradigm. The aim of *Vipassana* in Vajrayana is *Pravasvarcitta.* (Mind of clear light). It gives emphasis on *Cittanusmriti"* and *Dharmanusmriti* of *Tantrayana.* It is a pure sect based on purity of *Kaya, Vaka* and *Citta* (body, speech and mind).[10]

In the context of Vajrayana Buddhism of Nepal, Vajra Raj Shakya writes that *Lokeshvara* is the *Nirmanakaya* Buddha, a symbol of compassion for the suffering world. *Lokeshvara* representing the Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas* is the symbol of Mahayana Buddhism. With the cultivation of six *Paramitas* culminating in the realization of the truth of emptiness as the ultimate nature of reality, one leads the life of *Avalokiteshvara,* the body of truth and compassion. Shakya describes the Vajrayana aspect of the *Viharas*. According to him,

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[10]. Sridhar Rana, (Preface) *Bodhicharyavatar (Trans)* Narayan Prasad Rijal, (Lalitpur : Siddhi Bahadur and Rukmani Shrestha, 2000 A.D.), pp. 43-45. "Practice of Buddhist Tantra in Nepal," Shanker Thpa (ed.) *Newar Buddhism,* (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd., 2005 A.D.), pp. 105-111.

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Vajrayana rituals are performed usually at the first floor on one side of the *Vihara* courtyard building. Over there the image of Vajrasattva, Chandra Maharosana, Chakrasamvara or Yogambara are worshipped. Generally Vajrayana rituals are not performed openly. According to Vajrayana ritual, one goes through the *Sadhana* of the visualization of emptiness of every phenomenon appearance. The aspect of recognizing the importance of Shravakayana and Mahayana as the basic principle emphasizes *Sadhanas.* It insists on the purity of body, speech and mind to root out basic ignorance about the real nature of mind and other phenomenon. Emphasis on more intensive practice to purify the evils of body, speech and mind encourages only those who are prepared to take this highly risky technology. In every *Vihara, Baha* and *Bahi* there is still the provision available for Vajrayana practices which take place in *Digi*, part of *Vihara* vicinity. *Diksya*, in popular language is *Dekha,* the formal initiation into Chakrasamvara. According to Vajrayana *Yogatantra* is organized from time to time for those who want to enter into Vajrayana practice. Through *Sadhanas* practiced in the Vajrayana one gets enlightened about the empty nature of every form and appearance in the form of the vast expanse of emptiness due to the eternal law of cause and effect. Vajra Raj Shakya also personally communicates this researcher that Vajrayana begins with the three fundamental principles i.e. *Sunyata*, compassion and *Bodhicitta* [11]

This research work analyses the practice of Buddhism in Nepal giving exposure on different concepts, thoughts and ideas. A. Waddell gives exposure on the Vajrayana Buddhism of Tibet. According to him, it was introduced in Tibet as distorted form of Buddhism about 640 A.D. The thunderbolt vehicle or spell vehicle was more developed in northern India, Nepal and Kashmir in the 10$^{th}$ century A.D. when *Tantric* phase developed in Buddhism, the monstrous and poly demonist doctrine, *Kalachakra* incorporated the Mantrayana practices. He refers Padmasambhava as magician or juggler and his esoteric practice is termed as necromancy. [12] Local scholars discard his version. According to them, Waddell neglected the spiritual aspects of the creed. The Vajracharyas of Nepal follow the ordination of Vajrabir Mahankal and worship the deity adopting *Tantra*, *Mantra*, *Jantra*, *Yoga*, *Dhyana* (concentrated meditation)

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[11]. Vajra Raj Shakya, "Foreword", *Yelaya Baudha Vihara Samshipta Parichaya*, (Short Introduction of the Baudha Vihara of Patan), (Lalitpur : Researcher Hera Kaji Vajracharya, Baudha Vihara Sangh, 2000 A.D). pp. Da, Dha.Na.

[12]. A.Waddell, *Buddhism And Lamaism of Tibet*, (Kathmandu : Educational Enterprises (Pvt.) Reprint 1978 A.D.) pp.15-25.

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*Samadhi* (mental fixity), *Mandala* (circles) and *Vrata* (austerity).[13] In Nepal, it is believed that Vajrayana tradition was started and continued from the time of Shantikaracharya. But it is generally believed that in the beginning of the Christian era Buddhism was mainly divided into 1) Hinayana (Sthaviravada) and 2) Mahayana (*Mahasanghika*). Hari Ram Joshi in this context writes- "Lord Buddha was regarded as God and he is symbolically represented in the Sarnath pillar of India by the symbols like elephant, horse, bull, lion (representing Indra, Surya, Shiva and Brahma) and lotus represents the *Garbha* of Mayadevi." [14] According to a legend Indra, Shiva and Brahma had come to see Lord Buddha at his birth in Lumbini garden. As stated above some scholars denounce these supernatural religious beliefs. According to them Vajrayana Buddhism believes on *Sunyata*. All deities in Vajrayana Buddhism are in the form of *Sunyata* or compassion and they are imaginative. With the growth of in *Tantra*, *Mantra* in Mahayana, Vajrayana Buddhism developed. It has its origin through evolutionary process. Epigraphic accounts show that Vajrayana Buddhism was popular during the reign of Amshuvarma, which is attested by his Gokarna inscription. Although opinion of the scholars differ on the origin of Vajrayana Buddhism in Nepal, it is obvious that during Amshuvarma's reign, Acharya Shilamanju went to Tibet in the 7th century. He is said to have taken golden image of Aksobhya, sandal wood Tara and image of Maitreya. After him Bandhu Datta Acharya went to Kamarupa Kamakhya to bring Matshyendra Nath to Nepal. Therefore assumption could be made that the Vajracharyas who propagated Vajrayana Buddhism in Nepal and Tibet were Shilmanju then Bandhu Datta. *Guru* Bharopa, Phamthinpa, Shashvatvajra of Mantra Siddhi *Mahavihara*. Shashvatvajra established Mahankal of Tundikhel in *Kaligat Samvat* 3822.[15] David N. Gellner's account is more relevant to give exposure on Vajrayana Buddhism of Nepal. Giving accounts of the Shakyas and Vajracharyas of the Kathmandu Valley, Gellner writes that there are monks, albeit married householder monks. Every Shakya and Vajracharya must be a member of a monastic community (*Sanghasa*) based on monastery (*baha, bahi;* Skt *Vihara)*. He became a member going through

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[13]. Badri Ratna Vajracharya (ed), *Intr, Shree Vajra Bir Tunkhyoya Mahankal* (*Vajra Bir Mahankal of* Tundikhel), (Kathmandu : Mahendra Ratna Vajracharya, 1973 A.D (N.S.1093), No page number.

[14]. Hari Ram Joshi,"Kalama Buddha Jivani Ek Samshipta Adhyan" (A short study of the Buddha's career in Art) *Ancient Nepal,* No. 29), (Kathmsndu : DOA, 1974), pp. 44-46.

[15]. Dhanavajra Vajracharya, *Licchavikalka Abhilekh (Inscriptions of Licchavi Period)*, (Kirtipur : Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, First Edition 1973 A.D. (2030 V.S.,Second edition, 1996 A.D. (2053 V.S.), p. 16.

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monastic initiation, a rite in which be spends four days as a monk.[16] He summarizes the three different religious practices in the three ways *(Yanas)* as practiced by the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley which are given below:

a. The way of Disciples - Shravakayana - monasticism - worship of the Buddha - ascetic rule observance.

b. The Great way - Mahayana - worship of Gods - fulfillment of house holders duties including festivals and life cycle rituals acquiring merit through donations - cultivation of moral perfections in accordance with the ideal of *Bodhisattvas.*

c. The Diamond way - worship of *Tantric* deities - taking *Tantric* initiation *(diksa)* acquiring magical powers and advanced spiritual status by strict rule bound devotion to powerful secret deities or their exoteric manifestations. Gellner clearly describes the functions of the authorities in the *Sangh.* He writes that the Shakayas and Vajracharya are the members of the *Sangh* (monastery). They have rights and duties to participate in the monastery's recurrent functions. They take turns as *Dyapala* (guardian) of the principal deity and seniority is maintained according to time of initiation. One may become one of the five or ten elders (*Sthaviraju*) of the monastery to have taken *Tantric* initiation. He is therefore responsible with other elders for regular worship of the monastery's *Tantric* deities, and will have various other ceremonial functions. Elders are often invited to receive *Pancadana* (gifts) on auspicious occasions particularly at wedding. At the ordination of young boys, five most senior elders must be present and pour the consecrating water over the new members. Shakyas and Vajracharyas perform *Nityapuja (*daily worship) in monasteries. There are three elements in the Buddhist monasteries. There are (a) a principal deity *(Kwabaju or Kwapadya)* - either Shakyamuni Buddha or *Avalokiteshvara)* (b) a *Caitya* in front of the main deity in the middle of the courtyard (c) a *Tantric shrine, Agam* (upstair in an enclosed room-secret deity (a*gamdevata) (agamdya)* most commonly Chakrasamvara and his consort Vajravarahi. There are main monasteries *(mubahal) bahi, Kaca bahah* (branch monasteries) and lineage monasteries, the main monasteries have (a) *digi* (along antechamber outside the *Tantric* shrine). (b) *Gumba* (a long room on the first floor of the north wing or the west wing) (c) *Vajrasattva* shrine. Quoting Locke, Gellner mentions – "*bahis* were the last surviving communities of celibate - monks (true *brahmacharya bhikshus* which lost many of their members by graduation to the married Vajrachary

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[16]. Devid N. Gellner, *The Authropology of Buddhism and Hindusm,* (New Delhi : Oxford University Press, 2003 A.D.), pp. 134-135.

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mmunities in the later *bahas*".[17] Referring the distinctive feature of *Baha* and *Bahi* in vogue in Malla riod (during the time of Siddhinasimh Malla (1620 - 1662 A.D.) he writes – "*Bhasa Vasusavali* calls *bahi* inhabitants as *nirvanikvanaprastha* (as explained to Wright the inhabitants did not marry rough the manuscript makes it plain that they did". He writes - "B.V.contrasts *nivanikvanaprastha hara* i.e. *bahi* with the *sansaric Tantric Vihara* i.e. the *bahal* (B.V. 133b), The *bahis* were other orldly and forest dwelling, the *bahas* were the wordly *and Tantric, the bahi* were the lower schools in nich monks were first ordained and that when they had progressed sufficiently they moved onto a *has* where, they settled and married." [18] Scholars mention that the establishment of Buddhist onasteries seem to have been established after the covering of the eternal light called Svayambhu. nuwan Lal Pradhan writes that the Shakyas of Kapilvastu made *Viharas* during the life time of the ddha. He assumes that the Shakyas of Kapilvastu and Devadaha came to the Kathmandu Valley ring the life time of the Buddha and even afterwards. The native people of the Kathmandu Valley, pecially the *Nepars* i.e. *Newars* in general were supposed to have followed Buddhism during the time. he descendants of earlier Shakyas and new converts must have in course of time formed a big Buddhist mmunity. The community contained a large number of Buddhist *Viharas* consisting of monks and ns.[19] In this context, John K. Locke mentions that a large number of Buddhist *Viharas,* known in ewari *baha* or *bahi* existed. The general physical feature of a *baha -bahi* reveals Buddhist culture of e Shakyas and Vajracharyas. They constitute institutions i.e. the communities attached to the *Viharas* nown as *Sanghas.* These institutions still form the frame work of daily life of the Shakyas and ajracharyas. They show the rituals they performed, the festival observed and the initiation rites they ndertake. There is a wealth of materials preserved in the *Viharas* in the form of manuscripts and old cuments. He mentions 363 *Viharas* in the Kathmandu valley. The communities of the *Viharas* are the stodians of what is probably the oldest unbroken tradition on the practice of *Buddha Dharma.* [20] John Locke defines the two words *baha* (or *bahal)* and *bahi* (or *bahil*). The term *baha* is a corruption of e Sanskrit term *Vihara*. Inscriptions and references show various modifications of the term *Vihara* as *hara-bahara-bahal-bahal-baha*. The term *bahil* has also gone through similar evolution. The original anskrit term was *bahiri,* meaning outside. So it evolved *bahiri-bahira-bahi*. He also refers *bare,* a rruption of the Sanskrit term *Vande* or *Vandana*. He writes- "those who call themselves *bare, bhiksu, kyabhiksu* or Sakyamuni are in fact married". Before 1093 A.D. (213 N.S.) references of

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17. *Ibid*, f.n. No. 16, pp. 119, 151
18. *Ibid.*, f.n. No. 16, pp. 161-162.
19. Bhawan Lal Pradhan, *Shakyamuni*, the *Buddha and Shakya Heritage*, (Kathmandu : The Shakya Foundation Nepal 2005 A.D.), pp. 59-60.
20. Locke, f.n. No. 2, pp.III-V

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Vajracharya (Vajramaster) master of *Tantric* tradition and presumably married are found as t inhabitants of the *Viharas.* By the end of the Malla period there were no celibate monks however t inhabitants of the *Viharas* still call themselves *Bhikshu* or *Shakyabhikshu* and inhabitants of *bahi* Patan called themselves *brahmacaryabhikshu* (celibate monks).[21] These references clearly indicate th the celibate monks lived in *bahi and the* Vajracharyas lived in *bahal.* They were the custodians of t Buddhist community i.e. *Sangha* in the *bahi and Vihara.*

Michal Allen therefore writes that the *bahas* are the principal custodians of the Buddhist tradition in the Kathmandu Valley. They were celibate monks in the beginning. Later wealthy monks had married life and had they abandoned celibacy. However they called themselves *Shakya Bhikshu* in order to denote their lineage. Thus Newar Buddhism came to be known as Vajrayana Buddhism without monks.[22]

## 1.3. Statement of the Problems and Hypothesis

David N. Gellner making a right remark about the Newar Buddhism writes that the western scholars misunderstand Newar Buddhism. They have seen the Buddhism of Nepal as source of manuscripts, and nothing more; it was dismissed as degenerate left over, too Hinduized to teach us anything about Buddhist history or about how Mahayana works. [23] Landon writes quoting Sir Charles Eliot, - "A corrupt form of Buddhism still exists in Nepal." [24] This remark indicates that Buddhism in Nepal is referred as Hinduized and corrupt. There are the problems confronted by Nepalis Buddhism. Sanu Bhai Dangol, a Buddhist scholar also writes-" The earlier form of Buddhism was the religious movement mainly directed against caste system and animal sacrifice etc that existed in Hindu tradition. In between 400 to 1200 A.D. the Vajrayana Buddhism developed *Mantra* and *Tantra* in Mahayana tradition. With the beginning of Vajrayana tradition, Buddhism became more distorted and unjustifiable than Hindu tradition. The Vajrayana tradition which was mixed with the tradition of *Siddhacharyas* made Bhairavichakra in the name of Avalokiteshvara and *Bodhisattvas* and enjoyment with

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[21]. *Ibid.*, p.3.

[22]. Michel Allen, "Buddhism without Monks Newar Vajrayana Buddhism of the Kathmandu Valley" Shanker Thapa *(Edt) Newar Buddhism,* (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd., 2005), pp. 16-24

[23]. David N Gellner, "*Foreword*" Niels Gustshow's *Nepalese Caitya, 1500 years of Buddhist Votive Architecture in the Kathmandu Valley*, ( Stuttgart/London : Axel Monges, 1997 A.D.), p. 11.

[24]. Perceval Landon, *History of Nepal, Vol* II, (New Delhi : Adarsh Enterprises, Reprinted, 2001), pp.207, 214. During the Rana period this book was published with the title *Nepal* only .In the reprint the title is changed

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women. It introduced distorted tradition and defamed Buddhism." In this context he quotes the work of an Indian scholar Bharat Singh Upadhyaya. [25] Referring to the distortions and anomalies that appeared in Buddhism, Dangol writes that these appeared just after *Parinirvana* of Shakyamuni Buddha. He writes-" The *Bhikshus* and devotees ordained in Buddhism especially with the origin of Mahayana schism regarded Shakyamuni Buddha as *Devadhideva* (God of Gods). While regarding Shakyamauni Buddha as *Devadhideva* they believed that he had existed millions of aeons and will have his existence for unlimited aeons. In this context, they establish Shakyamuni Buddha as father of people as well as incarnation of Svayambhu (self emanated Buddha). In addition to that they explain in *Shradotpadshastra* Shakyamuni Buddha did not have his *Parinirvana,* His *Kaya (*body) is permanent. This hermeneutics undoubtedly indicate that it was the first step to this direction which Mahasanghika schism had taken. This concept will be clear from the study of Mahayana schism." Dangol mentions that this type of distortion appeared just after the *Parinirvana* of Shakyamuni Buddha. He writes – "An oldest *Bhikshu* Subhadra by name told the *Bhikshus* who were mourning or lammanting being grieved by the *Parinirvana* of the Buddha – Why should we lament? When he was alive, he made different rules to do this or not to do this. He had bound us by thes rules. Now there is none who says not to do this. Now we can do whatever we like. We have become free." Summing up the text *Saddharmapundarika* Dangol further writes- "*Saddharmapundarika* has termed Sthaviravada as Hinayana to degrade it ". He mentions – "After six hundred years of the *Parinirvana* of Shakyamuni Buddha Mahayana came into existence. With the development of Mahayana schism, it not only degraded Sthaviravada in its first text but also developed *Bhakti* tradition by giving *Pauranic* form to historical Buddha. In this regard, this tradition presented Shakyamuni Buddha as Almighty, omnipotent as well as Buddha incarnate." Pointing out distortions

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[25]. Sanu Bhai Dangol, "Baudha Itihaska Kehi Prithaharu, Baudha Dharmama Dekhapareka Vicharanharu Sambandhama Ek Adhyayena" (Some pages of Buddhist history. A study relating to distertions and mis uses in Buddhism) (Collection of artcle and counter articles), Bhaktapur , Madhyapur Thimi Nagadesh : Lyayemha Puchah, 2007 A.D. ), p.10. Cf. Bharat Singh Upadhyaya, *Baudha Darshan Tatha Anya Bharatiya Darshan* Pratham Bhag (Bauddha philosophy and and other philosophy Part I ), No place of publication, 1996 A.D., p.564. Upadhyaya writes-" During that time Buddhism introduced the system of making Bhairavichakra in the name of Avalokiteshvara and Bodhisattva and enjoyment with women.. In substance Buddhism established three elements i.e *Mantra, Hathayoga and Maithun* (sex) . We see two trends even in Mantrayana (1) Mantrayana (soft) 400 to 700 A.D.and Vajrayana 800 to 1200 A.D.The trends of Vajrayana in both the periods increasingly became harmful to the people. The main trendes of Vajrayana were *Mantra, Madhya, Hathayoga* and women which could never be the concepts of Nagarjuna.Vajrayana definitely destroyed the form os Buddhism. It is astonishing and matter of sorrow that they did not even miss incorporate them in their literature".

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of Buddhism in the Kadu-Hadu Valley Dangol remarks - "Truly speaking, Newar Buddhism has many distortions and anomalies. The main reason is that this tradition seems to have pushed it into deep ditch compared to other Vajrayana tradition. The main reason of it is that it led to the fall of Newar Vajrayana to ditch by the use of *Panchamakara* such as *Mamsa, Matya, Mudra, Madira* and *Maithun* in its rituals along with the recognition of caste system and animal sacrifice pervelaint in Hindu religion." He further gives negative remarks -"Again the other fact is that the only *Purana* of the world is *Svayambhu Purana* which was prepared to replace the Buddhism propounded by Shakyamuni Buddha. The *Purana* spreads the fact that Buddhism was in vogue in Nepal before the birth of Shakyamuni Buddha. It establishes the fact that Svayambhu hill was the residence of *Adi* Buddha. Actually these facts are the additional evils of Newar Buddhism and these are mainly instrumental in pushing Newar Buddhism to deep ditches. The followers of Newar Buddhism trade on Newar *Paubhas* (tapestries) which shows Buddhas as Taras in sexual embracing each other and really they pay obeiance to Dipankara Buddha instead of Shakyamuni Buddha. While paying obeiance to the deity they are not aware of the fact whether they are paying obeiance to Dipankara Buddha the predecessor of Shakyamuni Buddha or to Dipankara Shreejnana who went to Tibet via Nepal." In this connection Dangol recalls an issue he had once raised. The issue he raised was –" Whether Buddhism was in vogue in Nepal before the *Parinirvana* of Gautam Buddha"? He moreover writes – "With the rise of Vajrayana schism, not only distortions and anomalies appeared in Vajrayana schism but also it replaced Shakyamuni Buddha by a Yakshya, Vajradhara or Vajrasattva. By taking *Vajra*, the weapon of Indra symbolizing *Sunyata,* Vajradhara who holds *Vajra* or Vajrasattva was introduced in Buddhism as *Adi* Buddha. Then Shakyamuni Buddha was consequently replaced. Worshipping and paying obeisance to *Gurumandala* daily in Vajrayana Buddhism, Vajracharyas recite *Gurumandalarchana* composed by Advayavajra. The hymn mentions Vajradhara as *Guru* (teacher) of all sentient beings."[26]

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[26]. *Ibid.*,f.n. No. 25.pp.5-15. Cf. N. Aiyaswami, "Later Modification of Buddhism:Approach to Hinduism" ,*500 Years of Buddhism* (ed) Prof V.P Vapat, ( New Delhi : Ministry of Information and Broadcasting) No date,p.305. Aiyaswamy writes-" Buddhism as appears from the Pali *Nikayas* is a system founded entirely on ethical principles. It has no room for theism or the theistic way of life. In other words, the life of Buddha never entertained the idea of God or ruling over the destiny of mankind. Nor did he think much of prayer and worship (ayacana, or prarthana) as conceived by the Brahmins. Man's salvation, according to him lay not in prayer and worship but in his own right efforts and wisdom. This aspect of Buddha's teaching may be called salvation through works. When, however, we examine, Buddhist literature three or four centuries

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The researcher takes these remarks as extreme views.

Sridhar Rana contradicts some of the views of Dangol. Some of his views are worth considering. However, Dangol asserts his views. Again he mentions the distinctive feature of Newar Buddhism. In this connection he writes –"The followers of Buddhism in Nepal conceive that the main aim of Buddhism is to attain salvation. Buddhism bloomed here. Its main cause is the style of the Buddha in evolving this religion. Its followers take it as a pure sect."

This research work includes, two hypotheses i.e. (a) Buddhism in Nepal is syncretic in nature rather than an offshoot of Hinduism (b) Vajrayana Buddhism known as Newar Buddhism is holy Buddhism based on moral principles. Nepalis Buddhism has long tradition. It has to make compromise with other religions for its survival. Although some scholars have their negative remarks on Buddhism practised in Nepal, the religiosity of the people nevertheless cannot be ignored. Moreover Sanskrit Buddhism practisd in Nepal, Tibet, China and Japan or in south East Asia has not been studied in detail as Theravada was studied in a scientific way. Making wild remarks without understanding its true concept will lead us no where. . Thorough study has not been made on it. Its long tradition indicates its validity too. Corrupt tradition cannot survive for a long time. Undoubtedly, some abuses have crept in Buddhism practiced in Nepal, they need to be corrected. But the whole concept may not be taken in a negative way.

## 1.4. Scope

The title of research work itself indicates that its scope is wide and extensive. So it has to concentrate mainly on the growth and development of Buddhism in a comprehensive manner. Volumes and volumes of books are available on Buddhist philosophy and religion. It takes many years to go through these books. From conceptual point of view, these texts are very important. But this research work is mainly related with the history of Buddhism in Nepal. Literary works are found in great number but these are to be scanned with their distinctive features, period wise typologically. So this research work is limited

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later we find that Buddhism has assumed a form which had developed features quite alien to its original concepts. Mahayana Buddhism turned the human Buddha, Sakyamuni, into an eternal and supreme deity presiding over the world, ready to grant boons to his devotees. The historical Buddha is only an emanation sent down by the Adi Buddha to preach the *Dharma* and save mankind from ills. People now began to pray and worship him in order to please him so that he might guide them to salvation. Buddhism thus became Buddha cult *in Saddharma-pundarika, Gandavyuha* and other Mahayana *Sutras*."

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to the historical aspects of Buddhism in Nepal only with a little focus on conceptual aspects. Moreover, it has referred to only relevant information derived from the religious texts. The religious texts include many myths and legends which are common to both India and Nepal.Slusser writes-" The story of *Vyaghrini Jataka* narrates the accounts relating to the Buddha feeding the starving tigress. In the original *Jataka*, the Buddha, incarnate as prince Mahasattva of the *Panchalas* gave his own body to feed a starving tigress of the northern India. In Nepali version the locale of the story is shifted to Panauti, east of the Kathmandu Valley, and prince Mahasattva becomes the Panauiti ruler's son". [27] Exploration on such issue has no end. This research also deals with such accounts of the chronicles and *Puranas* to reveal the features of the religion in the eyes of common people based on tradition. Such narratives are created to make the creed more popular among the people.

## 1.5. Methodology

The following research methodology is adopted to prepare this research work.

1. Field visits of areas for observation and material collection.
2. Exploration and consultation of the unpublished thesis and research papers, manuscripts etc. available in the library, archives, monasteries and in the collection of some individuals.
3. Study of relevant standard published books and research articles.
4. Collection of information from the specified Buddhist practioners on the basis of questionnaires prepared for this purpose.
5. Collection of information from contemporary news papers, journals and magazines.
6. Adoption of meta- analysis process-.Use qualitative data with verification of quantitative data by interviews, observation and personal experience.
7. Use historical sources such as the published and unpublished reports of archaeological excavations in the Kathmandu Valley and terai and books on inscriptions, coins and monuments.

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[27]. Mary Sepherd Slusser, *Nepal Mandala, A cultural Study of Kathmandu Valley*, Vol. I, (New Jersy : Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1992, p. 303.

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8. Use information derived from operational researches carried on with the financial assistance of UNESCO when the researcher worked as coordinator of Cultural Committee in Nepal National Commission for UNESCO. The researcher also used information derived from his own personal experience as an employee of HMG in the Department of Archaeology and Cultural Ministry and visits of important Buddhist sites.

9. Resources available from the interactions and interview with the scholars and resource persons. They have greatly helped in making a refined approach.

The questionnaires made for the research are mainly related with the concept and practice of Buddhism in historical context. 90% responded that they have no idea of history of Buddhism. They say that they woraship *Bodhisattvas*, recite *Namasangiti, Avalokkiteshvar Mantras* and also worship the holy test *Prajnaparamita.* They believe on Buddhist Trinity. They do not perform. *Shravakashila*.. But they observe austerity on the day of *Ashtami* and *Punhi* (8th bright day and full moon day) they worship Svayambhu, *Avalokiteshvara* Karunamaya. They believe that Vajarayana Buddhism is their sect and it is pure. They also read the *Nava Sutra Sangraha* and listen to the religious preaching of the Vajracharyas. 10% say that the questions being specific the experts only would be able to answer them. They question how the creed could be impure which aim at purity of mind, body and action. A. respondent Vajracharya of Patan says that their aim is *Sunyata* (voidness) and realization of truth. These are eighteen kinds of *Sunyata.* He being the student of Buddhism at Buddhist studies is concerned with transcendental aspect of Buddhism. A respondent Vajrachaya of Mani Singh *Mahavihar,* Musum Bahal said that Vajrachayas believe that rebirth is caused by the merits attained by performing right action. They believe an austerity practice (*Vrata).* They also believe on astrology. They observe *Panchadana* annually and participate in *Bahapuja.* One another Vajracharya of Museum *Bahal* said that they believe that they perform *Homa* (fire sacrifice) for *Naga Sadhana* for rainfall. The respondents thus reveal the devotional and ritual aspects of Buddhism which they had followed perpetually.

Interview and interactions with the Buddhists and other scholars provided qualitative information. These are found to be useful tools to confirm the same information. Hem Raj Shakya one of the prominent Buddhist scholar said with reference

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to *Lalitavistara* that all deities including Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwor greeted prince Siddhartha at Lumibini at the latter's birth. The account indicates the deification of prince Siddhartha. One another scholar emphasized the Buddha way of life should be promoted. Laksman Shakya of Jor Ganesh said that Mahayana has its origin in the first century A.D. after the fourth *Sanghayana* held in Kashmir during the sign of Kanishka (78/10 A.D.). Lord Buddha preached middle path of *Shila*, *Samadhi, Prajna* (discipline mental fixity and wisdom) by turning the wheel of law. He further said that the account of Krakucchanda and Kanagmana (Kanakmuni) Buddha's births in Kapilvastu is based on legend. This version is questioned by other scholars. Vajra Raj Shakya said that Vajrayana begins from the three basic points i.e. *Nairatma* (nonsoul), *Karuna* (compassion) and *Bodhicitta* (awakened mind) and Svayambhu represents the ultimate reality of the world. Thus interview with the scholars is found to be useful tool to confirm information, derived from literary sources.

## 1.6. Review of Literature

Many books provide information about Buddhism but only a few books deal the history of Buddhism in Nepal. Scholars, who have written history of Buddhism deal with only certain period and certain aspects of Buddhism. A thorough and detail research work on complete history of Buddhism in Nepal is lacking. It does not mean that resource materials are scasrce. Besides other literature there are books written by local and foreign writers in this field. For the selection of books for review the following criterions are adopted.

a. Relevancy of the subject matter.

b. Authenticity and reliability of the resource materials.

c. Historicity of the materials.

d. Relevancy with the research topic.

Among the foreign writers the research work on history of Buddhism was done by Rajendra Ram. His work deals with the history of Buddhism in Nepal from the 8$^{th}$ to the 14$^{th}$ century. Although it partially deals with the history of Buddhism in Nepal, it is befitting to the standard from research point of view. In the preface of the book the author writes that it is the product of the author's thesis work (1964-68 A.D.) for Patna

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University (Department of History). In the introductory sources, the author mentions different sources of the history of Buddhism which become guidelines to the new researcher in the field of Buddhism. He says that Regmi's published works provide some matters for correlating with Satya Mohan Joshi's work *Nepali Rastriya Mudra* (Nepali) for information regarding religious syncretism in Nepal. Rajendra Ram's research is found to be very much useful for writing the accounts of early medieval period. His exposition on the Buddhism from the eight to the fourteenth century known as the age of *Siddhas,* preachers and Vajracharya *Gurus* reveals the very popular Matsyendra cult of Nepal in the history of Buddhism. [28] Matsyendranath is worshipped by the Buddhists, Shaivites,Vaishnavites. Shaktas, Sauryas (Sun worshippers). It is the ideal model of syncretism in Nepal. It is relevant to this research work. Rajendra Ram's approach is creditable. However his book does not present the complete history of Buddhism in Nepal from primordial time to present time which has been covered by this work.

Perceval Landon's work also throws some light on the history of Buddhism in Nepal. In the preface of his book he writes- "Nepal is full of antiquities and relics of the past", "Emperor Ashoka set up for ever the pillar to witness that there the Blessed one was born." [29] He wrote his book, with the resource materials made available to him by Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher (1901-1929A.D.). He owes his gratefulness to Dr. Old-field and Dr. Wright for the resources he obtained. Regarding Wright edited chronicle, he says that people regard Wright edited chronicle no better than records of legends and traditions. He suggests that they should be taken as the literary source. Regarding archaeology he says- "Early Buddhist relics or later inscription elude the students. With reference to the legend of Gautam Buddha's visit to the Kathmandu Valley, he writes that Ashoka's visit confirms the fact. He also attributes to Emperor Ashoka for the act of erecting the five *Stupas* of Patan. The fact is justified by the local scholars on many grounds. It is proved to be erroneous. Vol. I of his work mentions- "Buddhas of more than one reincarnation are recorded" "Some form of Buddhism was kept awake in the Valley." [30] In Vol. II he has given Appendix XV in which he mentions in detail the rise and fall of Buddhism in Nepal. He also refers to the struggle Buddhism had to undergo with polytheistic animism in some parts of India. He says that the Buddhists were not

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28. Ram, f.n. No. 1, pp. 18-32.
29. Landon, f.n. No 10, pp. XVII, XII.
30. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 18

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easily driven out from Bengal. Then Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet remained Buddhist sanctuaries. He presents his views in keeping with the views of S.Levi. His comparison of *Manushi* (human) Buddhas with spiritual Buddhas in the context of the Buddhas of past, present and future are worth mentioning. Landon's reference of Charles Eliot's comment on the Buddhism of Nepal is denounced by the scholars. However, Charles Eliot's work is referred as most critical on Buddhism in the first quarter of 20th century. Landon's remark on the Buddhism of Nepal particularly the reference of "Some kind of Buddhism exists in Nepal" is laudable in view of originality of Nepalis Buddhism. Either it may be holy Buddhism or primitive Buddhism or free thinking Buddhism as he mentioned that a particular form of Buddhism existed in Nepal. His remarks give food for thought in the study of Buddhism in Nepal. [31]

Daniel Wright, in the preface of his work writes that he was Resident in Nepal for ten years i.e. (1866-1876). He wrote what he had observed and knew by inquiry. It was during the time of Rana Prime Minister Jang Bahadur (1846-1887 A.D.), he wrote it. The book consists of two portions. The first portion consists of five chapters. In the second portion he gives account of the Kathmandu Valley as an eye witness. He describes both Hindu and Buddhist shrines which include Pashupatinath, Bauddhanath and Svayambhunath.[32] He also gives account of the people of Nepal, their distinctive characteristics. He says that the Newars, Limbus, Kiratas and Bhotiyas are Buddhists. Their religion has singularly mixed with Hinduism. He emphasizes on the syncretic cult of Nepal. The second portion of the book is the translation of the Buddhist *Vamsavali.* The cover page of the book mentions that it is translated by Munshi Shew Shanker Singh and Pandit Shree Gunananda from the *Parbatiya* (*BhasaVamsavli*). The first chapter of the second portion begins from the mythological account of Svayambhu which includes the account of homage of seven *Manushi* Buddhas to *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu. He also gives account of sage "Ne." It shows Wright's neutral approach. Being a Buddhist *Vamsavali,* it mentions- "Svayambhu (who has come from *Akanist Bhuvan*) and appeared in the form of light on the day of full moon of *Aswin.*" [33] It shows the secular aspect of the *Vamsavali* when it is mentioned that Svayambhu came down from heaven. The *Vamsavali* mentions myths and legends which are based on the Buddhist tradition.

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31. *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 211-227.
32. Wright, f.n. No 6, pp. 22-24.
33. *Ibid*, p. 78.

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Scholars say that they should be taken literary rather than the events as mentioned in Landon's remark. One of the myths narrates a story relating to Narendradeva who relinquished the world as a recluse (*Bhikshu*). Varadeva could not bear it. He moved his palace to Mangala Bhatta Durbar of Lalitpur from Madhyalakhu. Gorakh Nath came to Nepal during his reign. He got the reflection that Buddhas appeared in the form of *Sachitha* (Existence and thought) produced *Panchatattva* (five elements) and took the name of five Buddhas. The fourth Buddha by name Padmapani *Bodhisattva*, son of Amitabha sprang from his mind, set in the state of *Samadhi* (deep meditation) called *Lokasansarjana*. The *Adi* Buddha (Svayambhu) then named him *Lokeshvara* and gave him the duty of creating the world. He then created *Brahma* and other Gods. [34] This version ignores the dating of the event which reveals the speculative nature of the story. Moreover, all forms of Buddhism do not believe on God. Therefore scholars say that such accounts may be taken literary. Wright edited *Vamsavali* being Buddhist it is found to be very much useful for this research work.

Luciano Petech in his work has divided the history of Nepal into four periods 1) Licchavi and their successors (c.400-750), 2) The Thakuris and early Mallas (c.750-1480), 3) The three Malla kingdoms (c.1480-1768) and 4) The Gorkha dynasty (after 1768 A.D.). In the introduction of his work Petech mentions- "after the second quarter of the 8th century i.e. after Pasupatinath's *Prasasti* (eulogy) of Jayadeva, epigraphy, numismatics and foreign sources abruptly stop down to about 1000 A.D.". "There are some isolated inscriptions in the 11th and 12th century but epigraphy starts again at the end of 14th century". As a result of it, history of Nepal stops from 750-1000 A.D. This gap is filled by the contradictory materials of chronicles and mythology prevails in that period. He refers that the gap is filled by S. Levi's *Le Nepal* Vol. II, (Paris: 1905, pp. 172-239). Then he refers a paper of C. Bendal, *A History of Nepal and Surrounding Kingdoms* (1000-1600) (published in JASB, LXXXII (1903), pp. 1-32 reprinted as H.P. Shastri's Catalogue of the Durbar Library). He collected many unpublished materials and revised chronology on the basis of colophons. [35] The colophons throw light on religious and literary history of the period. This research works referred these colophons of Nepalis Mss. The colophons exhibited most copious and reliable materials. At the end of the work, the scribes give brief

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34. *Ibid*, p. 140.
35. Luciano Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal*, (Rome : ISMEO, Oriente, 1958), pp. 1-3.

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statements and mention the date of copying, names of reigning kings, places of writing, names of the copyist, names of the sponsor and other indications which are found to be very much reliable. [36] Rahula Sankrityayana also found Nepalis Mss. at the Samaya monastery of Tibet. He brought 22 mule loads of Tibetan books, paintings and other things in 1930 A.D. These manuscripts included colophons of Nepalis scribes written in religious scriptures such as *Saddharmapundarika*, the very popular treatise of Mahayana Buddhism. These are found to be very much useful in sketching the history of Buddhism, identification of *Viharas* and popularity of the creed in ancient Nepal.[37]

Mary Shepherd Slusser in her work has critically made review of Buddhism of the Kathmandu Valley. She says that she has given twentieth century complement to useful nineteenth century observations. [38] She has given accounts of Buddhism of the Kathmandu Valley beginning from *Gun Vihara.* She has traced the features of Buddhism in Licchavi period. She has explained that Mahayana exposed the theory of *Bodhisattva*, an enlightened one who defers *Nirvana (*salvation*)* to others in its attainment. It is a departure from the orthodox Hinayana. She cites Tibetan historian Taranath's version who says- "In the small country of Nepal [the Buddhist doctrine] was extremely active [there] the Mantrayana and Mahayana were strong, and though in general there were quite a large number of (Theravadians) disciples of (*Shravakas*), all the kings and nobility honored Mahayana. This shows the status of Buddhism in Nepal. Explaining the syncretic features of Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley, she points out that the Buddhist *Sanghas* enjoyed considerable autonomy like Shaiva community in the Licchavi period. The Licchavi rulers often granted whole village to the jurisdiction of *Sangha.* She mentions that Buddhism appears to have reached zenith during the transitional period. She says- "in the transitional period Patan, at least with its interlinking *Vihara* had become essentially a Buddhist University Centre, not unlike the celebrated ones of Bengal and Bihar." Sketching the history of Buddhism in early medieval and medieval period, she marks the development of monasticism during those periods, although there was no decline of practicing Buddhists. Talking about contemporary Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley, she writes that Buddhist *Viharas* flourished even in Hinduized

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36. *Ibid*, p. 10.
37. Ram, f.n. No.1, p. 73.
38. Slusser, *f.n. No 27*, pp. 25, 271.

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Bhaktapur. She gives the comprehensive pictures of the rites and rituals conducted in the *Viharas* of the Kathmandu Valley from cultural point of view. Her assessment seems realistic. Her general approach from cultural point of view is not all relevant to this research work but her specific approach is relevant and reference of her work is found to be very much helpful for this study.[39]

Badri Ratna Vajracharya in his work gives account of Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas*. Chapter one of his works gives account of the plantation of lotus seed by Vipashvi Buddha in the lake water of *Naga-vas-daha*. Chapter two relates the story of the origin of Svayambhu during the time of the visit of Shikhi Buddha. Chapter three narrates the account of *Naga-vas- daha* being made habitable during the time of Vishvabhu Buddha. Chapter four includes the account of the origin of Bagmati and Keshavati (Vishnumati) during the time of the visit of Krakucchanda Buddha to Svayambhu. Chapter five is related with the accounts of *Ashtavitaragas*. It includes the legends of 1) prince Gokarna 2) Kulikanagaraja 3) Sarvapal Vaidya 4) Manjugarta 5) Odiyanacharya 6) Ganesh 7) Ashtasiddhi 8) Takshyka Nagaraja related with 1)Manjulingesvara Vitaraga 2) Kulesvara Vitaraga 3) Gokarnesvara Vitaraga 4) Kumbhesvara Vitaraga 5) Gartesvara Vitaraga 6) Phanikesvara Vitaraga 7) Gandesvara Vitaraga 8) Adesvara Vitaraga respectively. This chapter also includes the account of 1) Punyatirtha of Gokarna 2) Shantatirtha of Guhesvari, 3) Shankertirtha related with the story of cowherd 4) Rajtirtha related with Sarthavaha Kotikarna's tragedy 5) Manorathtirtha of Tokha related with the story of Manamaya 6) Nirmaltirtha of Bhachakhusi (Shobhabhagavati) related with the story of Vajrapad Acharya 7) Nidhanatirtha related with a story of a gambler Dinachuda 8) Jnanatirtha (Karahkhusi) related with the story of Ajnanasindhu Raja 9) Chintamanitirtha (Tekudobhan) related with the story of Kotikarna Sarthavaha 10) Promodatirtha (Danagal) related with the story of Danasur 11) Sulakshyanatirtha related with the story of a king,minister and a merchant of Gaud 12) Jayatirtha related with the story of the spouse of Danasur. Chapter six is related with the legend of Dharmashree Mitra ordained by Manjudevacharya. Chapter seven is related to the legend of the erection of Svayambhu *Caitya*. Sahantikaracharya covered it by *Dharmadhatu Caitya*. Chapter eight is related with the story of Karkotaka Nagaraja. Chapter nine is related with the fetching of Lokanath from Kamarukamakhya and naming of twenty one *Upatirthas*. Chapter ten

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[39]. *Ibid*, pp. 274-294.

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consists of the legend of Chuda *Bhikshuni*.[40] This work gives emphasis on *Chaturbrahmaviharas*. It consists of many myths and legends that look like parables. They glorify Svayambhu and other holy places. However, these stories seem to have been created from religious point of view as *Mahatmyas* with special emphasis on *Ashtamivrata* and *Purnimavrata* (rituals relating to the austerities performed on the eight day of the bright half and full moon day). These stories are stated to have been added later on. However these stories are referred to as narrated by Shakyamuni Buddha to Maitreya *Bodhisattva* in the *Mahapurana*. In the preface of the book Dibyavajra Vajracharya writes –"*Svayambhu Mahapurnana* mentions that the people in Nepal pay homage to Pashupatinath and Svayambhu without distinction between Shiva and Buddha. Here nationality, religion and culture are mixed like milk in the water. The *Svayambhu Mahapurana* includes six former Buddhas i.e. Vipashvi, Shikhi, Vishvabhu, Krakucchanda, Kanakmuni and Kashyap. During the time of these Buddhas, Shakyamuni worked as *Bodhisattva.*" Yajnaman Pati Vajracharya, in the foreword of the book writes- "Buddhas existed long before Shakyamuni Gautam Buddha. Shakyamuni Gautam Buddha was not only *Shasta* (teacher or *Guru*) in Buddhism there were other Buddhas too. The distinguishing feature of *Svayambhu Purana* is that the images of *Dhyani* Buddhas as Vairochana, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha and Amoghasiddhi and their spouses Mamaki, Lochani, Padmini and Tara are no where mentioned in *Svayambhu Purana*. Therefore this *Purana* seem tohave been composed long before the *Panchadhyani* Buddhas and four Taras were imagined. The *Panchadhyani* Buddhas and Taras were mentioned firstly in *Tathagata Guhyaka,* work of Asanga about 1700 years ago. Although some hymns similar to those referred to in *Tathagata Guhyaka* are mentioned in *Manjushreemulakalpa* relating to *Dhyani* Buddhas *Svayambhu Purana* seems to have been composed much earlier than this. However *Svayambhu Purana* is referred to as the first text among the Buddhist literary texts." He further mentions that the stories relating to *Ashtavitaraga* and *Dvadashatirtha* might have been added later on.[41]

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[40]. Badri Ratna Vajracharya, *Svayambhu Mahapurana* (in Nepal Bhasha, Translated by Phanindra Ratna Vajracharya), (Kathmandu : Aasananda Swadharma Vihara,2005 A.D.), p.3

[41]. Dibya Vajra and Yajnaman Pati Vajracharya," Preface and Foreword", *Svayambhu Mahapurana* by Badri Ratna Vajracharya ( Kathmandu : Aasananda Swadharma Vihara,2005 A.D.),pp.7-13.

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Hem Raj Shakya's book is the product of his research work done meticulously for 22 years in his professional career.[42] It is written in *Nepal Bhasa* and very recently translated into English. He has given 313 inscriptions and 274 icons available in Svayambhu complex in this book. He has mentioned the list of *Sutra, Mantra, Dharani Strotra* (hymns) and accounts inscribed on stones according to *Tantra.* He also refers to the number of *Guthis* (trusts), feasts and festivals of Svayambhu which remain as the intangible and oral cultural heritage of Nepal relating to Buddhism. He refers to Svayambhu as the holiest of holy sites of Nepal. On the basis of *Sugatavadana, Pancharakshya Svayambhu Purana,* he illustrates the seven *Manushi* (human) Buddhas and places of pilgrimage in Nepal. His introductory remark itself is an elaborate account of Buddhism from primordial time and various stages of development which are very useful for this research work. The preface of this book written by Asha Ram Shakya also highlights the growth and development of Buddhism in Nepal. Svayambhu exists as the centre of Buddhism and as a shrine for the *Shravkayana*, Hinayana, Theravada, Mahayana (Bodhisattvayana) and Vajrayana.[43] The Hindus worship *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu and *Nairatma* (Guhesvari) as Shiva and *Shakti.* It exists as a symbol of syncretism. However, the author of this book seems to have been motivated to make Svayambhu a centre of pilgrimage. His work seems to be devotional in nature.

In his another work, the author explains in detail about the origin and development of *Samyak Mahadana,* very popular in the Buddhist tradition of Nepal. Referring to *Gopalrajavamsavali,* the author mentions that the tradition of *Samyek Mahadana* seems to have appeal during the Licchavi period. Shivadeva I made *Nandishala Vihara* and hosted *Sanghabhoj* in honor of *Arya Sangha* on the occasion of the consecration of the *Vihara.* With reference to the great image of Dipankara and worshipping Svayambhu *Caitya* consisting of *Panca* Buddha *known as Thasandyo* during *Samyek*, the author highlights the merit of *Samyek Mahadana.* He suggests that during the joint rule of Bhojdeva, Rudradeva and Laksmikamadeva in 1015 A.D. (135 N.S.), *Samyek* festival was celebrated in *Lhon Vihara,* Patan. During that time Sujan Bhadra, expert in *Yoga,* preached Buddhism after making the *Vihara.* The holy text *Ashtasahasrika*

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42. Hem Raj Shakya, *Shree Swayambhu Mahachaitya*, (Kathmandu : Swayambhu Vikas Mandal, 1978 A.D., (N.S. 1098), p. 31.
43. Asha Ram Shakya (preface), Shree Swayambhu Mahachaitya, (Kathmandu : Swayambhu Vikas Mandal, 1978 A.D.), p. 8.

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*Prajnapasamita* was copied. Dipankara Buddha's images were worshipped. It makes it clear that *Samyek* festivals were held at different times. It is also stated that Dipankar Buddha is known as *Samedyo* (the deity of *Samyek*). He mentions that Akshyashree, a celibate monk of *Pulchowk Mahavihara* celebrated *Samyek* in 1445 A.D. (565 N.S.) making gold gilted idol of Dinpankara Buddha. He gives example of many people who celebrated *Samyek* in the Valley. The devotees donate *Pindapatra* or *Gulupa* on this occasion. During the medieval period, the Malla rulers did not prohibit to play music Band during *Samyek* festival even in their mourning period. They facilitated the festival by making their graceful presence in it. The tradition of *Samyek* continued even in the Rana period. The author explains the rituals of *Samyek* in detail giving exposure on its mythological background. He describes the eight kinds of *Samyek Bhoj* and relates it with the eight fold noble path of Buddhism. *Samyek* festival, *Naran* (*Navadana*) and *Panchadana* are regarded as the acts of great merit in the Buddhist tradition. He also mentions the sites of *Samyek* and placing of Dipankara Buddha in row. He also gives the list of *Samyek* deities of the three cities of the Valley.[44]

Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Kamal P. Malla translated *Gopalrajavamsavali* in Nepali and English.[45]. It is the old *Vamsavali*. Prof. Cecil Bendal of Britain and Hara Prasad Shastri of Bengal wrote descriptive bibliography of the manuscripts preserved in Bir Library (present National Archives). Bendal found a manuscript written in Sanskrit and *Nepal Bhasa* in *Bhujimol* script. It includes the account of Nepal beginning from the origin of Pashupati during the time of Gopal rulers. It has the accounts of Nepal up to1389 A.D. (N.S. 509.) which mark the reign of Jayasthiti Malla. Dhanavajra translated the MS written in the Sanskrit and *Nepal Bhasa* into Nepali and Kamal P. Malla translated it into English. It is published under the title "*The Gopalrajavamsavali*" by Nepal Research Centre. It is Brahminical *Vamsavali* written with secular approach. However, its approach is neutral. It depicts Jayasthiti Malla as the incarnation of *Ashtalokapala* (Indra, Yama, Varuna, Kuber, Agneya, Nairitya, Vayu, and Ishan). The *Vamsavali* emphasizes syncretic approach which was the feature of the Malla period.

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44. Hem Raj Shakya, *Samyek Mahadana Guthi* (in Nepal Bhasa) (Samyek Charity Trust), (Kathmandu : Jagatdhar Tuladhar, 1980 A.D.), p. 15-16.

45. Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Kamal Prakash Malla, The *Gopalrajavamsavali*, (Kathmandu : Nepal Research Centre, No. 9, 1985 A.D.), p. 38..

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Harischandra Lal Singh gives general sketch of history of Buddhism in Nepal in his book. [46] The title of the book itself makes it clear that it gives the overall general view of Buddhism in Nepal. From literary and religious point of view, the book seems to be meaningful and attracts the reader. However, the book sketches the development of Buddhism in general. In the preface he mentions- "There is not much historical information about the development of Buddhism in Nepal except about the rituals, myths, legends and stories about the Buddha as contained in *Jataka* tales and the Mahayana and Vajrayana literature." The author categorically admits that he has simply referred to the literary sources such as myths and legends and accounts of *Vamsavali* as the source of his works without verifying the accounts from epigraphic and other historical sources such as archaeology and so on. The author has quoted some of the renowned scholars on Buddhism which are referred in this research work.

Min Bahadur Shakya's work gives a brief account of Buddhism of Nepal starting from the Buddha's period. [47] In the preface of this work, Charles M. Novak remarks - "From the scant materials available on this subject, it is clear that all major trend in the development of Buddhist thought and practice were presenting Nepal during the time (Ca 350 - 850 A.D.)" Novak was working for the last few years on Buddhism in Licchavi period. To sun up his overview of Buddhism during the Licchavi period, Mahayana Buddhism in its developed form was dominant, but strong influences persisted from Buddhism as represented in its early development by the eighteen schools of Buddhism. New influence from the emerging *Tantric* schools of Buddhism such as Sahajayana and Vajrayana were beginning to be absolved by the Newar inhabitants of the Valley. Indian schools of Buddhism were not active during this early period of Nepal history. The text like *Nava Granta* was certainly known during this period. The vitality of Buddhist *Viharas* indicates the flourishing of all forms of Buddhist expression in the Licchavi period. [48] Shakya mentions that the discovery of three Ashokan pillars revealed the native towns of three Buddhas viz. Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni and Shakyamuni at Gotihawa, Niglihawa and Lumbini. The author gives overview of mythological accounts of

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46. Harischandra Lal Singh, *Buddhism in Nepal: A Brief Historical Introduction*, (Lalitpur : Satish Singh, 1990), p. 3.
47. Min Bahadur Shakya, *A Short History of Buddhism in Nepa*l, (Lalitpur : Young Buddhist Publication, 1986 A.D.), pp 1- 65.
48. Charles M. Novak, *"Preface A Short History of Buddhism in Nepal,"* (Lalitpur : Young Buddhist Publication, 1986 A.D.), No page number.

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Svayambhu Purana and visit of Arya Nagarjuna, founder of Madhyamika philosophy to Svayambhu *Stupa* around 200 A.D., then by Mahayana philosopher Vasubandhu who recited *Usnis Vijaya Dharani* formula work for three times and expired. To summarize Shakya's accounts Vrisadeva erected an image of *Dharmaraja Lokeshvara* near *Maitirajya Caitya* in Patan and set up *Pancha Buddha* near Godavari. During the later part of the 7th century Lord Karunamaya (*Bungam Lokeshvara*) was brought from Kamarupa (Assam). In the year 657 A.D. Emperor of China, Hein sent his Ambassador Wang Hiuen Tse to offer his robes to Svayambhu. The account of Indian Buddhist's contribution to Nepal is also laudable. These include the accounts of Shantirakshita, Padmasambhava, Atisha Dipankara, Sunyashree Mishra, Vagishvarakirti and Vanaratna. This work includes the contribution of Nepalis Buddhist scholars such as Phamtinpa and his brothers, Shantibhadra, Paindapa and contribution of Tibetan Buddhists in Nepalis Buddhism. The author also shows the impact of the Muslim invasion in eastern India. He also mentions the later visit of Tibetan Buddhists and establishment of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in the Kathmandu Valley. The work also mentions that the Gotihawa and Niglihawa Ashokan pillars indicate the birthplace of Krakucchanda and Kanakamuni Buddha which is attested by the accounts of Fahiyan and Hiuen Tsang. The work gives tradition of celebrating *Chaitra Purnima* (March) in memory of Vipashvi Buddha, *Mesasankranti* (new year day of Nepalis calendar) in memory of Shikhi Buddha and *Maghasukla Panchami* (5th day of bright half of January) in memory of *Bodhisattva* Manjushree. He gives account of *Nagasadhana*, story of *Vyagri Jataka* in relation to Shakyamuni's former birth. He also narrates the story of Krakucchanda Buddha's paying homage to Svayambhu and *Nairatmadevi*, concert of Hevajra. Some of the descriptions reveal that these accounts pre related with myth and legends and the stories which came down from generation to generation. This work although is in booklet form gives a short history of Buddhism from primordial period to the present day. It is found to be relevant to this research work.[49]

In the "Foreword" of the book,[50] written by Bhuwan Lal Pradhan, Deva Kaji Shakya highlights that this book deals with origin of Shakya dynasty, pursuits of Triple Gem -

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49. Shakya, f.n. No. 47, pp.1-65.
50. Deva Kaji Shakya "Fore word", *Shakyamuni, The Buddha And Shakya Heritage* by Bhuwan Lal Pradhan, (Kathmandu : The Shakya Foundation 2005 A.D.), pp. V-VIII.

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*Buddha, Dharma and Shangha* and teachings of Shakyamuni Buddha. He mentions that the Shakya community has distinct rituals such as *'Bandya or Bare Chhuyegu'* (ordination) and *Sangha* tradition i.e. (order and discipline) rites and rituals of *Bahal* and *Bahils*, Buddhist festivals like *Samyek, Pancadana, Mataya* of Patan and *Baha Puja* etc. Writing "A Few Words" Harsha Muni Shakya writes that the Shakyas not only started trade and commerce in Tibet, they made *'Ratna Caitya'* in Tibet and Buddha Bhadra spread Buddhism in China. Ratna Gupta Shakya *Bhikshu* of *Jamalagranti Mahavihara* of Koliyagram went to preach Buddhism in Jumala in the 12th Century. [51] In this book the author mentions the sources of the work viz. *Dighanikaya, Majjhimanikaya, Attakathas* (commentaries), *Nidanakathas,* Introductions to Jatakas of birth stories), chronicles of Sri Lanka, scriptures of Tibet, *Lalitavistara, Abhiniskramana Sutta* (discourses on the Great Renunciation), epic like *Buddhacarita* etc. It is stated that the Buddha preached many *Sutras* both in Kapilvastu and Devedaha and emigrants from there spread Buddhism to far away countries. The Buddha made several visits to his native land. Quoting E.J. Thomas the author writes that Virudhaka, the king of Koshala destroyed Kapilvastu in 491 B.C.

In his work, the author gives a vivid description of the migration of the Shakyas to the Kathmandu Valley. The Danwars and Majhis came to the Kathmandu Valley in the 6th century B.C, even before the Shakayas started coming from Kapilvastu. Quoting Gen. Cunningham's work in Sanchi i.e. inscription found in 1914, the author mentions that Sthavira Kashyapa one of the members of Ashoka's *Dharma* mission, spread Buddhism in the Valley. He further mentions that not only the Shakyas and Koliyas (known as Shakyavamshi) but also the Licchavis and Mallas, inhabiting outlying areas of Nepal, came to the Valley as refugees. The Buddhists both monks and laities, came to the Valley during the life time of the Buddha and even afterwards. They followed their own religion unhindered. The local people, especially the *Nepars* i.e. (Newars), being influenced by their graceful and harmless ways of life followed their religion. The author points out that the Buddhists including Shakyas came under Mahayani Buddhism in the first century A.D. and by the 4th century A.D. they had greater hold in the Valley. The Shakyas began to construct elegant *Caityas* and Mahayani monasteries known as *Bahils* and *Bahals.* Each family of these Shakyas came to be separately attached to this or that one *Bahil* or

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[51]. Harsha Muni Shakya, op cit, pp. XI, XIX.

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*Bahal*. The author writes that Nepals Buddhists came under the influence of Mahayana sect by the end of the 5th century A.D. With the growing popularity of Vajrayana *Tantric* philosophy around eight century A.D., a new class of Buddhist priests known as Vajrachaya came into existence. They had matrimonial relations with the Shakyas.

He gives clear description of *Chudakarma* (hair cutting ceremony). The author mentions that a Vajrachaya boy is required to be ordained like a Shakya boy and then again initiated into Vajrachaya priesthood. The ordination ritual authorizes him to be a competent member of his respective *Bahil* of *Bahal*. As a novice monk he is expected to be acquainted with the essence of Buddhist teachings and practice the ten noble precepts for four days. At the end of the period, the preceptor allows him to give up yellow robe and go back home to live layman Buddhist life. After the compulsory ordination the Shakyas and Vajracharyas are called *Bandya* (i.e. *Vandaniya* or *Bande* revered). The term *Bandya* in short form exists as *Banra* or *Bare*. All families attached to *Bahil* or *Bahal* constitute official member of its *Sangha* or its *Guthi* (a guild like organization). The author also describes *Samyek* festival (the biggest Mahayani congregation) of the Valley. The donors spend a lot of money to organize *Samyek* ceremoney. In this ceremony Buddhist divinities i.e. (images of Buddhas, *Budhisattvas,* Dipankara, Taras etc.) belonging to all Mahayani monasteries are invited in this festivals. All laities are expected to participate in the gathering. The king is invited as a highly honored guest. Various items of Buddhist food are offered to the deities, invitees and participants. All items of *Samyek* food are regarded as holy and auspicious.

The author writes that the origin of *Samyek* is attributed in the first legendary Buddha Dipankara who is said to have blessed Sumedha, who according to *Buddhavamsha*, was later on born as prince Siddhartha, the would be historical Buddha. The author however, assumes that *Samyek* ceremony might have been originated by Atisha Dipankara (982 - 1055 A.D.). He also makes reference of *Samyek* of Naga Bahal Patan. It is known to have been instituted by Bhali Bharo (or Bhalibharad) a Thakuri descendant of king Bhaskardeva of about (1039 - 1055 A.D.). But the exact data of its beginning is not known. The author refers that *Samyek* ceremony is observed in Bhaktapur only one day on the 1st of Magh (December). In Kathmandu *Samyek* in held once in twelve years on the 1st day of Magh, in Patan once in five years. In Patan *Samyek* festival is held on the3rd and 4th day of the dark half of Falgun (February). It is attributed to the legend of

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Dipankara Buddha who is supposed to have come to Patan to seek alms from a poor woman of Guita Tole in preference to rich offerings of the king. Its basis is legend. The author also describes that in the mouth of *Gunla* (July-August) *Panchadana* ceremony and the *Mataya* (offering of lights to Buddhist images) are observed in Patan. The other ceremony like special worship in *Bahals* and *Bahils* is performed occasionally. The author further highlights observance of *Gunla* in the Valley. He writes that the monks make rainy season retreat in this month. So it is regarded as sacred month. Buddhists in different local or lineage groups go to Svayambhu *Caitya* to the accompaniment of playing a special tuning known as *Gunla* Tunning - on a traditional set of musical rhythem. Buddhist women and girls make tiny clay *Caityas* and worship them. *Prajnaparamita* and the like Mahayani texts are recited. On the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of *Gunla* (July and August) *Panchadana* festival known as *Banra* or *Bare Jatra* is observed annually. The initiated Shakyas and Vajracharyas (the priests) go on alms round. The lay Buddhists i.e. householders decorate their houses as well as their *Bahils* and courtyards. They exhibit Buddha and other images, portraits and like pieces of religions and cultural significance. In front of them, an altar is prepared with heaps of rice, at least four kinds of grains, salt, sweets, fruits etc to be given away in charity to Shakyas and Vajracharyas. The initiated Shakyas are required to go begging for alms in groups on this occasion. They chant special verses, the extracts of *Kapisavadana.* They accept alms and confer blessings upon donors. The Shakyas of the city visit these places and collect their shares of offerings. This process continues for the whole day until the *Phu-Bare* (i.e. the last *Bare*) comes and touches with his *Vajra* (the thunder bolt) all remaining offerings. This indicates the end of the ceremony.

The author further mentions that from the twelfth bright day up to the sixth dark day of *Gunla* different images, relics, books, portraits and antiques are exhibited. This process is diminishing now days. *Baha Puja* is a voluntary worship in the *Bahal.* Besides the regular worship, donors perform *Bahal Puja.* The conveners fix a particular day or a few days beforehand for ceremonization of such voluntary worship. Such *Puja* or worship is still customary in the Valley.[52]

This literary work mainly gives emphasis on the role of Shakyas of Kapilvastu and Shakyavamshis of Devedaha and living culture heritage of the Shakyas and Vajracharya

[52]. Pradhan, f.n. No. 20, pp. 1-83.

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of the Kathmandu Valley. It high lights Siddhartha (the later Buddha's) genealogy based on various texts. Some texts although are of imaginative nature, they throw more night on people's participation in Buddhism and popularity of the cult. It is remarked that such literary works recall true history without chronology. They throw light on the Buddha way of life. It is relevant to this research work.

In the preface of his work,[53] the author writes that one should meticulously search the historical truth as the accounts in some texts and *Purans* in our country are of religious and imaginative nature. Many people believe that the accounts of the chronicles and traditional myths and legends are real facts. Religious feelings and historical truths are quite different. He points out that many people believe that Buddha preached at *Puchhagra Caitya* and Emperor Ashoka performed religious activities here. These accounts should not be taken as historical truth. The author to start with mentions that Lumbini, Kapilvastu and Koliya region of twenty five hundred years ago is still unexplored and is under nealth the earth. The *Tripitaka, Attakatha* and other texts written in India, Tibet, China and Sri Lanka are the sources which reveal the status of Kapilvastu. It was a republican state which was developed and advanced in 563 B.C. He gives the geographical descriptions of sixteen *Mahajanapades,* Koliya *Janapada,* six *Mahanagaras* during the time of the Buddha. The Kiratas had powerful state in the Kathmandu Valley during that time.. However, he mentions that Shakyas of Kapilvastu like Ananda, Devadatta, Bhagu, Kumbal and the barber Uali got *Pravajya* (converts at Anupiya when the Buddha was on his way to Kapilvastu from Rajgriha). They were all from Kapilvastu. He further writes that *Bodhijnana* which the Buddha attained was not a sudden flash. Kapilvastu is to be credited for playing a great role in making the Buddha contemplative.

The author writes- "Mahayana is the offshoot of *Mahasanghika* and *Samitiya Nikaya.* The concept of Mahayana contains in the text *Saddhasmapundarika* in which Vairochana Amitabha Buddha and *Avalokitshvara* are included." He writes that *Tripitaka* refers to twenty four Buddhas of different ages and *Digha Nikaya* includes the future Buddha Maitreya. The *Deepvamsha* and *Mahavamsha* add three more Buddhas in the list of twenty four Buddhas of the past. The Buddhist tradition believes that the past Buddhas

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53. Bhuwan Lal Pradhan, *Neplma Baudha Dharma* (Nepali, Buddhism in Nepal), (Kathmandu : Royal Nepal Academy, 1968 A.D. (2045 A.D.), No page No.

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preached Buddhism in different ages. *Manjushreemulakalpa* was written in the second-third century A.D. In this context the author points out that Majushree *Bodhisattva* might have been imagined as *Dhyani* Buddhas. He assumes that the imagination of Manjushree in *Tretayuga* might have been due to religious feeling. He shows Maitreyanath, the founder of *Vijnavada* is also treated as supernatural Buddha and five *Dhyani* Buddhas are also the creation of Mahayana imagination.

Writings about the practice of Mahayana Buddhism in Nepal, he mentions that Mahayana was effective in Nepal in the 4th and 5th centuries. By that time *Tantra* and *Mantra* were incorporated in the sect for concentration and devotion hymns were composed for it. *Varahi Tantra* attests it. *Tantra* is also known as *Agama.* The *Brahmajala Tantra* mentions the system of worshipping Vajrayana deities. Quoting Rahul Sakrityayana, the author writes that Vajrayana was developed in the 6th century A.D. It is a radical form of Mantrayana. In the context of *Hathayoga*, he writes that the *Hathayogis* also contributed for the development of radical Vajrayana. Mina Nath and Matsyendra Nath are referred as *Siddhas* from Kamarupa. He mentions Matsyendra Nath's work viz. *Mahakaula-Jnavinirnaya and Kanakhyaguhya Tantra.* He also gives reference of Dipankara Atishsa's contribution in the development of *Kalachakrayana* and avoiding the evil aspects of *Tantric* Buddhism. Highlighting the concept of Vajrayana, the author writes that *Sunyata.* (Voidness) and *Mahasukha* (extreme happiness) are the aims of Vajrayana. It also aims at *Bodhicitta* or *Vijnana.* Vajrayana concept signifies the union of *Sunyata, Vijnana* and *Maha Sukha.* It also aims at destruction of the feeling of "self" and "ignorance".The author also gives exposure on Vajrayana Buddhism practiced in the Himalayan region of Nepal. He points out that in the northern regions of Nepal, Tamangs, Thakalis, Magars, Gurungs, Sherpas, Rais and Limbus, ethnic groups follow Vajrayana Buddhism. The author has given more emphasis on the scientific approach in ascertaining the historical truth. He clearly writes that imaginative stories are not historical facts. He has traced the history of Buddhism in historical prospective. He has also highlighted the three concepts of Buddhism more clearly. However, the work does not cover the history of Buddhism in modern Nepal. But this work is found to be very relevant to this research work.

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In the introduction of the work the author mentions - "The early history deals with the period from the prehistory of Nepal to the Licchavi period." [54] "This period is mentioned in the history of Ancient Nepal". Regarding the territories included in 'Ancient Nepal, the author writes - "In this context, Nepal usually refers to the Valley namely Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Patan and the vicinity of these towns." Referring to the belief of the people in Nepal and their cultural tradition, the author's remarks runs like this - "It is believed that even before the birth of Sakyamuni Buddha in Lumbini, Nepal, other Buddhas like Dipankara, Vipashvi, Shikhi, Vishvabhu, Kashyapa, Krakucchanda and Kanakmuni had at one time trod with their holy feet in the land of Ancient Nepal. These are indicated in the mythology and reflected in the prevailing cultural festivals" In the first chapter of his work, the author with reference to Wright's genealogy mentions that during the periods of two dynasties (Gopala and Mahispala) Buddhism was not practiced as it was pre Buddhist period. With reference to the Wright's genealogy and *Suvarna Prabha Sutra,* the author gives accounts of Sakyamuni Buddha's visit to Svayambhu mount during the reign of Kirata king Jitedasti (465 B.C.) and his visit to Guhesvari and Namo Buddha Mountain. The story of the *Sutra* which refers that Buddha in his previous birth had fed his flesh to a hungry tigress. These versions cannot be considered as authentic. Although people believe on such stories, these sayings are not historical evidences and the Buddha's visit to Nepal cannot be asserted. Quoting K.P. Jayaswal, he points out that the Kirata dynasty is assigned in between 580 B.C.- 110 A.D. and also refers to that Babu Ram Acharya was of the opinion that the kings of the Kirata dynasty of Nepal had embraced Buddhism. He further mentions that Ashokan pillars in Nepal are the archeological evidences of the fact that Ashoka visited (modern) Nepal a number of times. In this context, he mentions Niglihawa, Lumbini and Gotihawa Ashokan pillars. Moreover, he cites Fah-hian and Yuan Chwang too in this context. Chapter two of the work is on Buddhism in Nepal during the Licchavi period. He has placed Manadeva in between (464-506 A.D.), 'Sivadeva' I (590-604 A.D.), 'Amshuvarma' (606-622 A.D.) and Narendradeva (641 or 643 - 679 A.D.). Quoting Bendal, he makes comment on *Mananka* coin. He writes that on the basis of divinity and a lotus throne, the pose suggested Buddhist figure. Quoting Babu Ram Acharya's version, he mentioned that king Vasantadeva was removed from the throne by his feudatory Param Gupta in 225 A.D. He

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[54]. Naresh Man Bajracharya, *Buddhism in Nepal (465 B.C. to 1100 A.D.)*, (Delhi : Eastern Book Linkers, 1998 A.D.), pp. XI-XIX, 1-83.

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further mentions that king 'Sivadeva' established *Jivanyasa* ceremony tradition once in every twelve years in Vajrayogini and for this account, he cited Wright's genealogy. 'Sivadeva' also built *a Vihara* and he placed the image of Svayambhu *'Caitya'*. On completion of the *Vihara* he became *'Bhikshu'* for four days. He was conversed with the *'Acaryabhishekh'* and became Vajracharya. He also writes-"the inscription of Sivadeva I(?) located in Gorakha Nath cave shows a certain grant offered to Vajra Bhairava". Quoting D. Wright he mentions that a Thakari king Manadeva predecessor of Rudradeva (1138-1175 A.D.) lived the life of *Vandya* (*Bhikshu*) in *Chakra Vihara*. Chapter three gives account of the prominent *Viharas* of the Licchavi period. He writes-"King Manadeva is said to have meditated in *Gun Vihara* to repent for the murder of his own father which occurred unintentionally". "*Carumati Vihara* was constructed by 'Carumati', the supposed daughter of Emperor Ashoka." Chapter four describes the account of Buddhist schools popular during the Licchavi period. Quoting Babu Ram Acharya, the author writes that during the time of Kirata dynasty (B.C. 580 - 110 A.D.), the Kirata kings embraced Buddhism. He wriotes - "Daniel Wright stated that Carumati as *Bhiksuni* had appeared during the reign of Kirata king, Sthunka (765 B.C.). Two *Viharas* of Carumati known as *Tham Cabahil* and *Kothu Cabahil* still exist in *Cabahil* Kathmandu." "During the reign of Sivadeva II" (680 - 706 or 719) the king made *Vihara* named Nandisala *Vihara* and made arrangement of providing meals for *Bhikshus* residing in the *Vihara*. Chapter five gives account of Nepalis Buddhist scholars. He gives account of Buddhabhadra who visited China in 408 A.D. and Silamanju who went to (*Wu-Tai-Shan, Pancasira Parvata*) in China in the 7th century A.D. Bandhudatta was a disciple of Santikara Acharya. Bandhudatta descended from the disciple lineage of Santikara and Nagarjuna who brought Matsyendra Nath from Kamarupa. He cites *Matsyendrapadyasatakam* in this context. He writes that king Narendradeva (641 or 643 - 679 A.D.) the contemporary of Bandhudatta *Acarya* was the main devotee and Ratnakara, a farmer was the carrier of Matsendra Nath, Lokanath or Bugamalavesvara. The *Vihara* of Tebahal Kathmandu was made by Narendradeva at the request of Bandhudatta. Celebration *Pancadana, Mahadana* and *'Samyek'* are also discussed in the work. The author mentions that imaginative stories might have been created to catch the sentiment of the people. The accounts based on *Vamsavali* have to be assessed on the basis of realistic approach.

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Regarding the boundary of Ancient Nepal referred by the author, Jnanamani Nepal's view may be cited. On the basis of epigraphic accounts Nepal writes -"Licchavi inscriptions show that *Nepal Mandala* included many districts of east, west and south. The *Visayapati* or *Ranak* (feudal lords) ruled the districts being obedient to central government. [55] Moreover the author is right in his approach of taking *Jataka* stories as imaginative. It seems that such stories are related for localization of sect. With regards to the *Stupas* of Patan, scholars are divided in their opinion. Some of the datings of the rulers in this work is misleading. Vasantadeva's Thankot inscription indicates that Manadeva was no longer king in 506 A.D. and Amshuvarma had died in 622 A.D. according to Mahankal inscription of Tundikhel. [56] The author mentions that Vagisvarakirti was a great scholar of *Guhya Samaj Tantra* and *Kalachakra Tantra* and *Abhidhanoltara Tantra.* He had visited to Wu-tai-shan to meet his brother Dharmasri. He also gives account of Kanakasri, Santibhara, Advayavajra of Kapilvastu and other scholars who spread Buddhism across the Himalaya. Chapter six is related with the accounts of the Tibetan scholars who visited Nepal in ancient time. Nepalis Buddhist scholars taught extensively the Buddhist *Tantras* and *Sutras* to the Tibetans. At that time the scholars performed the consecration rites on the completion of the *Caitya* in Nepal. The Tibetan scholars were given initiation on *Chakrasamvara Tantra* and they learn the method of concentration. There are related to this research week. To conclude the author writes that the Mahayana and Vajrayana were in wide practice from the sixth century to twelfth century A.D. In the Appendix, the author has given manuscripts related to Buddhism. The author has included the history of early medieval period as accounts of Ancient Nepal. The author realizes that Nepalis culture exhibits some of the festivals based on the mythological accounts.

Regarding the reference to Vajra Bhairava made by the author during the reign of Sivadeva I, Dhanavajra Vajracharya's inscription of Gorakha Nath cave dated 698 A.D. (122 *Samvat*) contradicts it. He further clarifies that Vajra Bhairava was worshipped in Gorkha. During the Licchavi period, Nepal was not limited to the Kathmandu Valley only. Regarding the reference *Dhando Caitya,* it is referred to as *Dharmadatta Caitya*

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55. Jnanamani Nepal, *Nepalko Purva Madhya Kalko Itihas* (History of Nepal of Early Medieval Period), (Kirtipur : Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1997 A.D. (2054 V.S.). p. 29.
56. DhanavajraVajracharya, *Licchavi Kalaka Abhilekh* (Inscription of Licchavi Period), (Kirtipur : Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1975 A.D.), pp. 91-92, 523.

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and Vrisadeva simply repaired the *Caitya*. Recently when the conservation of the *Caitya* was undertaken, the archaeologists found "*Caruvati*" term mentioned on the *Chakravali* of *Triyodash Bhuwan*. Such flows are marked in the texts of the work. However, this work is found to be relevant to this research work.

This book edited by Shanker Thapa consists of seven chapters.[57] In the preface of the book the editor writes that Nepal has rendered greater contribution in the expansion of Buddhism in the countries north of Himalaya. The present Buddhism of the Kathmandu Valley is predominantly of Vajrayana tradition. The Newars of the Kathmandu Valley are the followers of Vajrayana Buddhism. They have preserved their living cultural and religious tradition since many centuries. The native scholars have published hundreds of booklets on Newar Buddhism but these are not research based. The western scholars have done a lot of significant work on Newar Buddhism which have filled the intellectual vacuum.

In his work the author gives the overview of Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley. To sum up the main features, Svayambhu, *Adi* Buddha is the creation of religious mind which represents the belief pattern of the concept of seven mortal Buddhas. Quoting D.C. Circar, he writes that the existence of some of the seven Buddhas has been archaeologically proved. He adds that the date of the first introduction of Buddhism in Nepal cannot be ascertained due to the lack of historical evidences. No dependable historical sources have been found so far to authenticate that Buddhism was introduced in Nepal before the time of historical Buddha. It is considered that *Gun Vihara* is said to have been established during the Kirata period. Referringto the degeneration of Buddhist practice in the medieval period, he writes that the Buddhist *Sangha* abandoned the practice of celibate monasticism. Their unwillingness to impart knowledge to non Buddhists had negative impact on Newar Buddhism. The fugitive Buddhists from India brought thousands of volume of Sanskrit Buddhist literature and they made Nepal their safe abode in the medieval period. The *Viharas* were lavishly decorated and they became the centers of learning. It has positive impact on Nepalis Buddhism. This work is limited to historical development up to medieval period. However, information derived is found to be useful for this research work. The author points out that scholarship of the Newar

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57. Shanker Thapa (ed) *Newar Buddhism*, (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd. 2005 A.D.), pp. VII-VIII, 1-15.

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Buddhists in *Tantra*, *Sadhana*, *Yoga*, rituals, *caca (carya)* songs, *Vidhi* etc are the distinctive features of Newar Buddhism.

Michel Allen gives accounts of the main features of Newar Buddhism in his work.[58] Referring to Edward Cronze's statement that the Newars are no longer true Buddhists and Newar Buddhism is an unusual Buddhism. Allen writes that he has not presented any material to challenge the statement of Cronze. However, he tried to examine the basis of Newar Buddhism. E. Cronze held the view that in Newar Buddhism, the life of the house holder is almost incompatible with the higher levels of spiritual life. Newars had no organized monasticism for the last seven hundred years. Explaining the history of monasticism, M. Allen writes that orthodox monasticism is dependent on a powerful minority where as unorthodox Newar Buddhism is dependent on mass population support. Highlighting the doctrine of Mahayana, Allen writes that the ideal man in Hinayana doctrine is the *Arhat*, the monk who having attained enlightenment ignores the rest of suffering mankind. Whereas in Mahayana the ideal is the *Bodhisattva*, a reincarnation being who having achieved *Nirvana* returns to the world of suffering to help others in achieving the same goal. He adds that Mahayana Buddhism commends monastic celibacy as the secret way to gain enlightenment and does not exclude the possibility that virtuous layman may have similar success. He also mentions the characteristic features of *Tantricism*. Its rituals give importance to sexual union. He writes that Vajrayana Buddhism had become dominant in Nepal for about a thousand years. In it the male and female couples present themselves for secret initiation. He further adds that Vajrayana managed to survive without a well defined monastic core. He gives the overview of the history of monastic Buddhism since the beginning of the Christian era. In this context he refers the account of Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A.D. Quoting David Snellgrove, he writes that during the 7th century A.D. Patan existed like "a kind of vast University." Referring the account of Tibetan monk, Dharmasvami he mentions that monasticism had almost disappeared during the time when the Tibetan monk visited Nepal. At that time Vajrayana beliefs and esoteric practices were popular. However pure Mahayana without esoteric features had not totally lost ground. He vividly describes the functions of the *Baha* and *Bahils* of Nepal. To conclude Allen writes- "the *Bare* are, and perhaps have been ever since they forsook monasticism, Buddhists of

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58. Allen, f.n. No. 23, pp. 16-45.

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highly eclectic kind that formal identification is no longer a simple matter". The comment of Allen indicates the abuses of Vajrayana Buddhism. Local scholars are of the view that his remarks on Vajrayana practices seem sacrificial. He has not been able to show the traits of Vajrayana Buddhism, a profound creed which integrates all the three schools of Buddhism. However his work gives food for thought.

The other literary work which includes in Newar Buddhism is the work of Nivedita Kumari Mishra.[59] The author writes that Newar Buddhism is the curious admixture of the doctrine of Mahayana and Vajrayana and worship of Hindu deities especially to those to which later *Tantras* are devoted. It is the outcome of the spiritual endeavor of Newar Buddhists to attain enlightenment through the practice of Buddhist ideals. The author defines Newar Buddhism primarily as ritual Buddhism based on Vajrayana *Tantric* practice. She defines the term *Bare* which denotes highly respected group of Newar Buddhists. *Bare* is evolved from the word *Bandya* which is derived from the word *Bhadanta* equivalent to *Bhante* in Pali. The *Bare* community involves two prominent groups i.e. *Bare* and Vajracharyas. The Vajracharyas are household Buddhists but not celibate monks. They obtain monastic initiation and accept *Dana* (gifts) at *Samyek* and *Pancadana* festivals. Defining the meaning of different terms the author writes that the term monk is derived from the Greek word *'monachos' and 'monos'* which means secluded or alone. The word lays emphasis on isolated living and detachment from the worldly society. The term *'Vraj'* denotes strenuous efforts for finding ultimate truth. The word *'Parivrajaka'* denotes mendicants who abandon the world. Newar *Bares* are closer to the conceptual feature of *'Parivrjaka'*. In the *Bare* community, a novice is given *'Parivrajaka'* initiation, a ritual to enter into Buddhist community. The ritual lasts for four days. In ancient time, one who wanted to follow the vow requested the *Sangha* to initiate them as *Bhikshu.* After initiation the novice started to practice the vows of discipline. She writes that *Upasampada* ritual means higher ordination to take refuse in the *Sangha.* It is not given to neophytes in the Vajrayana Buddhism of Nepal. Without having this ordination, they remain only ascetic practioners not fully detached from the house holdings. Referring to *Caitya Puja* included in *Shikshyasamuccaya,* she says that a novice is required to worship *Caitya.* To conclude the author mentions that Vajrayana follows

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59. Nivedita K Mishra, "Newar Buddhism in the context of History" Shanker Thapa (ed) *Newar Buddhism,* " (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd., 2005A.D.), pp. 46- 61.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)
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59. Nivedita K Mishra, "Newar Buddhism in the context of History" Shanker Thapa (ed) *Newar Buddhism,* " (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd., 2005A.D.), pp. 46- 61.

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the path which incorporates *Prajna* and *Upaya* which symbolize male and female forces. The author has highlighted the rituals practiced in Nepal. It is relevant to this research work. The other literary work included in the text of Newar Buddhism is related with monasticism which highlights *Tantric* Buddhism. [60] To sum up the views of the author, there are no celibate monks among the Newar Buddhists. The members of the particular community live in *Vihara* and have retained their designation called *Sangha*. The Vajracharyas and the Shakyas are the masters of *Tantric* Buddhism. The Vajracharyas are given additional initiation known as *Achaluyegu*. However the Shakya and Vajracharya boys normally undergo monastic ordination (Skt. *Chudakarma*) and become the members of the *Sangha*. Moreover, the author has given more exposure on *Pravajyavrata* (monastic ordination). The author also gives account of *Adikarma Bodhisattva* (a *Bodhisatva* monk) and credits Dipankara Atisha for writing *Adhikarmapradipah*. She also mentions that lack of royal patronage was one of the causes of the decline of monasticism after 1200 A.D. According to him, Vajrayana Buddhism was preached in between 880 to 1200 A.D. To conclude he mentions that *Bodhisattva* practice being valid tradition, it cannot be designated as corrupt form of Buddhism. If the tradition of celibate monasticism is revised, Vajrayana Buddhism of Nepal will regain its lost traits. This work is relevant to give focus on Vajrayana Buddhism of Nepal.

Sridhar Rana in his work shows the basic difference between Hindu and Buddhist *Tantras*. [61] He writes that Hindu *Tantra* is based on *Brahma- Atma, Advaita* (nonduality) and Buddhist *Tantra* is totally based on basic tenets of Buddhism as explained by Nagarjuna, Asanga and Basuvandhu. Hindu *Tantra* and Vajrayana are totally different in dichotomy of *Bhumi*, (ground) *Marga* (path) and *Phala* (fruit).Hindu *Tantra* is to actualize the basic ground of *Sansara* called by various names like *Brahma, Parasmbhita and Mahamaya*. These are all extension of the belief in an *Atma* where as Buddhist *Tantra* is geared towards realization of *Sansara* and *Nirvana*. Both are groundless. It believes on *Anatma* called *Sunyata*, *Prajnaparamita, Nairatma,* and so on. The *Sutra Mahamudra* and *Mahasandhi* traditions define the ground as primordially pure and empty. Primordially pure goes deeper than *Anatma*. The *Sankhya* tradition of Tibetan

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60. Min Bahadur Shakya, "Monasticism in Newar Buddhism", Shanker Thapa (ed) *Newar Buddhism,* (Lalitpur: Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd, 2005 A.D.), pp. 62-88.
61. Sridhar Rana,"Practice of Buddhist Tantra in Nepal", Shanker Thapa (ed) Newar Buddhism, (Lalitpu: Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd. 2005 A.D.), pp. 89-111.

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Buddhism believes on *Prabhasvara*. Vajrayana, more ever is not limited to *Tantra* alone. According to the author, some names of Vajrayana are Upayayana, Guhyayana, Mantrayana, Sahajayana and Phalayana. Its method includes *Sutra* of meditation type of *Vipassana* (introspection). *Tantric Vipassana* uses *Mantra* and visualization of a deity for *Samatha*. Deities in Buddhism are manifestation of mind. The Vajracharyas have created many Buddhas out of Shakyamuni Buddha. Vipassana in Vajrayana is thorough *Cittanusmiriti* (mindfulness of mind). It has more emphasis on *Bodhicitta*. The practice of Chakrasamvara and its empowerment (*Abhishekh*) have become unbroken tradition of Newar Vajrayana. *Kriyatantra, Caryatantra, Yogatantra,* and *Annutaratantra* are the *Tantras* of Vajrayana. The *Dharmadhatumandala* and the *Vajradhatumandala* are included in *Yogatantra, Chakrasamvara, Hevajra, Kalachakra, Guhya Samaja, Vajra Bhairava* and *Yagamvara*. They are included in *Annuttara Tantra*. This work is mainly related with philosophical concept of Buddhism.

Indra K Vajracharya gives brief account of *Viharas*. [62] The author describes the origin of the term *Vihara* which is derived from the term *Viharat* meaning thereby is walking for pleasure. Most of the *Baha Bahi* of the Kathmandu Valley is of ancient and medieval origin. There are altogether 450 Buddhist *Viharas* in the Kathmandu Valley excluding 49 recent Theravada *Viharas*. The author also gives introduction of *Shakya Bhikshu Sangh, Sakha Shakya Sangha, Brahmacarya Bhikshu Sangha, Cailaka Bhikshu Sangha* with illustrations.

The *Newar Buddhism* also includes the work of Milan Shakya.[63] The author mentions important contribution of Atisha Dipankara who brought about many reforms in Vajrayana Buddhism of Nepal. Besides his seventy nine books on Buddhist logics and philosophy, he wrote *Caryasangrahapradipah*. The author states that the present status of Newar Vajrayana tradition is indebted to him for his philosophical insight. Atisha cleared many abuses of Vajrayana Buddhism during his time.

The other literary works related to this research are as follows- Jnanamani Nepal, *Nepalko Purva Madhyakalko Itihas* (History of Nepal of Early Medieval Period), Kirtipur: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1997 A.D. (2054, V.S.): D.R. Regmi,

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62. Indra Kumari Vajracharya, "Vihara in Newar Buddhism" Shanker Thapa (ed), *Newar Buddhism*, (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna publication, 2005 A.D.), pp. 112-128
63. Milan Shakya, "Atisha and Transfermation Newar Buddhism, Shanker Thapa (ed), Newar Buddhism, (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd., 2005 A.D.), pp. 129-150.

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*Ancient Nepal,* Calcutta: Firma K.L Mukhopadhyay, 1969 A.D.: *Medieval Nepal Part I, Early Medieval Period, 750-1530 A.D.*, Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay 1965 A,D, *Modern Nepal, Vol. I,* Calcutta: Firma K.L Mukhopadhyay, Ist Edition 1961 A.D. and 2nd Edition 1975 A.D.: Suryamani Adhikari, *Prachin Nepalko Aitihasik Annveshan* (Historical Research of Ancient Nepal), Kirtipur: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies 1986 A.D. (2043 V.S.): Badri Ratna Vajracharya, *Prasidha Vajracharyapinigu Samshipta Vivarana* (Short Description of the Renowned Vajracharyas), Kathmandu: Hira Sobha Tuladhar, 1989 A.D. ( N.S.1109) : Hari Ram Joshi, *Pages of Forgotten Past*, Lalitpur: Sushil Ram Joshi,1991 A.D., *Nepalko Prachin Abhilekh* (Ancient Inscriptions of Nepal), Kathmandu : Royal Nepal Academy, 1973A.D. (2030 V.S.), *"Madhyakalin Abhilekh*". (Inscriptions of Medieval Period), *Ancient Nepal, No. 53-56,*1980 A.D., *Ancient Nepal*, No. 57,1980 A.D.: Suwarna Shakya, *Buddha Dharma Ra Vyavahar* (Buddhism and Uses), Kathmandu : Sharan Prakashan 2003 A.D.: Dhanavajra Vajracharya, *Licchavikalka Abhilekh* (Inscriptions of Licchavi Period), Kirtipur : Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Second Edition 1996 A.D. (2053 V.S.), *Madhyakalka Abhilekh* (Inscriptions of Medieval Period), Kirtipur: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1999 A.D. (2056 V.S.), Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha's *Shahkalka Abhilek* (Inscriptions of Shah Period), Kirtipur: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1980 A.D. (2037 V.S.): Naya Raj Pant's *Abhilekh Sangraha* (Collection of Inscriptions) Part I-XII, Itihas Samshodhan Mandal, Kathmandu : 1961-1963 A.D. (2018-2020 V.S.): Min Bahadur Shakya, *Iconography of Nepalis Buddhism,* Kathmandu: Handicraft Association of Nepal, 1999 A.D., Min Bahadur Shakya and Shanta Harsha Bajracharya (trans) *Svayambhu Purana*, Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Institute of Exact Methods, 2001 A.D.: Dibya Vajra Vajracharya, *Bodhicharyavatar*, (with commentary of Prajnakaramati), Lalitpur : Bodhi Prakashan Kendra,1986A.D.: Jagadish Chandra Regmi, *A Glossary of Himalayan Buddhism*, Jaipur : India, Nirala Publication, 1994 A.D.: *Bhikshu* Jnana Poonik Dharmacharya, *Pratitya Samutpad Mahan Upadesh* (Conditioned Origination the Great Preachings), Kathmandu : Shanti Sukhavas Prakasan Samiti, 1998 A.D.: J.K. Locke's *Karunamaya*, Kathmandu: Sahayaogi Prakashan1980 A.D.: Niels Gustschow, *Nepalis Caitya, 1500 years of Buddhist Votive Architecture in the Kathmandu Valley*,Stuttgart/ London : Azxel Mgeses, 1997 A.D. are found to be relevant.

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Heinz Bechart's "Original Buddha and Ancient Buddha: A Preliminary Report of Buddhism in a Gurung Community" published in *Ancient Nepal No. 119*, 1990 A.D. and Rajendra Ram (ed) *Intellectual Perspective of Rahula Sankrityayana, Essays and Reminiscences,* Patna: Janajagarana Prakashan, 2005 A.D.Yajnaman Pati's work *Guru, Mandala wa Gurumandala*, (Kathmandu: Mani Singh Mahavihara, 2004 A.D. 1124 N.S.) are found to be very important for this research work. Journals like *Buddhist Himalaya*, *Rolamba*, *Anandabhumi*,Nhugu Vishwabhumi and newspaper like *The Gorkhapatra*, *The Kathmandu Post* also have been referred to draw relevant information.

## 1.7 Chapter Scheme

The following are the outlines of chapters of this research work.

Chapter I - Introduction- Objectives - Justification –Statements of the problems and Hypothesis - Scope - Methodology- Review of literature, Chapter scheme:

Chapter II - Background- Mythological Accounts on the Buddhism of Pre and Proto Historic Period- Accounts of *Jatakas, Puranas* and other Holy Texts on Buddhism-Dipankara Buddha- Celebration of Mataya -*Manushi* Buddha Vipashsvi-- Antiquity of *Adi* Buddha in Nepal- *Adi* Buddha or Spiritual Buddha Concept – Shikhi Buddha- Vishabhu Buddha-Manjushree Bodhisattva- Krakucchanda Buddha- Kanakmuni Buddha –Kashyapa Buddha-Construction of *Svayambhu Caitya* - Legend of Gautam Buddha's Visit to the Kathmandu Valley- Concept of Divine and *Manushi* Buddhas- Remarks on the History of Buddhism in the Prehistoric and Proto Historic period.

Chapter III- History of Buddhism During the Ancient Nepal- First Phase of Development- Oral Tradition in Buddhism- Development of Buddhism in Ancient Time- Ashoka's Pilgrimage to Lumbini and Kapilvastu- Ashoka's Contribution for the Promotion of Buddhism and Erection of Lumbini, Niglihawa and Gotihawa Pillars- Contribution of Chinese and Koren Travellers- Ashoka's So Called Visit to the Kathmandu Valley- Buddhism During the Kirata Rule- Practice of *Nava Sutras*- Buddhism During the Time of the Licchavis- Buddhayana or Bodhisatvayana During the Licchavi Period- Policy and Contribution of Licchavi Rulers for the

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Promotion of Buddhism- Hiuen Tsang's Account- Age of Peachers, *Siddhas* and Vajracharya *Gurus*.

Chapter IV - History of Buddhism in the Early Medieval Nepal- Features of Buddhism in the Early Medieval Period- Interaction of the Renowned Buddhist Scholars of Nepal, India and Tibet- Revival of Buddhism and Decline of Nath Sect- *Hathayoga* of Gorkha Nath and its Practice- *Jogicharka* Worship- Vajrayana Tinged with Hinduism-Visit of Tibetan Buddhists to Nepal- Contribution of Advayavajra, Guru Bharo and Phamthinpa for the Promotion of Buddhism- Atisha Dipankara's Visit to Nepal on the Way to Tibet - Dharmasvami's Visit to Nepal - Condition of Nalanda and Odantapuri - Shankaracharya's Visit- Practice of Shakti Cult in Integrated Form- Impact of Turkish Invasion- Buddhism in the Khasa Kingdom- Dispatch of Cultural Delegation Under the Leadership of Arniko and its Impact in the Buddhist Art- Invasion of Sultan Samsuddin in Nepal.

Chapter V- History of Buddhism in Medieval Nepal- Beginning of New Chapter in History of Medieval Nepal - Characteristics of Buddhism in Medieval Nepal - Advent of Jayasthiti Malla and His Codification of Social Laws- Nepal-China Relationship and Attempt to Universal Buddhism- Contributions of the Malla Rulers in the Promotion of Buddhism:

Chapter VI - History of Buddhism in Modern Nepal- Lama Devadharma's Popularity and His Meritorious Acts- Pratap Simha's Practice of *Tantrism*- Suppression of Theravada Buddhism-Restoration of Tibetan *Gumba* at Svayambhu- Theravada Revival- Kyangse Lama's Visit to Nepal- Contribution of Buddhist Scholars in the Promotion of Buddhism- Leaders of the Theravada Revival - Buddhist Goodwill Mission to Kathmandu- Lumbini Developed as Sacred Buddhist Shrine -Fourth Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists - Celebration of Lumbini Day.

Chapter VII - Conclusion-Appendix - Selected Biography.

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# CHAPTER II

## Buddhism in Nepal in Pre and Proto Historic Period

### 2.1. Background

It is the fact that the advent of Gautam Buddha in the 6th century B.C. is a landmark in the history of Buddhism in Nepal. It is a general belief that Gautam Buddha was the propounder of Buddhism and with him true historic period begins. The time just before him is taken as the proto historic period. However, the Buddhist literature and archaeological sources indicate that Buddhism has its beginning even during prehistoric period. Mythological sources indicate that Buddhism has its beginning in the primordial period. *Svayambhu Purana*, SvP relates the myth of the *Naga-vasa-daha.* It states that *Jyotirupa* (eternal light) of Svayambhu had its origin in the celestial lake known as *Naga-vasa-daha* (lake which was abode of holy serpants) in primordial period. Scholars write that the existence of a lake in the Kathmandu Valley is verified geologically during Pleistocene era.[1] Regarding the formation of the lake known as *Naga-vasa-daha* mentioned in the *Svayambhu Purana*, SvP, scholars assume that the mountain ranges which surround the Kathmandu Valley still exists. Before the formation of the *Naga-vasa-daha,* half the portion of Lhasa in the North and area beyond Uttarpradesh and Bihar in the south was submerged into the water. Mount Everest, the highest mountain in the world emerged by the drift of the ocean. Thus it cannot be denied that the area surrounded by hills existed as *Naga-vasa-daha*, filled with water in the midst of the sea. The myth also relates that Vipashvi Buddha came and sowed the seed of lotus in the *Naga-vasa-daha*. Out of it, Svayambhu appeared in the form of Jyotirupa (light). Then Manjudeva made a city. The successors of Vipashvi Buddha and predecessors of Shakyamuni Gautam Buddha such as Shikhi, Vishvabhu, Krakucchanda Buddha, paid homage to Svayambhuu. This mythological account indicates that Svayambhu *Caitya* existed before Shakyamuni Buddha. He further writes-"*Svayambhu Purana* is the oldest

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[1]. Kai Weise ( compiled ) Abhaya Subba (ed), *Conservation ! Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site , Potential Areas For Conservation* Kathmandu : UNESCO Kathmandu Office, 2004 A. D.) p. 5.

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text among the texts of Buddhism[2]. It is assumed that the antiquity of Svayambhu *Caitya* dates back to more than 5000 years ago. It is based on the fact that Svayambhu *Caitya* was built over the eternal light in view of approaching *Kali Yuga.* Wright edited chronicle mentions it. [3] The eternal light is supposed to be old even earlier than that age. P. Landon clearly mentions that chronologizing the early history of ancient Nepal is difficult. According to him, *Kali Yuga* begins from 3101 B.C. [4] Based on the mythical account of the chronicle, the origin of eternal light is assumed to be more than 5000 years old. Scholars trace the history of Buddhism from the time of Shantikaracharya when he covered the eternal light in view of approaching *Kali Yuga.* Scholars like Percy Brown mentions that Svayambhu *Caitya* is about 2000 years old. However, Bhuwan Lal Pradhan quoting T.W. Rhys Davids mentions that *Bhikshu* Manjushree appears in between first century B.C. and first century A.D. [5] Scholars mention that *Saddharmapundarika* is supposed to have been composed by *Bhikshu* Manjushree. Based on this dating Svayambhu *Caitya* may be about 2000 years old. However, some scholars trace the history of Buddhism from mythological period. It is stated that *Bodhisattva* Manjushree appeared in *Trita Yuga* rather than *Kali Yuga* on the basis of the mythological account.

Nepalis tradition has created many legends, rich in heritage. In this regard Asha Ram Shakya's assumption is worth mentioning. In the preface of *Svayambhu Purana* (SvP) (myth of the origin of Svayambhu), he mentions that Svayambhu originated 35,000 years ago and Svayambhu *Caitya* has been a link between pre historic and historic period. [6]

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2. Yajnaman Pati Vajracharya, "*Foreword*", *Svayambhu Mahapurana* by Badri Ratna Vajracharya, , (Kathmandu : Aasanda Svadharma Vihar, 2006 A.D.) p.12

3. D. Wright, *History of Nepal*, (New Delhi : Asian Educational Services, Reprint, 1993 A.D.), p. 84. Wright mentions - "In view of approaching *Kaliyuga* and thinking that in that *Yuga* mankind would be utterly sinful, *Bhikshu* Santashree (Shantikaracharya) covered Svayambhu light.

4. Perceval Landon, *History of Nepal Vol I,* (Delhi : Adarsh Enterprises, Reprint 2001 A.D.),p.19.

5. Bhuvan Lal Pradhan, *Nepalma Baudha Dharma,* (Buddhism in Nepal), (Kathmandu : Royal Nepal Academy, 1968 A.D. (2045 V.S.), p. 81.

6. Asha Ram Shakya,"Preface", (Kathmandu : *Shree Swayambhu Mahachaitya,* Swayambhu Vikas Mandal, (1978 A.D.) N.S. 1098), p. 40. Shakya writes that Svayambhu originated 35,000 years ago He personally communicated that it is simply an assumption based on the fact that every anterior Buddha's period extended for 5000 years. It seems that the assumption is not realistic.It is also known that *Svayambhu Purana* was compiled and written in the sixteenth century A.D. only. According to him that there was the tradition of oral transmission of the teachings. There was no. system of recording the events in black and white. Therefore *Svayambhu Caitya* has a link between prehistoric and historic period. No wonder it was only in the sixteenth century that the legend of *Swayambhu Caitya* might has been composed or written. Shakya writes- "Whatever may be fact that the *Swayambhu Caitya* has been a link between the pre historic and historic period and as such it would not be fair for research scholar to discuss the legend of *Swayambhu Caitya* as a mere imagination without undertaking research." According to this version Maitreya Buddha would appear after the lapse of five thousand years of the emergence of Gautam Buddha.

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*Svayambhu Purana* records that the Kathmandu Valley was a big lake known as *Naga-vasa-daha* in the most ancient time. SvP mentions that Vipashvi Buddha in the *Satya Yuga* had come to take holy dip into the lake. The legend has the account that he sowed a lotus seed into the lake and it eventually led to the blooming of one thousand petalled lotus on which appeared Svayambhu, the self originated *Jyotirupa* (in the form of light or the beacon). Shikhi, Vishvabhu, Krakucchanda, Kanakmuni, Kashyapa and Shakyamuni Buddhas came to pay homage to *Jyotirupa*. According to this legend Svayambhu existed earlier than Shakyamuni Buddha. However some scholars question on it. Shakya writes that the visits of these seven Buddhas including Shakyamuni Buddha covered a period of 35,000 years. Assuming each of *Yuga* lasted for 5000 years, the period of seven human Buddhas may be taken as 35,000. This version seems only a wild idea. The sources of the history of Buddhism in pre and proto historic period in Nepal are mainly based on mythological accounts. Buddhist literature like *Jatakas, Avadanas, Puranas, Mahatmyas, Deepavamsha, Buddha-Carita* composed later on, chronicle composed only six hundred years ago are such sources of mythological accounts. Accounts of foreign writers also make exposure on this Buddhism of period. Some of such accounts based on mythology deal with the previous incarnations of the Buddha. However, it is stated that these legends are supposed to have been created in venerating Shakyamuni Buddha. The other accounts give exposure on the meritorious deeds of *Manushi (*human) Buddha admist mythological Buddhas of the past. It is stated that some Buddhas prior to Gautam Buddha are pre historic and mythical however, *Buddhavamsha, the Khuddaknikaya* of *Tripitaka* mentions 24 Buddhas and the names of three more Buddhas are added in it. In this context Gautam Buddha was the 28th Buddha in this list. The last seven *Manushi* Buddhas are very popular in Nepal as referred in SvP. A. Fuhrer mentions Dipankara Buddha as the first Buddha among 28 *Manushi* (human or mortal) Buddhas preceding Gautam Buddha. The European *Savants* regard these Buddhas as mystical and only Gautam Buddha was historical. However, it is stated that their concept is entirely opposed to the fixed dogma of historical Buddhism. The 28 Buddhas are mentioned in the cannonical books of Southern and Northern Buddhists (Theravada and Mahayana).

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Buddhists think that Buddha had handed over the throne of (*Akanista*) heavento Maitreya and was born in the Shakyan clan of Kapilvastu.

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These Buddhas are recognised as *Manushi* Buddhas.[7] In Nepal Dipankara Buddha is worshipped as the divine Buddha although he belonged to be one of the first *Manushi* Buddhas. Among the 28 *Manushi* (human) Buddhas mentioned in *Digha Nikaya,* some Buddhist scholars mention that Dipankara story illustrates the concept of *Bodhisattva.* Theravada clearly mentions that he belonged to the first *Manushi* (mortal Buddha). Both Theravada and Mahayana glorify *Bodhisattvas.* Legends also refer that Gautam Buddha in his previous birth as a Brahman had offered lotus flower to Dipankara Buddha. The Buddha expressed his pledge with Dipankara Buddha. He said- "I am not inclined to be liberated about from this world rather I shall transcend the stream of endless traffic to and from the world and liberate Gods and human beings from the world." [8] Wright (ed) chronicle mentions that *Sachchit Buddha*, who was the first of all, sprang out in the middle of *Nagadaha* in the form of Svayambhu (eternal) light which came from *Akanista Bhuvan* (heaven) on the day of full moon day of *Aswin.*(October).[9] It is mentioned- out *Pancarashmi* (five kinds of light) Vairochana, Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha and Amongha Siddhi, *Panca* Buddha appreared. As the *Shakti* (power) of *Panca* Buddhas Vajradhatesvari, Locani, Mamaki, Pandura and Tara originated as *Panca Taras.* From them, Samantabhadra, Vajrapani, Ratnapani, Padmapani and Khadgapani, *Panca Budhisattvas* originated. Padmapani *Lokesvara* originated other deities.[10] All the mortal Buddhas are said to have paid their obesience to the holy *Svayambhu Caitya.*[11] Among the 28 *Manushi* Buddhas, SvP makes reference of last seven popular Buddhas in Nepal. Binoytosh Bhattacharya doubts the historicity of these mortal Buddhas except Kanakmuni and Krakucchanda Buddha and Shakyamuni. [12] Scholars interpreting profound meaning of the word Svayambhu from philosophical point of view write –"

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7. A. Fuhrer, *Antiquities of Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth Place in the Nepalese Terai,* (Kathmandu : The Nepal Studies, Past and Present, 1996), p. 19.

8. Sushila Pradhan,*" Buddhism In Ancient Nepal"*, (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, submitted to the Dean Office, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur) June 1994, p. 70 cf., *Jataka Katha* (Jataka Stories), (Trans by *Bhikshu* Dharmarakshita), Vol. I, First Edition,(Benares : Bharatiya Jnanapith), p. 11.

9. Wright, f.n. No. 3, p. 78, Wright edited chronicle presents *Adi* Buddha as *Sadguru* entreated by all the deitie including Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesvara , Indra and other Dikpalas.

10. Hem Raj Shakya (Intro) *Shree Swayambhu Mahachaitya*, (Kathmandu : Swayambhu Vikas Mandal, 1978 A.D. (N.S. 1098), p. 6.

11. Pradhan, f.n. No. 8,p.56. cf. *Svayambhu Mahapurana* by Badri Ratna Vajracharya, (Kathmandu : Sanu Maiya Tuladhar, Panorma Hotel, Kathmandu,1983A.D. (V.S.240),pp.2-20.

12. Harischandra Lal Singh, *Buddhism In Nepal, A Brief Historical Introduction,* (Lalitpur : Satish Singh,1990,p.3 Binoytosh Bhattacharya writes – The historicity of these mortal Busshas is still uncertain excepting that Kanakmuni and Krakucchanda really were historical personages.

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Svayambhu means the knowledge of the past in relation to *Nirvana* (salvation) and it has no beginning and end." [13] As mentioned in last Chapter, Sanu Bhai Dangol writes-"With the rise of Mahayana Buddhism, Svayambhu appears as *Devadhideva* (God of Gods i.e. divine beyond all divinities, a superdeva). It is believed that Svayambhu had his existence from millions of aeons and would remain for unlimited aeons. The followers of Mahayana believed Shakyamuni Buddha as the father of all human beings and he was replaced by Svayambhu. Mahayana developed *Bhakti* tradition. It not only attempted to degrade Sthaviravada as Hinayana but also made historical Shakyamuni Buddha as *Pauranic* Buddha (mythical Buddha). The Buddha was presented as Buddha incarnate, Omnipotent, Almighty." Dangol refers it as distortions and anomalies in Buddhism of Nepal. He further mentions that these distortions and anomalies further appeared with the rise of Vajrayana schism.In this context Sumati Vaidya writes –"If one follows only history it will diminish the devotion.Devotion and faith is the basis of eastern culture" Dangol, however mentions –"The Vajrayana texts such as *Shree Samaj* (also called *Guhya Samaj, Sadhanamala, Jnanasiddhi*) make recommendations which break *Pancashil*. For example *Guhya Samaj* recognizes the acts like killing, telling lie, stealing and sexual relation with women. How it could be imagined that the Buddha ever recognized such acts"? He further writes-"Shakyamuni Buddha was replaced by a Yakshya named Vajrapani or Vajrasattva. *Vajra* the weapon of Indra is assumed as a symbol of *Sunyata*, Vajradhara who hold it or Vajrasattva who emerged from *Vajratattva* (the element of thunderbolt) appeared as *Adi* Buddha." He further writes – Vajrasattva's prior form was a *Yakshya* named Vajrapani. The Sanskrit Buddhist texts mention the prior forms of Vajrapani. *Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita* mentions Vajrapani as chief *Yakshya*, *Suvarna Pravas* refers him as the king or commander-in-chief of the *Yakshyas* and *Saddharmapundarika* depicts him as the *Nirmanakaya* of *Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara.* In this form, he is established as Vajrasattva or Vajradhara who dominated Brahma, Narayana, Indra, Maheshwara and other Hindu deities along with *Bodhisattva* and *Prateyak* Buddha. In this context he quotes Snellgrove.[14]

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[13]. Dibyavajra Vajracharya "Preface" , *Svayambhu Mahapurana* by Badri Ratna Vajracharya, ( Kathmandu : Aasanda Svadharma *Vihara*, 2005 A.D.) ,p.10.

[14]. Sanu Bhai Dangol, "Bauddha Itihaska Kehi Pristhaharu, Buddha Dharma Dekhapareka Vicharharu Sambandhama Ek Adhyayana" (Some pages of Buddhist history, A study relating to distortions and anomalies in Buddhism ) Collection of an article and counter articles ),( Bhaktapur, Madhyapur Thimi: Nagadesh Lyayemha Puchah, 2007 A.D.),pp 5.-17. Cf. David L Snellgrove, Indo Tibetan Buddhism

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Sridhar Rana contradicts of the views of Dangol. In this context Rana writes-"In the second *Sanghayana,* held after one hundred years of the *Parinirvana* of the Buddha, the Theravada tradition started. During the same time, Mahasanghika *Nikaya* (tradition) came into existence according to the views of modern scholars." In this regard Rana quotes the views of Lalmani Joshi, Conze, Richard Robinson and *Bhikshu* Sangharakshita. [15] In consideration of these views, inference may be drawn that both the schools of Buddhism i.e. Theravada and Mahayana originated one hundred years after the *Parinirvana* of the Buddha. Both the schools seem to have distorted the original teachings of the Buddha. Local scholars also opine that the Buddha preached Mahayana even in his life time. But the development of Buddhism shows that Mahayana had its origin in the beginning of the Christian era only with its link with Mahasanghikas. Rana writes that the Theravada texts also assert it. Again Vajrapani appears as *Bodhisattva* of Aksobhya. Referring to a German *Bhikshu* Govinda, Snellgrove opined that Vajrapani, Vajrasattva or Vajradhara a *Yakshya* was regarded as the main deity of Vajrayana. It originated later on. Contradicting this view, Sumati Vaidya writes –"The Buddha himself called him that he was neither *Yakshya* nor God he was an enlightened Buddha."

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Volume One, ( Boston : Sambhala Publication, Inc., 1987 ),pp.134- 137. Snellgrove writes – " Placing his *Vajra* on his heart ,he said to all the Buddhas: ' O all you Tathagatas, I do not comply.' They said:' O why? and he replied: ' O Lords there are evil beings, Maheshwara (Siva) and others, who have not been converted by all of *Tathagatas*. How am I to deal with them?"In response the Resplendent One (Vairochana) relapsed into the state of composure known as Wrathful Pledge- *Vajra*, the great compassionate means of all the *Tathagatas*, and enunciated the syllable HUM. At once there emerged from the *Vajra* at the heart of Vajrapani the Lord Vajradhara who manifested a variety of fearful Vajrapani forms, reciting the verse: Oho! I am the means of conversion, possessed of all means. Spotless they assume a wrathful appearance so that beings may be converted by these means. The Vajrapani pronounce his own *Vajra* syllable: Hum! As soon he pronounced this, all the great gods of who belonged to threefold world, fell down on their faces, emitting miserable cries, and they went to Vajrapani for protection. The Great God himself (Maheshwara) remained motionless on the ground, quite dead."

15. Sridhar Rana, "Dr. Sanubhaijyuko Lekhko Khandan, Khanda 1," (Contradiction of the article of Dr. Sanubhai, Pat 1), "Bauddha Itihaska Kehi Pristhaharu: Bauddha Dharmama Dekhapareka Vikritiharu Ra Vichalanharu Sambhandhama Ek Adhyayana" (Some pages of Buddhist history: A study relating to some distortions and anomalies in Buddhism), (Madhyapur Thimi:Nagadesh : Lyamha Puchah, 2007 A.D.),pp.23: Cf. Lalmani Joshi, *Discerning the Buddha*, 1923 A.D. p.16. Joshi writes- " The view that in several respects Mahayana texts seem to be closer to the 'original' or the earliest teaching. It has been expressed by many distinguished Buddhist scholars.": Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India*, 1962,p.203. Conze writes- "So far as the borrowing of any thing by Mahayana is concerned, it borrowed from Mahasanghika and that is also partially. Again it seems that Mahayana accepted some aspects from tradition and gave it more importance. More that that it did not do.": Robinson, *The Buddhist Religion, A Historical Introduction*, 1970 A.D. pp 37,38. Robinson writes-" The Theravadians claim that they call themselves more tradition bound but in reality they had distorted the original teachings of the Buddha…..The Mahasanghikas have included devotees and *Bhikshus* who have not attained Arhathood and they were aware of religious values and recognitions. They were progressive reformers and two third of the basic elements of Mahayana have their root in Mahasanghika." *Bhikshu* Sangharakshita, *A Survey of Buddhism,* 1996 A.D. pp.117-187. Sangharakshita writes – "Mahayana tradition on the whole is devoted to original teachings of the Buddha."

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The archaeological explorations, investigations and scientific researches on certain sites of Nepal are aimed at attesting the available literary accounts. On the basis of scientific electro magnetic survey some important monuments are discovered to carry on further detail excavation. This scientific model is applied in the excavation of Ramgrama site. Buddhist monuments were excavated in the Kathmandu Valley and Terai region. Some relics were unearthed at a *Stupa* in Lumbini. At present it is preserved in National Museum Chhauni. Important artifacts are studied and sites are dated approximately. Such informations are found to be helpful in finding out the historicity of Buddhas prior to Gautam Buddha. Although historicity of some prior Buddhas is established on the basis of archaeology, these are not established properly. Some scholars take them as legendary Buddhas. Some other scholars say that it will be rediculas to propagate Svayambhu cult on the basis of *Svayambhu Purana.*

Scholars have classified the seven Buddhas as the Buddhas of past, present and future. Niels Gustschow has classfified the Buddhas of past as the Buddhas of *Satya Yuga* (Golden Age), Vipashvi and Shikhi Buddhas are in it. In the myth of creation, he mentions Vipashvi Buddha as the Buddha of prehistoric lake named *Kalihrada.* In the *Tritayuga*, he mentions Vishvabhu Buddha, Manjushree *Bodhisattvata* and Krakucchanda Buddha. In *Dvaparayuga,* he refers to Kanakmuni Buddha and Kashyapa Buddha. He mentions 'Sakyamuni' Buddha as of *Kaliyuga.* [16] However, it is very difficult to maintain chronology on the basis of myth. The archacological excavation of Gotihawa shows the discovery of facts dating back from 7th to 9th century B.C. which is regarded as the remains of prehistoric period. The term prehistory denotes streches of of history which is not covered by written sources. In other words, it is the period of history before written records were made. [17] These Buddhas whose written records are not available are termed as Buddhas of prehistoric period.

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[16]. Niels Gustschow (Intro), *The Nepalese Caitya, 1500 years of Buddhist Vatine Architecture in the Kathmandu Valley*, (Stuttgart/Londoni : Axel Mengas, 1997 A.D.), p. 15.

[17]. Devendra Nath Tiwari, *"Cave Burials from Western Nepal"*, (Kathmandu : *Ancient Nepal* DOA, No. 85, Dec 1984-1985 A.D.), pp. 1-11

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## 2.2. Mythological Accounts on the Buddhism of Pre and Proto Historic Period

It is obvious that mythological accounts are also the sources of prehistoric and proto historic period in the history of Buddhism in Nepal. It is related with the primitive concept of life. Mythology helps to understand the great forces of nature. Scholars opine that mythology takes us nearest to the period when the works on the mythology were composed or the tradition was started. To some extent later commentaries and ritual texts may help to know the background of the mythology. Alfred Hellebrandt defines mythology as human experience related with psychological and cultural make up of the inhabitants related with the pantheon.[18] Encyclopaedia also defines mythology. [19] Scholars mention that mythology reveals the character of the country, the psychological and cultural makeup of its inhabitants. It influences the strength of the individuals, sources and determines the traits of character of its pantheon. It is stated that the process of myth formation never comes to rest; it discards outdated elements and moulds the traditional ones into new forms. Hillebrandt also mentions that the driving forces of mythology are patterns of thought. [20] D.R. Regmi writes- "what we have here is myths and legends gaining historical facts." [21] Writing about Lamaist mythology, A. Waddell writes that Buddhism with its creative touch bodied forth in concrete shape the abstract conceptions of the learned and while incorporating into the pantheon the local Gods of

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[18]. Alfred Hillebrant, (Intro), *Vedic Mythology Vol. I*, (Delhi : Srieramula and S Rajeswara Sharma Motilal Benarasidas, Delhi, Varanashi, Patna: 1st Edition, 1902,) p.2. Hillebrant writes- "the sources from which myths are created are numerous. Whatever stirs the imagination, whatever induces fear or pleasure or impress the mind dreaming or awake, becomes or can become the starting point of divine being. The myth creating mind has always made the use of these sources: they converge in varying degrees of strength and create in their confluence the mythology of the people." Quoting Roscher, he mentions - "All human experiences, those of external as well as those of inner life can become myths when they are connected with a divine or a demonac being. The character of the country, the psychological or cultural makeup of its inhabitants, inferences the strength of the individual sources and determines the traits of the character of its pantheon."

[19]. *The New University Encyclopaedia and World Atlas*, (London and Glasgow : C.A. Alington, DD, Eten-Collins,1932 A.D.)p.914.

[20]. Hillebrant, f.n. No.18, p. 3. Hillebrant writes- "The driving forces of mythology are restlessness of human mind caused by psychological factors, contact with other tribes, progress and decline of civilization, living condition, climate and vegetation, acceptance of ideas by new generation, creative power of individuals with far reaching influence, (like poets and priests) and patterns of thought which emerge from unfathomable depths.

[21]. D.R Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, (Calcutta : Firma, K.L Mukhopadyay, Second Edition, 1960), p. 25.

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the country, it gave milder meanings to the popular myths and legends. [22] Every country has its myths and legends relating to mythology. Mythology in Nepal is developed with the deification of nature and local deities. D. Wright has narrated the accounts of four *Yugas* as mythological accounts. [23] Jawahar Lal Nehru making remarks on myth says that the factual contents of the myth although seem absurd and ridiculous, they are endowed with rich imagination, full of human lessons and cultural background. [24]

Mythological accounts of the history of Buddhism in Nepal are based on *Svayambhu Purana, Nepal Mahatmya, Jataka, Avadanas*, Buddhist and local *Vamsavalis* and other accounts of the historians. History of Buddhism in the prehistoric and proto historic period of Nepal is generally based on myths and legends. The legacy of which is very strong in Nepalis culture. Its impact is long lasting. Mythological accounts are focused on religion. The accounts mentioned in the *Puranas* are based on general faith of the people or hearsay and are not often corroborated from other reliable sources. From religious point of view, the pre- historic and proto historic periods in the history of Nepal are believed to be the age of Gods, then only the age of human beings. Ages are divided into *Satya, Treta, Dwapar* and *Kali Yugas* (Golden Age to Iron Age.).The religiosity of the people has continued the tradition uptil now. Regarding the myth of creation, origin of *Adi* Buddha and Svayambhu *Caitya,*N. Gustschow writes- "the lotus below the primary trio recalls the myth of creation and the lotus with the self-existent light (*Svayambhu)* which Santikaracarya, the legendary founder of Nepalis Buddhism, covered with *Caitya* at the commenment of the world are of *Kaliyuga."* [25] Bhuwan Lal Pradhan writes that one of the *Tathagata* of *Panca Tathagatas* was introduced in China and Mahayana

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[22] .Austine Waddell, *Buddhism And Lamaism of Tibet*, (Kathmandu: Educational Enterprise (Pvt.) Ltd Asian Publishers Indian Reprint, 1978), p. 324, Waddell indicates the gradual growth of legend and idoltary in Tibetan Buddhism.

[23]. Wright, f.n. No. 3, Wright mentions- "Mythological period of the history of Nepal extends through the *Satya, Treta and Dwapar kali Yugas* (ages). It contains numerous curious legends."

[24] . Jawahar Lal Nehru, *The Discovery of India,* (New Delhi : Indian Council of Cultural Relations, (Reprinted) 1961), p. 39. Nehru writes- "These were the days when life was full in harmony with nature, when man's mind gazed at the wonder and delight at the mystery of the universe, when heaven and earth seemed very near to each other and Gods and Goddesses come down from Kailash or other Himalayan haunts, even as the Gods of Olympus used to come down, play with and sometimes punish men and women. Out of this abundant life and rich imagination grew myth and legend and story and beautiful Gods and Goddess, for the ancient Indians, like Greeks were lovers of beauty and life". "Lack of historical sense did not affect the masses and myth and story that were handed to them from generation to generation. This imagined history and mixture of fact and legend became widely known and gave to the people a strong and abiding cultural background.

[25] . Gustschow *f.n.No 16* p. 18.

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Buddhism was prevalent there.[26] *Saddharmapundaria* a text belonging to the beginning of 1st century A.D. mentions that Vairochana, Amitabhava *Tathagatas* and *Bodhisattva* Avalokiteshvara, are supernatural Buddhas and *Bodhisattva*.[27] Gustschow mentions that the Kathmandu Valley is said to be equivalent to the diagrammatic version of *Samvaramandala* dedicated to the most important Buddhist esoteric deity. The Valley is the "place" of Svayambhunath, the archetype of Nepalis *Caitya*.[28] The cosmic elements such as water, air, earth, light and space are represented as symbolic deities *Panca Buddhas* or *Tathagatas*. The *Svayambhu Purana* (SvP) gives the mythological accounts of the history of Buddhism in Nepal. SvP is also regarded as one of the oldest texts of Buddhism in Nepal although there are some texts of later addition. The SvP glorifies the sacred Buddhist shrines of the Kathmandu Valley and Svayambhu proper. It mentions the homage of Vipashvi Buddha to Svayambhu at *Nagadaha*. He is referred to as sowing the seed of lotus. After his instruction to his disciples, he had his *Nirvana* (salvation).[29] Svayambhu is represented as *Jyotirupam, Jinalaya* (in the form of light, and house of victors)[30] Theme of SvP is related with the accounts of the Buddhas prior to Shakyamuni Buddha. It is a story narrated by Shakyamuni Buddha to Maitreya as referred in the text. The tradition of narrating the story is as follows i.e. firstly from Shakyamuni Buddha to Maitreya *Bodhisattv*, then from *Bhikshu* Upagupta to Mauryan Emperor Ashoka of and then from *Bhikshu* Jayashree to Jinashree Raja *Bodhisattva*. Thus Shakyamuni Buddha appears as the main actor in SvP. In reality SvP is the work of 16th century with the theme of the story of creation from Buddhistic point of view. Scholars regard it as the reversal of Shakyamuni Buddha's teaching. Although the theme is of *Purana* depicting prehistoric and protohistoric period, it is animiated with the flesh and blood i.e.spirit of the the 16th century Nepal. SvP presents the Buddhas of past, present and future. It aims at *Parisuddha Trimandala* i.e. pure in *Kaya, Vac and Citta* (body, mind and speech). Vajrayana Buddhism mainly aims at these objectives. *Mandala* worship is also a characteristic of Vajrayana Buddhism. Scholars mention that *Nitya Sodashi Arnava Tantra* preserved in the National Archives of Nepal was practiced in Nepal in the 5th

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26. Pradhan, f.n. No. 8, p. 85.
27 *Ibid.*, p.91, Cf. T. W. Ryas David, Buddhism,London, pp19,22.
28. Gustschow, f.n.. No.16, p. 16.
29. Min Bahadur Shakya and Shanta Harsha Bajracharya, *Svayambhu Purana*, (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Institute of Exact Method, 2001 A.D), p. 11, SVP chapter II, verse No. 5, p. 5.
30. *Ibid.*, Chapter IX and X verse No. 9 and verse No. 11 respectively. pp. 223, 236.

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century A.D. SvP shows the importance of *Yoga* (meditation).too. It describes Samhegun hill, the holy land. [31]

SvP describes the shape of Svayambhu hill as *Goshringa* and *Gopuccha Parbat*. Visualizing them from Chobhar hill, they look like the shape described in SvP. As per SvP, Svayambhu was also known as *Padmagiri* in *Satyayuga*, *Vajrakuta* in *Tretayuga*, *Goshringa* in *Dvaparyuga* and *Gopuccha* in *Kaliyuga*. SvP deals with *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu and other *Manushi* Buddhas anterior to Gautam Buddha. SvP is based on *Bhaktimarga* (path of devotion). We do not get any authentic record about the origin of Svayambhu. Considering the antiquity of the Svayambhu hill, the existence of gold mine makes us think about the antiquity the hill from geomorphological point of view. In Svayambhu hill near Anandakuti *Vihara* a site was explored before Kashyapa *Caitya*. It revealed that it was the old site. The exploration indicated the antiquity of the hillock. Hem Raj Shakya mentions that Khadga Narsingh Rana of the Department of Mine, with the help of mine specialist A.G Jhingran of India could discover 342 grams of gold from one ton rock of the hill in 1941 A.D. [32]

Shakya's work *Shree Swayambhu Mahachaitya* is stated to have been based on *Swayambhu Purana*. However, some where he tries to show its anitiquity on scientific basis. Different *Vamsavalis* have different accounts about the origin of Svayambhu. A local *Vamsavali* preserved in Kaishar Library gives account of Vipashvi Buddha who came to *Nagadaha* from the town of Bandhumati. It mentions that he sowed a seed of a lotus in *Nagadaha* for the origin of Svayambhu as stated above. After giving instruction he went to his abode. The *Vamsavali* also gives account of the homage of Shikhi to Svayambhu light. The *Vamsavali* further mentions that Vishnu had his incarnation of Buddha from the womb of Mayadevi, queen of Suddhodana. On the *Upanayana* ceremony of the prince, Lord Brahma offered *Danda*, (a stick), Lord Shiva gave begging bowl and Lord Indra offered *Chhatra* (Umbrella) and *Guru* Sukracharya, the saffron dress. Some Buddhists are reluctant to accept this account. Such account seems to have

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31. *Ibid.*, f.n. No.29, Chapter I, verse No. 20, 23, 24, 28 -30, 49-50, pp. 3-4, 7-8 (Intro), p. 21, Shakya writes- SVP.mentions the origin of the myth of the Kathmandu Valley and its self existing divine light (Svayambhu *Jyotirupa*). The Kathmandu Valley is referred as a sacred place for practicing Buddhism long before the apparence of the historical Buddha Sakyamuni. After the light of Svayambhu appeared it became the focus of Newar Buddhist devotion. The earliest version of the Svayambhu myth focuses on the importance of divine light, but later versio ns give prominence to *Dharmadhatu Vagisvara* (Manjushree).

32. Shakya, f.n. No. 10, pp. 353-354.

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been added later on to show the sense of syncretism. The *Vamsavali* adds that *Bhagavata Purana* takes the Buddha as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu. The story of incarnation of the Buddha is narrated in *Himvatsakhanda* chapter 64. [33] This account also is not acceptable to the orthodox Buddhists. *Rajbhogmala Vamsavali* also mentions that King Prachandadeva of the country of Gaud renounced and embressed monkhood, taking the title of Shantashree. He came to Nepal, covered the Svayambhu light with stone slab and constructed Svayambhu *Caitya*. Percy Brown assumes that the ancient *Stupa* of Svayambhu, situated in the hillock to the west of Kathmandu is believed to be 2000 years old. [34] Citing *Svayambhu Purana*, Kula Dharmaratna Tuladhar has given the extracts of SvP which mentions-"the *Tathagata* (Buddha) blessed all the people and described the importance of Nepal area, the fame of Manjudeva. Then he circled the forest (Swayambhu Mount) three times and described the importance and recalled past experiences. As he climbed the mount he said- "In my seven births, I have visited this place seven times and each time I found in different colours." [35] In view of this statement, the background of myth and legend in the Kathmandu Valley relating to Buddhism has its begining from the last seven *Manushi* Buddhas. SvP includes several mythological accounts of Buddhism. We have many recensions of SvP. These are published with the title of *Gosring Parvata, Svayambhu Caitya Bhattarakoddesa, Vrihat Svayambhu Purana, Svayambhu Utpatikatha, and Svayambhu Mahacaitya*. Ramanda Shakya of Rudra Varna *Mahavihara* Patan has written *Svayambhu Purana* in ten chapters in 1558 A.D. (*Samvat* 678). The text in Sanskrit has been translated in Nepal Bhasa (local language) by Min Bahadur Shakya and Shanta Harsa Bajracharya. It shows the localization of Buddhist tradition in Sanskrit writing. The oldest version seems to have been augmented by latter versions. The SvP referred here gives more exposure on Bodhisattvayana; Mahayana and Vajrayana. It is obvious that Vajrayana Buddhism is syncretic in nature. It has adopted different Hindu deities by converting them into Buddhism. It has integrated *Shravakashila* and *Bodhisattva* rituals to generate *Bodhicitta*. It is based on *Prajnopaya* (skillful means). The *Bodhisattva* rituals have been elaborately

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[33]. Department of Archaeology, "Nepal Deshko Itihas" (History of Nepal) (preserved in Kaishar Library, *Ancient Nepal,* (Kathmandu : DOA, No. 12, 1970 A.D.), pp.22, 25.

[34]. Pradhan, f.n. No. 5, pp. 26,148: Cf. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu*. Seventh Reprint, (Bombay : D.B. Tripurwala Sons and Co. Pvt. Ltd. 1976 A.D.) p.162.

[35] Kuladharma Ratna, *Buddhism and Nepal,* (Kathmandu : Dharmodaya Sabha, 1951), p. 1 Kuladharma Ratna has not mentioned from which recension of SVP he quoted the extract

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dealt with in this work. SvP shows the merit of venerating *Vitaragas* (the Shaivite deities), and *Matrikas*. It also regards Bhairavas, sages and *Shravakas*. The Shaivites, Shaktas, Kaulikas and Vaishnavites venerate *Svayambhu Jyotirupa* and *Khaganana, Nairatma* Guhesvari. It indicates the spirit of toleration among different creeds of Nepal. Holiness of *Tirthasthala* (holy bathing places on the confluences of rivers) is highlighted. In the Chapter fifth of SvP, merits of *Uposadhavrata* (rituals of fasting on certain days), recitations of *Dharani Mantra* for *Bodhijnana* are highlighted. SvP also highlights the merits of worshipping *Dharmadhatumandala*, (the symbol of Mahayana Buddhism), myth of Majudeva or Mahamanjushree, ritual of reciting *Namasangiti*. It mentions the term *Nepalvishaya (Nepal Mandala)*. Prachandadeva's ordination in Vajrayana and his specialisation in *Vajrayoga*, veneration to *Caitya* make him incarnation of Vajradhar. His observation of *Bodhisamvara* and *Bodhivrata* are shown as path to *Saddharma*.[36] In SvP, Emperor Ashoka had eulogised Shakyamuni as *Sugata, Suddham, Pancajinalayam, Pundarikakshya, Tathagata, Shamanta Bhadra Shastam Sakyasimha, Yogisvaram Vishsvesvara, Vishvarupam, Vinayakam, Vilakshyanasampurnam, Vitaraga, Dasabalam, Lokacharya and Nirhankara Nirvikalpa.* (Buddha, pure house of five victors, lotus eyed, thus gone, benevolent, enlightened, Shakyasimha, Lord of the sages, Lord of the people, God Ganesh, deity with uncommon traits, deity without any sense of lust, deity possessing of ten powers, teacher of the people, deity without any ego, deity without any alternative etc). Thus Shakyamuni Buddha is defied and exists as the God of Vajrayana Buddhism. [37] These accounts are taken as reversal of the Buddha, teachings. These eulogies show Shakyamauni Buddha as Svayambhu. This account makes the readers confused. Scholars write that Svayambhu existed long before Shakyamuni Buddha. Emperor Ashoka is also referred as paying homage to Svayambhu. The account is fictitious in nature. In SvP, Ashoka called Svayambhu as *(Triratna Dharmadhatu)* which exists in the form of consciousness, *Svayambhuvam, Jyotirupaya, Chaitannayam.* Svayambhu is also described as *Jinalaya* (house of the victors), *Vishvatomukharupaya, Bhaktavatsala* (deity in the form of the world, who loves the devotees), *Maradinidhanaya*

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[36]. Shakya and Bajracharya, f.n. No. 29, pp. 102 -166, SVP, Chapter IV, Verse No. 135, 141, 142, Chapter V, Verse No 14- 132, Chapter VI, Verse No 55,120,149, Chapter VII, Verse No. 29, 33, 37, 43, 53, pp. 163-166.

[37]. *Ibid,* SVP, Chapter X, Verse No. 59-64, pp. 243-244: SVP mentions-Then Emperor Ashoka paid homage to Manjushree *Caitya* and *Svayambhu Dharmadhatu Caitya.* He prayed *Svayambhu* as *Tathagata* (thus gone).

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(deity who removes the enemies which exist in the form of lusts), *Jagatshrastha* (deity who creates the world) and *Jagatdhatre* (deity who protects the world). Svayambhu is also described as divine celestial Buddha who manifested and protected the whole world. Some scholars take it as distortions of Buddhism while some say that it as based on *Bhaktimarga* (devotional path) while the other take it as holy Buddhism. SvP itself is taken as the holy text which explains Mahayana philosophy and concept of *Dharmadhatuvagisvara*.[38] Min Bahadur Shakya writes that the SvP was created by Newar Buddhists to combine the teachings of Mahayana with older *Avadana* stories. Manuscripts of the text have come down to us in Sanskrit and also in *Nepal Bhasa* translation. Most of the manuscripts deal with the ten chapter version of the story. [39]

Writing about *Ashtavimsati* Buddhas (28 human Buddhas) prior to Shakyamuni Buddha, Rajendra Ram has tried to link Buddhist creed with Harappan culture. According to him, study and research of Aryan domination over Dravidans have been amplified by some scholars in the Buddhistic studies. The issue of tug of war between the Aryao- Dravid cultures made false representation of Dravid culture. The Brahmanical scholars made fictitious imagination of Harappan culture and twisted and distorted history. As mentioned in the last Chapter, the remains of Harrapan culture were Buddhistic in character. Pipal leaves, the *Swastika*, *Dharmachakra*, row of peacocks, deers, bulls etc on Harrapan potteries are evidently the imprints of the ingredients of Buddhist culture. [40]

In this context reference to original or first Buddha according to the Gurungs may be cited. German Professor Heinz Bechert writes that the Gurungs of Rupandehi believe that there was a great teacher who existed a long time before the historical Buddha. He was the original Buddha or the first Buddha. To sum up the concept of the first Buddha according to the Gurungs, the first Buddha created (*Samsara*) world. After the creation of the world, he taught his wisdom to four *Mahagurus* (great teachers). These great teachers

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38. Shakya and Bajracharya, f.n.No. 29, Chapter X, verse No. 6670, 135, pp. 244-245 and 225.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

40. Rajendra Ram (Intro), *Intellectual Perspective of Rahul Sankrityayana, Essays and Reminiscences*, (Patna : Janajagarana Prakashana, 2005 A.D.), p. VII: Rajendra Ram writes- Large scale ignorance or negligence of the vital issue of tug of war between the Aryan - Dravidan cultures and beyond by the historians of the establishment has spread false and fictitious part of history. In fact Buddhism was the real religion of the Harrapans. The Buddhists antecedents of the Harrapan culture heralded their dispassionate views in Aryan studies and failed or knowingly neglected Buddhistic religious and cultural contents of the Harrapan culture. This is a burning issue of present time which deserves fresh study and research.

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were 1) Jyehenguru 2) Urgyanguru 3) Kytamguru and 4) Cyintamaguru. At that time twelve men were introduced into the wisdom and they were called *Mahabuddhas*. These twelve men from five groups were the first settlers of hill areas and they were the ancestors of all Gurung tribes. Three of these *Maha Buddhas* are called royal ancestors (*gyalphaila*). They are referred for 'three laws of existence' (*phu-tam-som*). The task of these heroes is to benifit the tribe by divine power. The rituals which were ordered by the original Buddha are performed by the priest called *Gyampin*, which corresponds to the *Klihbri* in the record of Gurungs as elaborated by Pignede. [41] It is also taken as devotional work. It is stated that the rich literature of Gurungs was destroyed by King Jayasthiti Malla and Shankaracharya. Only the Kyerio, which had been learnt by the priests were saved. Another surviving element of ancient religion is the calender system with tutelary Gods of the four directions. Writing about the antiquity of original Buddha, Bechert says that the original Buddha and *Maha* Buddhas are believed to have existed on earth about five to six thousand years back. It was much later the recent Buddha, Shakyamuni was born in Lumbini.

Referring local informants Bechert writes that the Buddha was not 'Aryan' but belonged to ancient Mongolied population of Terai. He only revived the teachings of the original Buddha. The teachings of original Buddha was about to be forgotten. However, it had been handed down by the very people of that time. Now the ritual is performed in the Mahajnana *Vihara* for the recent Buddha.[42] Bechert also writes - "Early European indelogical literature makes mention of an original Buddha who lived before 1000 B.C." At the same time, he remarks that it seems to have originated from tradition concerning mythical Buddhas. The belief of the Gurungs of Rupandehi reveals ancient Gurung myths and tradition. Bechert refers that the belief of the Gurungs appears as tribal religion which combines the element of pre-Buddhist religion of the Tibeto-Burman tribes of the shammanic type. Thus their belief is limited to myth and legends which are imaginative. The author has collected the information from Mahajnana Bauddha *Vihara* in Butwal. It is remarked that these myths and legends are coincidental with Buddhism. It is clear that the story of creation as mentioned above is against the tenets of Buddhism.

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41. Heinz Bechert, "The Original Buddha and Recent Buddha, A Preliminary Report on Buddhism in Gurung Community" *Ancient Nepal*, (Kathmandu : DOA,, No. 119 1990), pp. 9-13.

42. *Ibid*, p.11

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## 2.3. Accounts of Jatakas, Puranas and Other Holy Texts on Buddhism

It is obvious that the *Jataka* stories give accounts of the Buddha's previous birth. It is known that more than 549, according to other version 550. *Jatakas* have been collected and published. They are also centralised to inspire devotion to Buddhism and bring the people to the path of *Bhakti*. The Buddhist literatures related to the Buddha's previous birth are *Jatakamala, Vrihat Jataka and Avadanas*. Nehru says that *Jatakas* account takes us to pre Buddhist period and they deal with the period when the final amalgamation of two principal races of India, the Dravidians and the Aryans, was taking place. [43] He cites Prof. Winternitz's verson too. Prof Winternitz version mentions that the *Jatakas* were of inestimable value not only as regards literature and art but also from point of view of the history of civilization for the period of the third century B.C. We have here the *Vyaghrini Jataka* localized in Namobuddha in relation to Buddha's previous birth as prince Mahasattva. Mary S. Slusser citing accounts of Fahien mentions a *Stupa* of Taxila marked as a place where *Bodhisattva* threw down his body to feed a starving tigress. She states-"*Mahasattvajivani* (life of prince Mahasattva) is one of the most popular and widely told stories in Nepal Mandala." [44] We have the reference *of Dasaratha Jataka* in which account of the incarnation of Vishnu of epic period is depicted. To make it clear Dr. Radha Krishnan's dating may be cited. He has put the period of *Vedic* literature in between 1500-600 B.C, epic period from 600-200 B.C.and *Sutra* period lays in 200 A.D. He writes that the early *Upanishads* were written in between 1000-300 B.C. [45] He further mentions that Buddhist literature was developed after *Upanishad* period. *Shanker*

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[43]. Nehru, f.n. No. 24, p. 64, Nehru writes- An earlier account , which definitely takes us back to the pre-Buddhist period in India, is contained in the collection of the *Jataka* tales. These *Jatakas* were given the present shape sometimes after the Buddha. They were supposed to deal with the previous incarnations of the Buddha and have become important part of the Buddhist literature. But the stories are evidently much older and they deal with pre-Buddhistic period and give us much valuable information about the life in India in those days. Professor Rhys Davids has described them as the oldest, most complete and most important folklore extent. Many of the subsequent collection of animal and other stories which were written in India and found their way to Western Europe can be traced to the *Jataka*. He further adds -the *Sankhya* system, which Kapila (seventh century B.C.) is said to have shaped out of many early and pre Buddhist currents of thought is remarkable. p. 118

[44]. Mary Shepherd Slusser, *Nepal Mandala, A Cultural Study of Kathmandu Valley, Vol I*, (New Jersey : Princeton University, 1992), p. 303.

[45]. S. Radhakrishnan, *Bharatiya Darshan*, (Indian Philosophy), (Trans.in Hindi by Nanda Kishor Govil),(New Delhi: Rajpal and Sons,1922 A.D.), p. 47, Nehru, f.n. No. 19, pp 48. "Nehru mentions that the *Upanishads* date back from about 800 B.C. All Buddhist system of philosophy have their orgin in the *Upanishads*.

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*Bhashya* (commentary) dates back to 400-300 B.C. [46] Period before Lord Buddha is known as proto historic period. The above datings can be taken to indicate the time of the development of Buddhist literature which accounts for proto historic period of Buddhism to some extent. In Nepal we have the reference of the localization of *Manichuda Jataka* in Vajrajogini. As mentioned above, the *Vyaghrini Jataka* is localized in Namobuddha. The *Kinnari Jataka* is depicted in Chabahil. The epigraphy of Licchavi period refers the account of *Kinnari Jataka* in Chabahil. [47] *Sarvananda Nripavadana* mentions the monkey incarnation of the Shakyamuni Buddha named Jnanakara at the time of Krakucchanda Buddha in *Tretayuga.*[48] De La Valle Poussin writes that the Shakyamini's former births as a good elephant, the patient bear, the generous king Sibi have been embellished with Hindu stories. The popular faith had embodied its conception of a good man. The chief characteristic of Shakyamuni is his universal benevolence and pity for creatures. It is known as Buddha Nature. For monks Shakyamuni is a great ascetic (*Mahashramana*). He has been venerated as the Great Compassionate one (*Mahakarunika*). His goodness was fascinating. He is worshipped as incarnation of goodness. [49] When we think of the Buddhism of proto historic period on the basis of tradition we would have to base the accounts of the *Puranas*, *Mahatmyas*, holy scriptures as well as archaeological accounts in drawing the outline of Buddhism in that period. According to the Theravada tradition we have the accounts of 28 previous Buddhas where as Mahayana gives accounts of 32 earlier Buddhas. In this connection Asha Ram Shakya's version is worth considering. [50] R.A.Gard, mentions that the Hinayanists even in their early stages recognised 24 bygone

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[46]. *Ibid*, p. 114.

[47]. Dhanavajra Vajracharya, *Licchavi Kalka Abhilekh* (Inscription of Licchavi Period), (Kirtipur : Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1973 A.D. ( 2030 V.S.), pp. 1-2.

[48]. Juddha Ratna Vajrachaya, (compiled) *Bodhisttvavadana* Part II, (Kathmandu: Sunkeshari Vajracharya, 2000 A. D.), p. 9.

[49]. DeLa Valle Poussin "*Buddhism*" in G.T. Garrat (Ed) *Legacy of India*, (London : Oxford University, Reprint, 1951), p. 170. Poussin writes that before the compilation of *Saddharmapundarika* (Lotus of the true Law) about the beginning of the Christian era a new departure was there i.e. all men can become future Buddha. He mentions that there was great departure in the nature of primitive Buddhism and Buddhism after the beginning of Christian era.

[50]. Shakya, f.n. No. 6, p. 40, Shakya says- "If we are to note in terms of history we find that Theravada has also recorded the appearance of twenty eight Buddhas but no. detail references about them have been found in any historical works of Pali canon.The Mahayana too specially in *Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita* references have been made to indicate that there had been as many Buddhas as there are sand grains in the sea, p. 40. Other Buddhist scholars also say that Manayana believes that there are many Buddhas as the grains of sand.

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Buddhas each having a particular *Bodhi* tree.[51] Scholars refer that *Bhadrakalpika* includes 1004 birth stories of Buddha. Fuhrer mentions the names of twenty four former Buddhas who preceded Shakyamuni Buddha. [52] He mentions that the *Buddhavamsha*, most authentic record, mentions all these afore time Buddhas were tranquil and free from every passion. [53] R A.Gard writes that *Tathagata* is defined and brought to the point identifying the culmination of *Dharmma* (Pali) with *Sambodhi* (Fully awakened with mental development) that the Lord himself attained under the legendary *Bodhi* tree. He further writes that veneration to Buddha gave origin to Buddha cult which fostered new conception of the Buddha. He was idealized in super human terms conceived in metaphysical forms and symbolized through cultural arts. In other words the man was "doctrinated". Hence the Buddha came to be expressed in the *Buddha-raja* concept, the Maitreya Buddha belief, the *Bodhisattva* ideal and cosmotological *Buddhakaya* doctrine.[54]

David N. Gellner explains that some times, Vajrasattva is referred to as the *Adi* Buddha or original Buddha. Svayambhu is called *Adi* Buddha. Svayambhu *Stupa* or *Caitya* may be identified with Vajrasattva. Vajrasattva (Adamantive Being) is thought of as a kind of summation of the other five. Vajrasattva appears as Vajradhara, bearing instead of a *Vajra* and bell two *Vajras* crossed at his heart. *Vajra* (thunderbult) or a diamond is the key symbol of Vajrayana. He adds that the five Buddhas do not appear as human beings. They are in a sense, cosmic principles. All aspects of the universe can be classified in a pentadle fashion. [55] The Vajradhar concept was of later origin. Both native and foreign scholars assume that Nepal practiced Mahayana "free thinking Buddhism." in the words

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51. Richard A Gard, *Buddhism*, (New York : Washington Press Square, 1963), p. 59 : R.A Gard writes- "The only school of Buddhism which retains the primitive Buddha cult is the ancient conservative Theravada on its Pali canon.They shape largely the Buddha legends of which that canon is made up."

52. Fuhrer, f.n. No. 7, p. 19, According to Fuhrer the names of 28 Buddhas are as follows- Dipankara, Konadanna (Kaundinya) Mangala, Sumanas, Raivata, Sobhita, Anomadassi, (Anavamadarsin), Paduma, (Padma), Narada, Padumuttara, (Padmopttara), Sumedha, Sujata, Piyadassin, Priyadarsin), Atthadarssin (Arthadarsin) Dhammadassin (Dharmadarsin), Siddhartha (Siddhartha), Tissa, (Tishya), Phussa, (Pushya), Vipassin (Vipasyin), Sikkhini (Sikhin), Visabhu (Visvabhu), Kakusandha or Kakusandha (Krakucchanda), Konagmana (Kanakmuni) and Kassapa (Kasyapa) "In the footnote Fuhrer mentions Tanahankara, Madhankara and Sarvankara. These Buddhas did not make any prophesy concerning future Buddhaship of Gautam Buddha.

53. *Ibid*, p. 19.

54. Gard, f.n. No. 51, p. 63.

55. Devid N. Gellner (For word), Niel. Gustschow, *The Nepalese Caitya, 1500 years of Buddhist Votive Architecture in the Kathmandu Valley*; ( Stuttgart/London: Axel Mengis, 1997 A.D.), p. 11.

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of Landon before the propagation of Theravada by Ashoka's mission (236-234 B.C.). So *Bodhisattva* cult is assumed to be original Buddhism in Nepal. But it has to be proved. SvP also glorifies *Bodhisattvas*. Scholars also say that Nepalis Buddhists have created many Buddhas out of Gautam Buddha. Moreover, they assume that holy Buddhism was supposed to have been propagated by Krakucchanda or Kanakmuni Buddha. We have the reference of popular six Buddhas prior to Gautam Buddha in Nepal. In this context scholars make assumption that these Buddhas might have propogated *Bodhisattva* path which in other words is Mahayana. It has to be testified by epigraphic evidences or some reliable sources.

It is stated that a *Bodhisattva* must possess the double equipment of knowledge and merit. Wisdom is considered to be somewhat more important than mercy. Manjusree *Bodhisattva* who represents wisdom is invoked in the opening verses of several treatises and he is praised in *Sadharmapundarika.* A *Bodhisattva* is described as the *Yogin* par excellence. *Bodhijnana* is emphasized in SvP. The number of *Samadhis* (modes of concentration) is given importance. *Yoga* (meditation) is accepted as integral part of *Bodhisattva* doctrine. The Vajracharyas worship Maitreya Buddha along with other Vajrayana deities in their *Viharas* with emphasis on the virtue like amity or friendship. Mani Singh Mahavihara of Musumbahal (Kathmandu), Janabahal (Kathmandu) and Mikha Bahal of Jaisideval (Kathmandu) may be cited in this regard. Yajnamanpati Vajracharya explains that the main theme of Vajrayana Buddhism is amity in true sense of term. If one does not understand amity, Buddhism will not be clear to him. Thus Maitreya Buddha appears in SvP myth along with Shakyamuni Buddha as celestial future Buddha. It is also clear that the mythological accounts of both Theravada and Mahayana furnish information about the last seven *Tathagatas* and Maitreya Buddha appears in them as future Buddha or celestial *Bodhisattva.* Vajra Raj Shakya communicates that the aim of *Bodhisattva* cult is to foster the sense of compassion which is the main theme of *Bodhisatta* path and *Bodhijnana* is its main aim. Some of the *Tathagata's Stupas* have been discovered with epigraphic accounts of the third century B.C. Although their historical identities are established in proto historic period, not more detail information about their teachings is available. Only assumptions are there in literary accounts which seem to have been based on imagination. However, on the basis of *Stupas* and inscriptions of Ashoka, it is established that Kanakmuni and Krakucchanda Buddhas

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were the Buddhas of proto historic period and they are supposed to have propagated 37 aspects of *Bodhijnana* (enlightenment). *Kinti Sutta* of *Majjhima Nikaya* elaborately mentions 37 aspects of *Bodhijnana*. The Buddha's teachings viz. the Four Methods of Steadfast Mindfulness, Four Right Efforts, Four Psychic Powers, Five Faculties, Five Strengths, Seven Constituents of Enlightenment and Noble Eightfold Path in short the 37 factors of Enlightenment, were the attainment of higher knowledge leading to the end of suffering. In Buddhism the term *Bodhisattva* consists of two words, *Bodhi* (Enlightenment) and *Sattva* (Being). *Bodhisattva* thus represents enlightened being. Among the *Bodhisattvas*, *Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara* and Manjushree *Bodhisattva* are the chiefs. The Buddhist texts of later origin as *Nispannayogavali* by Abhayankara Gupta of the 11th century A.D. mentions the name of 24 *Bodhisattvas* and *Sadhanamala* includes the name of 25th *Bodhisattvas*. In the list of *Bodhisattvas* sequence of time is not maintained. It is thus clear, how *Bodhisattva* concept is related with all the *Manushi* Buddhas of prehistoric and proto historic period. In the beginning of Christian era, we see one *Bodhisattva* image supposed to be of the first century A.D. in the excavation of Lumbini. *RahulaYatravali part II* also mentions it. *Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara* is famous in Mahayana pantheon as *Bodhisattva* emanating from *Dhyani* Buddha Amitabha and his *(Shakti)* power Pandara. It is also stated that *Avalokiteshvara* is mentioned as the *Bodhisattva* who rules during the period between disappearances of mortal Buddha and advent of future Buddha Maitreya. Buddhist holy text *Gunakarandavyuha* gives an account of his character, moral teachings and miracles of *Avalokiteshvara*. It is stated that he refused *Nirvana* until all creatures should be in possession of *Bodhi* knowledge and to that end he is still supposed to work and foster spiritual knowledge amongst his fellow creatures. [56] Thus *Avalokiteshvara* appears as creator or God who is supposed to have created the universe and is related with Mahayana and then Vajrayana Buddhism. He is a

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[56]. Gard, f.n. No. 51, pp. 68. 99,100. According to *Nispannayogavali* the the names of the *Bodhisattva s* are as follows- 1. Samanta Bhadra (Universal Goodness), 2. Aksyamati (Indestructible Mind), 3. Ksitigarbha (Matrix of Earth), 4. Akashgarbha (Essence of Ether), 5. Gaganganja, 6. Ratnapani (Jewel Bearer), 7. Sagarmati (Ocean Mind), 8. Vajragarbha (Matrix of Thunderbolt), 9. Avalokitesvara (The watchful Lord), 10. Mahasthamaprapta (The one who has obtained great strength), 11. Chandraprabha (Light of the Moon), 12. Jalinprabha (Light of the Sun), 13. Amitaprabha (Boundless light),14. Pratihhanakuta, 15. Saravanivaranaviskambhi (Effacer of all sins), 16. Sarvasokatamonirghatamati, 17. Maitreya (Future Buddha), 18. Manjushree, 19. Gandhahasti, 20. Jhanaketu, 21. Bhandrapala, 22. Sarvapayanajaha, 23. Amoghadarsin, 24. Suragama. Vajrapani is the twenty fifth *Bodhisattva* as per *Sadhanamala*.

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celestial *Bodhisattva* or he has his divine origin. [57] Min Bahadur Shakya mentions that Svayambhu is the embodiment of Buddha Nature., a source of *Dharma* practice and a new system of Buddhist Trinity. SvP offers a new model of Buddhist practice for lay people who live the life style as advocated by Acharya Anupamvajra of the 11th century. SvP is a devotional work rather than a historical treatise. It has countless important details about the formation of Newar Buddhism. According to it, the three refuge, the Newar Buddhist adopted are the *Adi* Buddha (or Buddha Nature /Five Buddhas) as representative of Buddhist jewel. The *Navagrantha* (nine scriptures) became *Dharma* jewel, recited at eight *Vitaraga* sites. The Eight Great *Bodhiasattvas*, located in these sites became *Sangha* jewel. *Bodhisattva* Avalokiteshvara was the supreme jewel of *Sangha Bodhisattvas. Uposadha Vrata* became the most important monastic rites for lay Buddhists. To sum up *Uposadha Vrata* practice of Avalokiteshvara, recitation of *Namasangiti* text, pilgrimage to holy Buddhist sites such as Svayambhu, Namobuddha, Ashtavitaragas and Guhesvari, bathing at the twelve *Tirtha* sites and the cult of Manjushree included the monastic rituals of lay Buddhists in the Kathmandu Valley. Shakya further mentions that the legends of *Bodhisattva* Manjushree according to SvP date back to prehistoric period an epoch previous to the present Iron Age. *Bodhisattva* Manjushree according to tradition came from the five Peaked mountain, Wu-tai-shan i.e. *Pancasiraparvat.* He came to the Kathmandu Valley during the time of Krakucchanda Buddha and is regarded as one of the Eight Great *Bodhisattvas* renowned for wisdom. In the same way *Prajnaparamita* mentions Manjushree in the Shakyamuni Buddha's assembly too. The time difference between Krakucchanda Buddha and Shakyamuni Buddha is not considered in SvP. Regarding Dharmashree's account mentioned in SvP, Shakya comments that Dharmashreemitra was a teacher of the great monastic University of Vikramashila in India. He set out for Nepal to learn the secret meaning of twelve letters or *Mantra* of *Manjushreenamasangiti.* Shakya writes that Vikramashila Monastery presumed to be of the 9th century was built by King Dharmapala of Bengal under the direction of Master Hari Bhadra, a great commentator of *Prajanaparamita* text. King Dharmapala endowed Vikaramashila Monastery with the support of 108 *Pandits.*

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[57] . Hem Raj Shakya, f.n. No.10, pp. 18-23. "In Introduction of SvP Shakya writes-"In the beginning the universe was empty. There were no. physical elements like earth, water air and fire except *Prabhasvara. Adi* Buddha appeared in the first place. He meditated to create universe. *Adi* Buddha emanated five transcendental Buddhas."

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Dharmashreemitra was one of them. In consideration of these developments, it is assumed that the cult of Manjushree might have its origin in between 9th to 12th centuries and Dharmashreemitra legend might have its growth in between 13th to 15th centuries. Shakya's comment about it seems justifiable. He writes that it will be improper to think that *Bodhisattva* such as Avalokiteshvara or Manjushree was a historical figure. In this context, he gives reference of Sakya *Pandita* Tsong Khapa and Long-chen Rab-jam and Dalai Lama of Tibet and Manjudeva of Wutai shan, China and Jamana Gurubhaju of 17th century Nepal regarded as emanation of Manjushree for their learning. Concerning Hinduization issue in Newar Buddhism that appears in SvP, Shakya writes that SvP mentions prayer to Eight *Vitaragas* and attainment of *Shivaloka, Brahmaloka, Vaishnavaloka, Gandharva,* and *Chandraloka* by bathing in Vagmati. Quoting Decleer, he makes it clear how Hindu orthodoxy tried to twist sanskritisation. The following view of Shakya is also worth mentioning as a comment of SvP. To sum up his views, Newar Buddhists might have prepared a series of survival strategies, skillful means (*Upayakausalya*) for the survival of Buddhism. Veneration of Svayambhu, Manjushree / Sarsvati, Guhesvari/ Parvati and eight *Vitaragas* Eight sites of *Lingesvaras* was a powerful syncretic strategy of Newar Buddhism. Besides this, they never abandoned such basic Buddhist practices as the Triple refuge and various *Vratas* (the *Uposadha* as well as the *Bodhivratas*) in accordance with the life style of *Adhikarmic Bodhisattva* which Vajrayana tradition retained when monasticism was declining. In this connection he quotes John K. Locke who pointed out that caste based Vajrayana practices although untenable form a strict Buddhist view point. Shakya further mentions that the countries of Southeast Asia as Sri Lanka, Thailand and Mynmar abandoned the Mahayana and Vajrayana altogether in favour of exclusively Theravada tradition. By contrast Newar Buddhism survived relatively intact, preserving secret *Mantras*, even maintaining the language and style of Sanskrit world. Thus it is obvious that SvP, one of the oldest texts of Newar Buddhism is meant to glorify the sacred Buddhist shrines of the Kathmandu Valley and Svayambhu *Mahacaitya*. As SvP is annonimous text, it is difficult to determine the exact date of origin of Svayambhu and antiquity of the origin of the text. It is stated that SvP was created by Newar Buddhists to integrate teachings of Mahayana with other older *Avadana* stories. It is also known that the earliest version of Svayambhu myth focuses on the importance of self existing divine light but the later version give

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prominence to *Dharmadhatuvagishvara* (Manjushree). Quoting Alexander Rospatt Shakya writes –" Svayambhu myth was developed and popularized in the wake of raid by Shamsuddin in 1350 A.D. (470 N.S).when the situation for introducing new elements into Buddhism may have been particularly favourable."[58]

It is assumed that *Gunakarandavyuha* is composed in the third or fourth century A.D. and *Namasangiti* seems to have been composed in between the fifth or sixth century A.D. However in SvP, we find the account of the recitation of *Namasangiti* at Svayambhu shrine. Assuming the origin of *Bodhisattva* cult only in the beginning of Christian era, the antiquity of *Bodhisattva* cult cannot be determined. If *Bodhivrata* is related with *Bodhisattva* practice then the antiquity of Svayambhu will appear only 2000 years old. If we take Svayambhu *Jyotirupa* belonging to primordial period, it should be taken as pure ground from the very beginning. Buddhist scholars explain it as the representation of the ultimate reality. However, scholars assume that Svayambhu has its origin during Kirata period or prehistoric period. It was worshipped in the form of *Pancarasmi* (five kinds of light). [59] Mukunda Raj Aryal's remark is notable in this context. It is regarded as the symbol of *Sunyata*. The Vajracharyas explain that there are eighteen kinds of *Sunyata*. It has been defined in different ways. It is both defined in theistic and atheistic way. When we talk about Svayambhu *Caitya* as the symbol of ultimate reality we would have to seek the meaning of *Caitya*. It is stated that *Caitya* has its origin from the term *Cita* (monuments of the great man). It indicates that every person has to meet the same fate ultimately. But Niels Gustschow is of the openion that it is not necessarily the monuments of the dead all the time. It has remained as the centre of veneration of the Buddhists. The Buddhists take Svayambhu *Caitya* as the symbol of *Sunyata* (infinitive). Vajra Raj Shakya communicates that the five forms of Svayambhu *Caitya* include *Jyotirupa* as the first and *Dharmadhatu Vagisvara* as the fifth. It is the symbol of *Nairatma* or *Sunyata*, *Prabhasvara*, *Prajna*, and infinitive status.

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[58]. .Min Bahadur Shakya, "Svayambhu Purana: A source of Nepalese Buddhist tradition and Prace" *Baishak Mahotshav*, No.3, Dunda Bahadur Vajracharya (ed),(Patan : Ratnakar Mahavihara Lyayemha Puchah, 2007 A.D.) pp.83-86.

[59]. Mukunda Raj Aryal, "Buddhist Collection of National Museum of Nepal", (Kathmandu : *National Museum Chhauni*, DOA), p. 48, He writes- "The *Bhakti* cult in Nepal was primarily responsible for the evolution of the cult of *Adi* Buddha (akin to the Hindu *Brahma*) who according to *Svayambhu Purana*, manifested himself in the form of flame in Kathmandu.

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## 2.4. Manushi Buddha's Homage to Svayambhu

SvP gives an account of Svayambhu in a theistic way to. In the first chapter of SvP translated by Shakya and Vajracharya, Svayambhu *Jyotirupa* is described as crystal in clearness, bright like jewels. It lies on the pericarp of a lotus flower in a pleasant area, surrounded by trees. It was well decorated with flowers and fruits of all seasons. All the principal Gods including Rudra, Brahma, Vishnu, Indra and so on came to the shrine to pay homage to Lord Svayambhu respectfully. It is stated that Shakyamuni Buddha accompanied by his group of followers reached the sacred place called the *Gopucchaparvat* of *Samhegun* hill. [60] It also shows that Svayambhu *Jyotirupa* is respected as Supreme God and even by Brahmanical Gods. It is the feature of syncretism in Nepal. Making extract of SvP of one recension not specifically mentioned Kuladharma Ratna Tuladhar writes- "Sri Shakyamuni (Lord Buddha) met Svayambhu *Jyotirupa* face to face. When he met Svayambhu *Jyotirupa* there was auspice everywhere. There were rains of sweet smelling water and flowers from the skies. He folded his hands and paid respect to *Adi* Buddha (Supreme Buddha) among Buddhas. He addressed Svayambhu *Jyotirupa* as "mine of all the light", "personification of *Samyak Sambodhi*", "famous for three qualities (*Guna*)", "the reason for five knowledge". The supreme God exists without shape and is omniscient. It reveals the conception of Supreme God as *Niranjan* and *Nirakar."* He further gives the extracts of SvP which mentions- "Then Lord Buddha offered golden lotus, paid respect, circled and went to *Puchhagra Parvat* along with the followers. To the west of Svayambhu *Caitya* (built in memory of Manjushree) Lord Buddha walked along with Sariputra on his right and Maudgalyayana on the the left followed by *Bhikshu* Ananda" He adds- "At that time Maityreya *Bodhisattva* prayed Lord Buddha to tell them how and when the *Svayambhu Dharmadhatu Caitya*, the home of all the Buddhas appeared". This account is more a mythology than historic event.

### 2.4.1. Dipankara Buddha

Dipankara Buddha is mentioned as the first Buddha among the twenty-four Buddhas of the past in Pali *Buddhavamsha*. In *Samyek* festival, a religious festival of Buddhists, all Buddhas including *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu, Dipankara Buddha and other Buddhas are

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[60]. Shakya and Bajrachaya, f.n. No. 29, Chapter I, verse No. 32, 52, 54, 78, 81, 91, 94, 105-108, 116, pp. 5-17.

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exhibited. Among them Dipankara is the chief deity to be displayed and worshipped. *Vamsavali* mentions that Dipankara Buddha was the Buddha of *Satyayuga* in Dipavati city. It is not yet identified. Some try to identify it at Guita Tole in Patan. *Sarbanandanripvadana* mentions a legend. The legend glorifies that merit attained as a fruit of hard labour has immence value. The legend is related with a virtuous King named Sarbananda and an old woman. It is stated that on the $8^{th}$ *Shravan Sukla* (August) the king offered *Pinda Patra* (begging boul) to Dipankara Buddha. *Pancadana* is celebrated in Patan on this day. The legend glorifies the old woman who gave alms to Dipankara Buddha and his fellow *Bhikshus*. She had collected the food with much labour. King Sarbananda followed her suit in attaining merit. Many legends are available including the legend of a child named Dharmashree who entreated and offered dusts to Dipankara Buddha in the *Pindapatra* which were changed into gold dusts. This indicates the mystical and spiritual nature of Dipankara Buddha who is referred to have lived in Prasannashil *Vihara* as mentioned in *Kapisavadana*. These legends are just like parables of the Bible. These are created to foster a sense of devotion among the Buddhist laities. Stories relating to thirty two previous births of Shakyamuni Buddha are also popular in Mahayana Buddhism in Nepal.

### 2.4.2. Celebration of Mataya

Krishna Bahadur Rajbhandari writes that on the last day of *Yamapanchaka* after *Gaijatra* (which is held on the *Bhadra Krishna Pratipada* (first dark day of the month of August) *Mataya* (festival of light) is celebrated in Lalitpur as a Buddhist festival. It is not known when the festival was started. In the *Matyaya* festival a person in the guise of Lord Shiva holding *Trishul* (trident) and *Damaru* (hand drum) takes part in the procession. Some relate the origin of the festival since the time of Shivadeva II. People take part in the festival for the peace of the deceased. People believe that those who observe '*Mataya* ought not to face the questions of *Yama Doot* (servants of the king of Death). It has religious flevour. On the day of *Mataya* of Lalitpur, the researcher saw a group of musicians from Manadeva *Sanskarita Cakramahavihara* playing drums of *Gunla Bajan* and making a sound from the horns of the buffalos. Over the drums there are the metal icons of Bhairavea, Goddess Kali and Mahalaksmi, decorated with rich ormnaments. It shows the adoption of the Hindu Gods and Goddess by the Buddhists. It indicates the sense of syncretism.

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On the 1st day of *Bhadra Krishna* (*Sapana* or *Gajana*), *Bahapuja* (worship in the monasteries) festival is celebrated in Kathmandu to commemorate the first *Sanghayana* of Buddhists which was held at Saptaparni cave of Bebhar Hills in Rajgriha under the patronage of the king Ajatasatru with a view to check any misinterpretations of the *Sutras* delivered by the Buddha in different places in connection with different people in his *Dharma Yatra*. This account is thus linked with events of Gautam Buddha. On this day "*Prajnaparamita*" written in golden ink is displayed in Thabahil in course of *Bahapuja*. On the 13th day of *Bhadra Krishna, Pancadana* festival (giving five kinds of cereals) is celebrated in Kathmandu. On this day five kinds of cereals generally food grains are given to the monks and ascetics. *Naran* (*Navadana*) is observed by the Buddhists giving nine objects in charity. Many myths are created about the religious rituals. *Vamsavali* mentions that there is a *Vihara* named Dipavati *Vihara* where the festival is still held. It is stated that when Dipankara Buddha was born, there was illumination every where. So Dipankara Buddha is referred as the Buddha of *Satyayuga*. He appears as spiritual Buddha or mythological Buddha although Dipankara Buddha is included among the 28 *Manushi* Buddhas. In ward No 12 of Kathmandu metropolitan city at Buddhabari, the biggest image of Dipankara Buddha is installed. Legends mention that the image was built upon *Parasmani* (touching jewel) which converts everything into gold. It indicates the importance of Dipankara Buddha. David N. Gellner mentions that Hodgson has referred to Nepalis Buddhism as "Speculative Buddhism" in his work. He mentioned the diagnostic tenets of four schools of Buddhism i.e. *Swabhavika, Aiswarika, Yetnika and Karmika*. Gellner, moreover quoting Hodgson says- "these schools were his *Pandit* Amrtananda's invention."Amritananda lived in Patan, Maha Baudha. Gellner mentions- "Hodgson must have been describing Nepalis schools of Buddhism, a pseudo-fact." "Hodgson gives separate space to the doctrines of *Adi* Buddha, *Adi Dharma* and *Adi Sangha*, that is the first and ultimate Buddha, *Dharma* and *Sangha, Tri Ratna* (Triple Gems). Most of the verses on *Adi* Buddha came from *Namasangiti*, on *Adi Dharma* from *Prajnaparamita* and a few on *Adi Sangha* from *Gunakarandavyuha*. The first and last of these are related with late theistic development. Vajrayana Buddhism of Kathmandu Valley is based on *Prajnaparamita and Namasangiti* texts.

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### 2.4.3. Manushi (human) Buddha Vipashvi

SvP includes a legend which says that Sakaymuni Buddha narrated the account of *Manushi* (human) Buddha Vipashvi to Maitreya *Bodhisattva* . Legends mention that Vipashvi paid visit to *Nagadaha.* He came from the town of Bandhumati (?). At that time Shakyamuni Buddha was serving him as Satyadharma *Bodhisattva.*[61] Hem Raj Shakya's account may be summed up in this context. He writes that in *Satya Yuga* Vipashvi Buddha, the son of *Chakravarti* (world conqueror) king with the influence of previous birth acquired *Anuttar Samyak Sambodhi Jnana* (the silent complete knowledge) under *Kofosima* (a type of tree in Nepal Bhasa). He was serving Vipashvi by giving him *Gulupa* (begging bowl) and yellow dress. He preached to his disciples for the salvation of the world. Lord Buddha narrated the account of Svayambhu to Maitreya that Nepal area then was a great lake known as *Nagadaha or Kalidaha.* Once Vipashvi reached the side of the lake and circumbulated it three times and camped on an open space in the mount located to the *Vayabyakon,* north western corner. Quoting SvP (one another rescension) Shakya describes the other account of Vipashvi Buddha's act of merit. Seeing the wonderful big and pure lake, Vipashvi made prophesy that in future Svayambhu would have its origin in the lotus. He planted *Skandapadma* (lotus seed) and spelled seven lettered *Mantra "Namoratnatraya"* on the day of *Chaitra Purnima* (fullmoon day of March). When his disciples asked about this, he explained that *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu, Lord of *Akanista Bhuvan* (heaven) would come down in this lake. In the future it will be known as *Dharmadhatu Vagisvara.* Then in course of time, Manjushree *Bodhisattva* of five peaked mountain of (Mahachina) great China will come to this lake. Then Svayambhu will exist as *Niranjan, Nirakar* (without any shape, form color). He also made prophesy that his abode will be renowned as Nagarjuna hill in the future. [62] We get reference to Vipashvi Buddha and Sikhi Buddha in *Satyayuga.*

According to Kuladharmaratna, Vipashvi observed this lake, the length and breadth of the lake were seven *kosas* (14 miles). The lake was full of nice water with following eight qualities clean, sweet smelling, not too cold, cool, tasty, light, beneficial, and white. There were water flowers of different colours and varieties; swans, water ducks, and birds of different varieties; fishes and other water denizens all playing in unison produced

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[61]. Shakya and Vajracharya, f.n. No. 29, Chapter 1, verse No. 132, p. 20.

[62]. Shakya, f.n. No. 10, pp. 2-4.

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foam as if it was a sea of *Kshir* (milk). Barun and other *Nagas* (snakes) on the way to Karkotaka *Naga's* house, catching one another produced a scene resembling the knot of the ropes, the collection of fangs produced an effect of a boat and it appeared as if it was a sea crossed by *Sarthabah*. As it was the home of Karkotaka *Naga*, it was known as *Nagabasa*; again his wife's name was Kali, it was also known as *Kalidaha* and *Kalinjal*. The extract of SvP also mentions- "All the directions surrounded by the mountain ranges like a house surrounded by walls and abounded all sorts of jems displayed by the *Nagaraja* (king of snakes), Nidhi Darsan by name; and full of gold, silver, and other minerals of different varieties; this place was exceptionally beautiful and pure." [63] SvP also gives an account of the foretelling of Vipashvi Buddha about the origin of Svayambhu. It mentions- "This lake would bestow the fruits of *Dharma* (piety), *Artha* (wealth), *Kama* (desire) and *Moksha* (beastitude).Afterwards in course of time, some great *Bodhisattva* from the north would come here and cut a way for the water of this lake to pass out through southern direction and the water would pass out, the one thousand leaved lotus, the seat of Svayambhu would be covered by a hill shaped cover. After this, there would be many *Tirthas* (places of pilgrimage) and many Gods, each of whom will have a rule of his own. And there would be created cities and villages at many places. There would be observed many *Niyamas* (rules), so this area would be known as *Niyamapala*. As *Amitabha Loka Dhatu* is the home of happiness and therefore called *Sukhavati*, so also many other kings would call this "*Niyamapala Bhoomi*" - as beatitude and would be attained here by observation of rules and piety." This extract of SvP mentions- "After this foretelling the events of the future He got up from his seat, bathed and let others take bath. He took the right side and returned to his *Vihara* (monastery) along with *Sangha* thinking of his *Nirvana*." The accounts mentioned above make it clear that the mythology seems to have been created in view of the topography of the Kathmandu Valley with due reflections of religious flavour coupled with spiritual value. In this context, Kuladharma Ratna Tuladhar remarks- "Thus, it is clear that Buddhism prevailed in Nepal long before Gautam Buddha 2500 years ago and that he was not the first Buddha who visited the sacred Svayambhu mount in Nepal." [64] Thus, from mythological point of view, scholars, too, support this idea that Buddhism existed in

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63. Kuladharma Ratna, f.n. No.35, pp. 1-2.
64. *Ibid*, p. 4,

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Nepal long before Gautam Buddha. Shanker Thapa writes that concerning the introduction of Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley, we have to depend on legends. There is no clear idea about how Buddhism came to Nepal but, according to legends, Buddhism came to Kathmandu even before the time of Gautam Buddha.[65] The concept of *Adi* Buddha is related not only with Theravada, Mahayana but it is also related with Vajrayana Buddhism. To cite R.A Gard, "Another grand conception of Vajrayana is the theory of highest God Vajradhara also called *Adi* Buddha, the primordial monotheistic God, who is also the embodiment of *Sunya* to whom even *Dhyani* Buddhas owe their origin. This theory originated in the Nalanda University in about 10th century A.D. Therefore, a large number of images of Vajradhara were made in the different schools of art. The sacred *Tantra* dedicated to *Adi* Buddha is *Kalchakra Tantra*, which appears to be original *Tantra* in which the doctrine of *Adi* Buddha was for the first time inculcated. Vajradhara was particularly popular in Nepal and Tibet where numerous images of primordial God are come across. Homage is paid to *Adi* Buddha in the shape of flame of fire which the priests consider as eternal, self born and self existent. It is said in SvP that *Adi* Buddha first manifested himself in Nepal in the form of a flame of fire and Manjushree erected a temple over it in order to preserve the flame. This ancient temple is known as Svayambhu *Caitya* (near Kathmandu)." [66]

### 2.4.4. Antiquity of Adi Buddha in Nepal

*Adi* Buddha, Svayambhu is regarded as the first Buddha or primordial Buddha. But scholars regard it as pure ground rather than first Buddha. We have accounts of *Svayambhu* in various religious treatises and local chronicles which seem to have been created later on. As *Svayambhu* is regarded as primordial Buddha or *Adi* Buddha these accounts seem later additions to SvP. P. Landon writes- "H. Hodgson has noted that the

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65. Shanker Thapa,"The History of Buddhism from Mythological Tradition to Licchavi Period", *Voice of History*, Vol XVI, No, 2, (Kirtipur : 2001), p. 32. Thapa mentions- "The *Swayambhu Purana* is one of the most important religious texts in Nepal, and is very sacred for the Nepalese Buddhists. The primordial Buddha or the *Swayambhu* (self sprouted) is highly venerated in the Buddhist society of Nepal. The concept of seven Buddhas (*Sapta Tathagatas*- Vipashvi, Shikhi, Vishvabhu, Krakucchanda, Kasyapa and Shakyamuni) is highlighted in the *Purana*. Nepalese Buddhists not only venerate the seven Buddhas but also the text of the *Swayambhu Purana* itself. The names of seven Buddhas mentioned in the *Purana* are identical to the names mentioned in *Buddhavamsha*. The existence of some of the seven Buddhas has been archaeologically proved.

66. Gard, f.n. No. 51, p. 74.

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worship of Adi Buddha or Supreme God is characteristic of Nepal."[67] Scholars mention that *Svayambhu Caitya* was erected in the memory of Vipashvi Buddha of *Satyayuga* and SvP mentions that it was not dedicated to human Buddha but to divine Buddha which existed in the form of *Jyotirupa* or *Prabhasvara*. According to popular belief, in the famous *Stupa* of *Svayambhu,* the sacred relics of the Buddha Vipashvi are enshrined.[68] Scholars question this account. Thus different opinions based on imagination appear on the origin of Svayambhu *Caitya*. With regard to the concept of *Adi* Buddha, Hem Raj Shakya writes that the *Mahayana Sutra* entitled *Sukhavati Vyuha* has glorified *Adi* Buddha Amitabha (celestial Buddha). The treatise also gives an account of the Buddha's discourse to Sariputra in *Jetvan Vihara*. The Buddha has mentioned that Amitabha came from *Sukhavati Bhuvan* heaven. In *Sukhavati Vyuha* reference of Aksobhya *Tathagata* is also found. This treatise *Sukhavati Vyuha* was translated into the Chinese language in the second century A.D. A treatise translated into Chinese language in the fourth century A.D. gives account of *Bodhisattva* Manjushree and Aksobhya Buddha. In the same way *Saddharma Pundarika Sutra* (Lotus *Sutra* Manuscript) translated into Chinese language in 286 A.D. mentions *Aryavalokiteshvara* as a son of Amitabha Buddha. The treatise gives account of Ratna Sambhava, and the term *Dharmakaya Dharmadhatu*. It is stated that *Gandha Vyuha Sutra* and *Gunakaranda Vyuha Sutra* were also composed at the time when *Saddharma Pundarika* was written. We find different opinions on it. In these treatises Vairochana's name is mentioned." Shakya thinks that the earlier form of Vairochan, Aksobhya, Ratna Sambhava, Amitabha and Amoghasiddhi must be there in the *Garbhagriha* of Svayambhu *Caitya* before the *Jyotirupa* of Svayambhu had been given the form of *Mahachaitya*. This seems to be only assumption of Shakya. He further

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67. Landon, f.n. No.4, pp. 216-217, Landon writes that H.B Hodgson has noted that the worship of *Adi* Buddha or Supreme Buddha was the characteristic of Nepal. In the foot note he writes that the idea of *Adi* Buddha goes back to the earliest ages of Nepalese Buddhism. *Swayambhunath* has probably stood for something like two thousand years as a symbol of "the Self Existent One" who was not only a First cause, but a Supreme and definitely conceived God. The Nepalese Brahmanas do more than merely tolerate Buddhism. The *Nepalmahatmya* emphesises "To worship Buddha is to worship Shiva" and *the Swayambhu Purana* returns the compliment by recommending the worship of Pashupati. The *Nepalmahatmya* puts Buddha, Vishnu and Shiva on the same footing and identifies the first with Krishna where as the *Bhagavatamahatmya* is Shaivite and it ignores Buddha.

68 Pradhan, f.n. No.8, pp. 60, 180 cf, Kaishar Bahadur K.C, *The Judicial Customs of Nepal,* Part I, (Kathmandu : Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1971, 99. Oldfield), p. 218. Every religion in the world takes *Prabhasvara* as the symbol of divinity. The Tibetans regard *Prabhasvara* as the God.

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adds that the earlier images hace been put in the *Garbhagriha* of the *Maha -chaitya.* [69] A report of international conference held in Bangkok also gives exposure on the concept of *Adi* Buddha and *Dhyani* Buddhas.[70]

## 2.4.5. Adi Buddha or Spritual Buddha Concept

Different Buddhist texts mention *Adi* Buddha, *Svayambhu.* The *Adi* Buddha is venerated as spritual Buddha or divine Buddha or *Jyotirupa.* However, *Svayambhu Mahachaitya* is also regarded as a *Caitya* constructed in memory of human Buddha.[71] In this context five forms of *Adi* Buddha may be referred i.e. 1) *Svayambhu Jyotirupa* 2) Samanta Bhadra *Tathagata* 3) Vajradhara *Tathagata* 4) Vajrasattva *Tathagata* 5) *Dharmadhatu Vagishvara.*[72] They are somehow or other related with *Bodhisattva* concept.

Many Buddhists regard *Bodhisattva* Samanta Bhadra or Vajrapani as *Adi* Buddha. However this version seems to be of later origin. Samanta Bhadra is listed first among the 25 *Bodhisattvas* according to *Nispannayogavali* and *Sadhanamala,* the Buddhist texts of later origin. Manjushree is listed as No. 18 on the list. In Buddhist pantheon Manjushree is regarded as one of the highest *Bodhisattva.* Mahayanists consider him to be one of the greatest *Bodhisattv.* They believe that worship of Manjushree can confer upon them wisdom and retentive memory. In simplest form Manjushree carries sword in his right hand and *Prajnaparamita* manuscript in his left. He is accompanied by four divinities namely, Suryaprabha or Jalinprabha, Chandraprabha, Keshini and Upakeshini (Lakshmi and Sarsvati). [73] He appears as celestial *Bodhisattva.* Conceptualization of the religious thoughts is very difficult.

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69. Shakya, f.n. No.10, pp. 28-29; The author has given this view in the introduction of his book *Shree Svayambhu Mahachitya*

70. Dharmakaya Foundation,Department of International Foundation, *Buddhism in the Year 2000,* (Patumthani, Thailand Bangkok : 1994), p. 292, The report mentions - The first Buddha, the Buddha at the beginning of time, the primordial Buddha (*Adi,* the first Buddha) is limited to Mahayana Buddhism. It is the primordial being, the unoriginated source of the universal first principle, similar to the *Upanishadic Brahman.* It is self existent, eternal formless, beyond the grasp of intellect, in and by which all phenomenal existence manifests. The objective aspect of the self creative power of *Adi* Buddha is symbolized under the form of five *Dhyani Buddhas* (or *Jinas- victors*) who theoretically have existed from the beginning of the time of *Adi* Buddha.

71. Shakya and Bajracharya, f.n. No. 29, Chapter I, verse No. 28, p. 29.

72. Shakya, f.n. No. 10, p. 19.

73. Gard, f.n. No. 51, p. 19.

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Vajrayana has a grand conception i.e. the theory of highest God Vajradhara also called *Adi* Buddha, primordial monotheistic God. He is the embodiment of *Sunya*, to whom even the *Dhyani* Buddhas owe their origin. This theory, although it is of later origin, originated in the Nalanda monastery in the 10th century. The special *Tantra* dedicated to *Adi* Buddha is the *Kalachakra Tantra*. The doctrine inculcated in it suggests that Vajradhara is very popular in Nepal and Tibet. The Vajracharyas of Nepal highly venerate this deity. The development process indicates that conception of Vajradhar was of later origin than that of Vajrasattva. In other words the conception of Vajradhara came after Vajrasattva. It is stated that Vajrasattva is a regular development of *Bodhisattva*. Vajrapani emanated from *Dhyani* Buddha Aksobhya. However, the concept of these deities is interwoven. [74] As discussed in this *Svayambhu Purana*, the deity was worshipped in the form of light in the beginning. After the origin of *Svayambhu* in the form of *Jyotirupa, Prabhasvara* (light), it is stated that Goddess Guhesvari also appeared. The concept of Vajradhara and Vajrasattva is inextricably mixed up. They emerge in the context of *Bodhisattva's* accounts. *Adi* Buddha is regarded as the highest deity of Buddhist pantheon in Vajrayana Buddhism. He is referred to as the originator of the five *Dhyani* Buddhas. The *Vajra* (thunderbolt) here is the ultimate reality called *Sunya*, while the bell represents *Prajna (*wisdom), the sounds of which travel far and wide. Sometimes these symbols are shown on a lotus on either side, the *Vajra* being on the right and *Ghanta* on the left. The cult of *Adi* Buddha is widely distributed amongst the different schools which give rise to many sects amongst the *Tantric* Buddhists in the later period of development. Gard further mentions that Vajradhara is not universally accepted as *Adi* Buddha. Some considered him as *Adi* Buddha, one among the five *Dhayani* Buddhas. Some acknowledged him as *Adi* Buddha, Vajrasattva, the progenitor of the five families of Buddhist Gods and Goddesses. [75] We find beautiful image of Vajrasattva enshrined later on upon a pillar to the west of Svayambhu *Mahachaitya* by the Vajracharyas in front of Harati temple. Vajrasattva is also regarded as sixth *Dhyani* Buddha or as a priest of *Dhyani* Buddhas. Gard says that Vajrasattva is represented with the priestly symbols i.e. *Vajra* and *Ghanta*. This concept was added in the Buddhism much later. Thus prehistoric

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74. *Ibid,* p 74. Gard writes that the conception of *Dhyani* Buddha originated only in the 3rd century A.D. *In Dharmadhatu Mandala,* the *Pancha Buddhas* appear in the form of Vagishvara Mahamanjushree. So he is also called *Arya Namasangiti.* In *Namasangiti* prayer, *Pancha Buddhas* are included. In this prayer (hymn) of *Svayambhu*, the deity is represented as pure in nature, pure in forbearance.

75. *Ibid,* p. 76.

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*Adi* Buddha appears as divine Buddha much later. Therefore *Bodhicarya, Bodhivrata* rituals are given importance in SvP, the legend of *Adi* Buddha. It shows importance of *Paramitacarya.*

*Adi* Buddha is referred as *Sunyata.* To explain the term *Sunyata*, Nehru gives reference of Buddhist philosophy of Nagarjuna. He says that Nagarjuna persued his argument with a ruthless logic till it leads him to deny what he believed. [76] Referring *Sankhya* as early and pre Buddhist thought, Nehru says that in *Sankhya* there is neither personal God nor an impersonal one, neither monotheism nor monism. It is a *dvaita* (dualistic) philosophy. Its approach was atheistic and it undermined the foundation of supernatural religion. According to it, "there is no creation of universe by the God, but rather a constant evolution, the product of interaction between the spirits or rather spirit, matter, though the matter itself is of the nature of energy. The evolution is a continuous process." Scholars mention that Buddhism propouned by Shakyamuni Buddha is influenced by *Sankhya* philosophy. Scholars have different views on it. If we consider *Adi* Buddha concept, Svayambhu cult will appear as based on monism and not influenced by *Sankhya* philosophy. Moreover *Adi* Buddha concept is referred as based on *Annuttarabodhi, Sunyata* and is represented as *(Niranjan Nirakar)* as discussed above. Shakya writes that Shakyamuni Buddha preached *Paramita Charyas* for three aeons as different *Bodhisattvas.* After attaining innumerable merit he was born in *Tushita Bhuvan* as Satyaketu *Bodhisattva* . He handed over the throne to future Buddha Maitreya and was born in *(Sakyakula)* Shakya clan.[77] Thus it is apparent that Shakyamuni Buddha is the main actor in SvP. SvP mentions Shakyamini Buddha as *Vitaraga, Pancajinalaya* and *Lokanath.* [78] The Buddhists in Nepal worship *Adi* Buddha Vajradhar as Yogambara, a *Tantric* deity as their *Agandya* (tutelary deity). *Adi* Buddha Vajradhar is enshrined in a temple recently renovated at Hiranyavrna *Mahavihara* at Patan presently called as golden temple by the foreigners.*Yogambara Mandala* is embellished in the *(Torana)* tempanum

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[76]. Nehru f.n. No.24., pp. 109-114, Nehru writes- According to Nagarjuna's logic, there is No. God apart from the universe and no. universe apart from God and both are equally appearances. Citing Professor Stcherbatsky Nehru explained that *Sunyata* is relativity. On the one hand there is something entirely beyond the phenomenal world, but comprising it, which might be considered as absolute. This cannot be conceived or described in terms of finite and phenomenal world hence it is referred to as"*Tathata*, or thatness, suchness. This absolute has been called *Sunyata.*

[77]. Shakya, f.n. No.10, p. 67.

[78]. Shakya and Bajracharya, f.n. No.29, SVP chapter X, Verse No. 61, 63, p. 224.

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of the temple.[79] Scholars say that Vairayana Buddhism explains that the whole universe emanated by *Adi* Buddha. However, the old orthodox Buddhism does not believe it.[80] This concept of creator is taken as reversal of the Buddha's teachings.

### 2.4.6. Shikhi Buddha

SvP gives account of Shikhi Buddha's homage to *Adi* Buddha, Svayambhu in the *Nagadaha*, celestial lake. Shikhi Buddha is praised as "*Sarvajna, Sugata, Sarvavidyadhipo Vinayaka*", omnipotent Buddha, master of all learning. He came from the town of Arunakhyapuri or Arunpuri supposed to be town of modern India. He preached *Saddharma* in his *Vihara*. In the legend, he is compared with *Bodhisattva* Samanta Bhadra: Seeing the auspicious signs on the origin of Svayambhu, he came to pay homage to *Adi* Buddha in the lake water of the Valley. He said that the lake water consisted of eight qualities.He also highlighted on the merit of worshipping *Adi* Buddha.[81] Hem Raj.Shakya mentions that in *Satyayuga* itself, having heard of the origination of Svayambhu *Jyotirupa*, Shikhi Buddha came from Arunpuri. He was the second mortal Buddha who had visited the celestial lake. Shikhi, the second mortal Buddha was the son of Arun Raja. His mother's name was Prabhavati. He got his enlightenment under a tree known as *Rukh Kamal* (tree that bears white lotus). At that time Shakyamuni Buddha was the disciple of Shikhi Buddha by the name of Kshema Raj Grihapati. The other disciples of Shikhi were Ratnapani, Abhisambhava and Kshemankara.[82] From the lotus seed (*Skanda Padma*) Svayambhu appeared in the form of *Jyotirupa* (beacon) on the full moon day of *Ashwin* (in the month of October). When Ratnapani asked *Bodhisattva* Shikhi Buddha about the light that spread all over, the latter told that a lotus with one thousand petals had appeared in *Nagadaha* from the lotus seed, *Skanda Padma* sown by Vipashvi in the name of *Ratnasaroj* (lake of jewel). They came to the south western corner of the celestial lake (*Nairityakon*). Shikhi made his abode on the hill and meditated on *Svayambhu*. The place therefore is known as *Dhyanoccha* located to south

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79. Sony Rajbhandari, "Hiranyavarna Mahavihara", (Kirtipur : unpublished Masters thesis submitted to the Department of NeCHA, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur : August, 1978), p. 17 cf. H.R. Shakya, T. R.; Vaidya, Medieval Inscriptions of Nepal, Lalitpur : No. 24, 1970..
80. Pradhan, f.n. No.8, p. 78.
81. Shakya and Bajracharya, f.n. No. 29, pp. 25-35, Chapter II, verse No. 6, 8, 11, 28, 68, 69.
82. Shakya, f.n. No. 10. p. 5 cf , SVP, p. 83

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western part of the celestial lake. [83] Wright edited *Vamsavali* mentions that Shikhi Buddha after paying homage to *Adi* Buddha incorporated himself with *Svayambhu* light at *Dhyanoccha* Mountain located at present Champadevi VDC. It is stated that the abode where Shikhi performed meditation and paid homage to Svayambhu *Jyotirupa*, there an image of Sarsvati is installed. It is also believed that a *Caitya* at Shekh Narayan temple at Pharping is dedicated to Shikhi Buddha. [84]

### 2.4.7. Vishvabhu Buddha

In the third chapter of SvP, Upa Gupta is mentioned as narrating the account to Emperor Ashoka about Vishvabhu's visit to *Nagadaha* as it was also narrated by Shakyamuni to Maitreya *Bodhisattva* at Puchhagra hill. In the account we have the reference to Manjurshree *Bodhisattva*. The account mentions that in the *Tretayuga*, Vishvabhu Buddha came from a city of Anupama. He was staying at Upakantha *Vihara*. At that time Shakyamuni Buddha was his disciple called Parvatakhya *Bodhisattva*, working for the benefit of the sentient beings. [85] It is narrated that Sujit Raja of the city of Anupama (supposed to be located in India) and his wife Yeshovati Devi had a son named Vishvabhu. He got enlightenment under a sal tree (*Shorea robusta*). After his enlightenment he had his disciples named Sonda, Utara, and Tupasantara. After pilgrimage to many places Vishvabhu came to Phulchoki Mountain and worshipped Svayambhu with 125,000 flowers or with the fruits and flowers growing over there. He made prophecy that Vasundhara will be originated and pure water will come out from the foot of mountain in the future. [86] All these accounts seem to be mythical accounts.

### 2.4.8. Manjushree Bodhisattva

SvP mentions that Manjushree *Bodhisattva* came to Nagadaha with his spouse Keshini and Upakeshini (Varada and Mokshyada) from *Mahchina* (China) He paid homage to *Adi* Budha which existed in *Nagadaha* in the form of *Jyotirupa* and *Chaitanyarupa*( in the form of light and consciousness). It is eternal and it has no beginning and end. Manjushree cut the mountain to the south with his sword known as *Chandahas* (sword)

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[83]. *Ibid*, p. 7.

[84]. Pradhan, f.n. No, 8 p. 180. cf, Kaishar Bdr K.C claims the *Caitya* of Pharping near Shekh Narayan temple is dedicated to Sikhi Buddha.

[85]. Shakya and Bajracharya, f.n. No. 29, pp. 54-62, Chapter III, verse No. 1, 2, 8, 10, 12, 14, 37.

[86]. Shakya, f.n. No.10., p. 8, cf, SvP of another rescension, p. 89.

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and made *Dhanadaha* as an abode of Karkotaka, the king of Naga. The Valley looked like "*Shree Vajra Heruka Mandala.*" He also paid homage to Goddess Guhesvari also known as *Khaganana*. He prayed God and Goddess reciting *Dharani Mantra*. [87] Hem Raj Shakya writes - "Manjushree *Bodhisattva* who was master in all branches of learning came from five peaked mountain of China, to *Nagadaha* with (Varada and Mokshyada or Keshini and Upakeshini) on his chariot lion to pay homage to Svayambhu *Jyotirupa*. He was happy to see Svayambhu in the form of *Panca* Buddha." [88] *Vamsavali* mentions- "Manjushree next made Padmagiri. From Padmagiri to Guhesvari he built a town called *Manjupattan*. He planted trees near Guhesvari and populated the town with those of his disciples who wished to live as *Grihasthas* (householders). To those of them who wanted to live as *Bhikshus* or religious mendicants he allotted a *Vihara*. [89] Citing SvP, Shakya narrates how Manjushree made the *Nagadaha* inhabitable. He thought of cutting a passage through the mountain located to the south to drain out *Nagadaha*. For this purpose he went to the low hills on the southern side. He placed *Keshini* or *Varada* (Laksmi) in *Phulochcha* Mountain and *Upakeshini* or *Mokshyada* (Sarsvati) in *Dhyanachcha* Mountain along with the disciples who had come with him. He placed himself in the middle. Then he cut the mountain known as *Kooduwal*, *Nhuchhekap*. As the water escaped several *Nagas* (snakes) and other animals living in it went out. Manjushree persuaded Karkotaka, the king of the *Nagas* to remain in a large tank known as *Dhanah Daha* or *Taudaha*. Legend mentions that Manjushree offered power over all the wealth of the Valley to Karkotaka *Nagaraja*. After that, for clearing water logging in the lake, he cut hills in *Nhuchhekap* at Chobhar, Kailash at Pashupati and Gokarna and drained out the lake completely. On the day of *Kartik Sukla Purnima* (*Sakimila Punhi,* in Nepal Bhasa) in the month of November, Manjushree saw *Adi* Buddha, supreme Buddha in *Vishwarupa* (divine form representing universe) and manifestation of *Adi* Buddha in the form of *Panca Dhyani Buddhas*, in interior form *Guhya Dharma Dhatu* in the four

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87. Shakya and Vajracharya, f.n. No., 29, Chapter III, verse No. 21, 58, 66, 72, 79, 80, 105, pp. 61-69.

88. Shakya, f.n. No.10, (a rescension of SvP other than the one quoted here), p. 13.
Shakya writes- "After worshipping Svayambhu in the form of *Jyotirupa,* dazzling in the centre of lotus flower Manjushree discovered that its root was at Gujesvri.He strengthened the base of the lotus and made only the lotus apparent. People came to *Vajrakuta* hill to pay homage to Svayambhu Guhesvari and Manjushree.

89. Wright, f.n. No.3. p. 79.

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directions. [90] It is also stated that Manjushree's disciples including Gunakara *Bhikshu* built Manjushree *Caitya* after his departure near Svayambhu. It took place on *the* 5th of *Magh Sudi, Shree Pancami day* (in the month of January), the anniversary day of the *Stupa*. This day is also known as *Manjupancami*. It is also noted that Goddess in *Dhyanachcho* (hill top) is propitiated as *Mokshyada,* Goddess of learning and Goddess *Phulochcho* is worshipped as *Varada, Vasundhara*.or Lakshmi. The act of establishing these deities is indicated by the words *Shuva Lava* in the Valley. [91] It shows Manjushree's spiritual personality and divine identity as well as traditional belief of people on legendary accounts. Based on the legendary accounts, *Shreepancami* day is celebrated also as the advent of spring season. It is stated that Manjushree saw Guhesvari on the night *of 9th Marga Krishna* (in the month of November) and got *Vajradaka* consecration. Guhesvari is worshipped as *Shakti* (power) of *Adi* Buddha in the form of *Nairatma Prajnaparamita* in peaceful and fearful form. [92] Levi assumes -" Manjushree came into Nepal from *Mahacina* (great China) the disciples who followed him were the first colonists, the people from *Mahacina*, the king whom he installed, Dharmakara was a native of this country." Levi further writes "On coming from *Mahacina,* Manjushree is said to have erected a temple at an altitude of 2000 metre at Nagdesh (a temple of Manjushree Caravasti)".[93] P. Landon writes- "Manjushree is a celestial visitor from China who is guardian deity of China." [94] Phanindra Ratna Vajracharya writes that Manjushree better known as Manjudevacharya laid foundation of *Nepal Mandala* and with him Vajrayana tradition was started. [95] Badri Ratna Vajracharya catagoricaly writes that the first Vajracharya of *Nepal Mandala* was Mahamanjushree in his *Nirmanakaya* form.

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90. Shakya, f.n. No. 10, p. 9, Shakya mentions- "Manjushree changed his name as Manjudeva and his two consorts were known as *Varada* and *Moshyada*.He made prayer praising Svayambhu. Manjudeva established a *Caitya* on Vajrakuta hill. The Kathmandu Valley took the form of *Vajra Heruka Mandala* the embodiment of (*Sudurjaya Bhumi)*, the sphere of the unconquered one of the *Bodhisattva s*."

91. *Ibid,* p. 17.

92. *Ibid,* pp. 13-14.

93. S. Levi, "Nepal", *Ancient Nepal*, No 91, (Kathmandu: DOA, 1974 A.D.), pp. 30, 32.

94. Landon, f.n. No. 4. p. 223. Landon writes-"Manjushree who though only a detached *Bodhisattva* and therefore not included in the table, is exceedingly popular as the celestial visitor who created the Valley and introduced Buddhism in Nepal from his home in the secred Wu-t'ai- shan in Shan-si-the Hill of the Five peaks. At Wu-t'ai-shan, there is still a structure remotely resembling the shrines of Boddhnath and Svayambhunath, and it does not appear that any other similar shrine is to be found in China proper. Manjushree is a guardian deity of China." Bhikshu Dhammaloka is said to have gone to China in 1923 to see the site.

95 Phanindra Ratna Vajracharya, Intro) *Prasiddha Vajracharyapinigu Samshipta Parichaya,* (in Nepal Bhasa) (Short Account of the Renowned Vajracharyas). (Kathmandu : Hira Shobha Tuladhar, N.S. 1109 (1989 A.D.), p. D.

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Manjudevacharya after paying homage to *Jyotirupa* Svayambhu in *Naga- vasa-daha* thought of settling the people who came with him. To the south of the lake, he cut the stone of *Kooduwal* at *Nhuchhekap* and let the water run out of the lake. After that the lake changed into fertile land. Manjudevacharya made a town named *Manjupattan* or *Rajpattan*. Manjudevacharya made prince Dharmakara, who had come with him the king of Manjupattan. [96]

Manjushree depicted in SvP with his two spouses *Varada* and *Makshyada* (Laksmi and Sarsvati) reminds us the picture of Brahmanical God, Vishnu. At Manjushree shrine, Manjushree is worshipped as *Guru* (teacher) and his spouse *Mokshyada* is propitiated as Goddess Sarsvati. It makes clear that Manjushree *Bodhisattva* seems to have his divine origin in Buddhist mythology in consonance with Hindu belief. *Varada* and *Moksyhada* are the new Buddhist names for Laksmi and Sarsvati. They are equally venerable to the Buddhists and Hindus. It is taken as the Hinduization process in course of the development of Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley. Thus SvP is a religious text and its aim seems to promote devoute Buddhists. Scholars have different opinion on it. Some scholars regard Manjushree as *Manushi* (human) Buddha prior to Gautam Buddha. In SvP, Shakyamuni Buddha had referred Manjushree Bodhisattva's story too.

Sushila Pradhan writes that there seems to have lived an illustrious Indian monk named Manujushree about 50 years after passing away of the Buddha also. [97] Quoting Rhys Davis, Bhuwan Lal Pradhan however writes – "Manjushree was an Indian monk towards the end of first century i.e. 93 B.C. who introduced Buddhism and with it civilization came into Nepal." [98] So some scholars place Manjushree *Bodhisattva* in proto historic period.

Scholars write- "Manjushree, the author of *Sadhanamala* was was very popular in Nepal. He might have gained popularity in Nepal. So he might have been glorified in Nepal." S.

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[96] Badri Ratna Vajracharya, *Prasiddha Vajracharyapinigu Samshipta Parichaya, (*A Short Introduction of the Renowned Vajracharyas), (Kathmandu: Hira Shovha Tuladhar, 1989 A.D. (N.S. 1109), p. 9.

[97]. Pradhan, f.n. No.8, p. 81, cf. B.R. Barua, *The Buddha and Buddhism*, (Calcutta : (First edition), the author, 1970, p. 109; Bhuwan Lal Pradhan, *Nepalma Buddha Dharma* (Buddhim in Nepal), (Kathmandu : Royal Nepal Academy, 1968 A.D.), p. 81.

[98]. *Ibid*, p. 81, cf, T.W Rhys Davis, *Buddhism, A Sketh of the Life and Teachings of Gautam Buddha*, (London : Society for promoting restian Knowledge: (Reprint revised edition) 1912), p. 202.

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Pradhan writes- "the legend of Manjushree's visit from China gave rise to Manjusri cult." [99] S. Pradhan further writes - "In *Sadhanamala* Manjusri is described as Manjughosh. He holds sword and book in his two hands." [100] Pradhan further mentions- "In some Nepalis painting, he is holding a bow on his left hand and arrow on the right. Legends associate Manjusri with the sacred Mahayanist work, *Prajnaparamita.*" [101] Nepalis Vajrayana Buddhism is mainly based on the concept of Manjushree cult and its holy texts. His much more accounts are in *Prajnaparamita* and *Saddharma Pundarik Sutra.* Bhuvan Lal Pradhan opines that Buddhism must have been introduced by him (Manjushree) in the Kathmandu Valley in the first century B.C. and first century A.D. [102] Scholars differ in their opinion on the interpretation of tradition based on myth. Badri Ratna Vajracharya shows Manjushree as the beginner of Vajrayana tradition in Nepal. He was the first Vajracharya ordained as Vajracharya by *Bhikshu* Gunakara. SvP lays more stress on *Bodhisattva Carya.* The *Manjushree Guna-Kshetra Vyuha* mentions *Bodhisattva* vow of Mahamanjushree.[103] In chapter II of SvP, Manjushree is referred to as Manjudeva Vajracharya. [104] Thus Mahayana Buddhism appears as Bodhisattvayana in the Valley.

Chapter III of SvP gives an account of Gaganganj *Bodhisattva's* visit to Vajrakut hillock to pay homage to Svayambhu, Shreedevi, Khaganana (Prajnaparamita, *Bhagavati Nairatma,* Guhesvari and prayed Manjudeva. He practised *Bodhisamvara* and attained *Arhathood.* He practised *Chaturbrahmavihara- Maitri, Karuna Mudita Upeshya* (love, compassion, joyfulness and equanimity) and six *Paramitas* (perfections) and became *Bodhisattva.* He had practised ten grounds of meditation for attainment of *Bodhi.* It is also mentioned that those who practise these rites are protected by Vajrapani and they would be free from the fear of all evils. They will be protected by the *Matrikas*, Ganesh Kumar and Bhairava and will be free from evil spirits. [105] It is narrated that Gagangunj

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[99]. *Ibid,* p. 83.

[100]. *Ibid,* p. 63.

[101]. *Ibid,* p. 87, cf.C.H.S. Ward, *Buddhism, Mahayana, Vol II,* (London : (First edition) Epworth Press 1952), p. 178.

[102]. *Ibid,* p. 87, cf, Bhuvan Lal Pradhan personally communicated this to the researcher.

[103]. *Ibid,*p. 88. cf, *The Manjushree Guna Kshetra Vyuha* tells how Manjushree took his *Bodhisattva* , vol: I do not wish to become a Buddha quickly, because I wish to remain to the last to the world to save its being. C.H.S Ward mentions the vow in his work" *Buddhism Mahayana* "Vol II, (first edition), (London: The Epworth Press, 1952, p. 179.

[104]. Shakya and Bajracharya, f.n. No, 29, p.70, verse No. 110.

[105]. *Ibid,* pp. 70-79, chapter III, Verse No. 118, 121, 123, 129, 136, 141, 142-146, 150, 176, 180.

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*Bodhisattva* came to the Kathmandu Valley from Anupama *Vihara* with the permission of Vishvabhu Buddha along with his companions which included Parvatakhya *Bodhisattva*. Shakyamuni at that time, in his earlier birth was Parvatakhya *Bodhisattva*. They took bath in Taudaha and paid homage to Svayambhu and Guhesvari. [106] The accounts clearly indicate the popularity of *Bodhisattva* rituals among the devout Buddhists and SvP is the most ancient Buddhist text of religious nature.

### 2.4.9. Krakucchanda Buddha

Krakucchanda Buddha, the Buddha of *Tritayuga* the predecessor of Gautam Buddha was born in Kshemavati. He was the son of Agnidatta Brahman and Vishakha Brahmani. At that time Kshema was the king and Kshemavati was his capital. [107]According to SvP, Krakucchanda lived in *Vihara* named *Sugatavas* in the town of Kshemavati. During that time, Gautam Buddha in his previous birth was serving him as Jyotipal *Bodhisattva* . Krakucchanda Buddha came with his followers to pay homage to Svayambhu in course of pilgrimage. Krakucchanda Buddha is referred to as *Jagannath*, *Munisvara*. After paying homage to *Adi* Buddha, he went to Sankhu hill and gave discourse on *Bodhijnana* and *Saddharma* (true Dharma). He gave discourses to the king, ministers, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and house holders. Those who wished to practise the *Bodhicarya* ritual were made house holders and he ordained them who wished to be *Bhikshus*. They included Guna Dhoj Brahmana, Abhayananada Kshatriya, merchants and Vaishyas numbering 400. Krakucchanda Buddha in order to consecrate them needed water. Legend mentions that he thrust his thumb finger on Sankha hill for water. As Vajrasatva wished water for consecreting his disciples with his *Vac* (speech) Vagmati originated. Many *Tirthas* (holy bathing places) also originated on the confluences of the river. Krakucchanda made one of his disciples as the king of Nepal. [108] SvP mentions that the

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[106]. Shakya, f.n. No.10, p. 223.

[107]. Bhikshu Rahul Sankrityayana / Bhikshu Jagadish Kashyap.*Digha Nikaya*, (Banaras : Deva Priya, Mahabodhi Society, Sarnath, 1936), p. 97.

[108]. Shakya and Bajracharya, f.n. No. 29,, Chapter IV verse No. 7, 8, 13, 18, 24, 25, 31, 33, 39, 40, 48, 54, 57, 86, pp. 84-95.

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Shaivites, Vaishnavites and *Shaktas* all practiced their religion. [109] It indicates that there was religious toleration in his time. Landon writes that Krakucchanda Buddha came to pay homage to *Adi* Buddha in the Kathmandu Valley from terai. [110] S Levi calls him as the forerunner of Shakyamuni Buddha.[111] *Vamsavali* mentions that Krakucchanda Buddha paid homage to Guhesvari which appeared in the form of Svayambhu light in *Tretayuga*.[112] Shakya writes that Kraccuchanda Buddha after visiting Svayambhu visited Sankhu *parvat* (Sako in Nepal Bhasa) and became qualified to give discourses on *Saddharma* (true Dharma).[113] H.R. Shakya writes that Krakucchanda Buddha was the son of Agni Datta Brahman and his wife Vishvachinidevi. He got enlightenment under *Shirisha* tree (Acacta Sirisa). Bidhur, Sanjeev and Buddhiksha were his main disciples. He came on pilgrimage to Svayambhu with the king of *Saketnagar* (probablyAyodhya) Dharmapal, Gunadhoj Brahman and and Abhayananda Kshetriya. He encamped in the Siddhiphalochcha Mountain. Being impressed by his teachings the king and Brahman became *Bhikshu* after *Abhishekh* of Krakucchanda Buddha. They performed *Paramitacarya*.[114] Vamsavali mentions that Krakucchanda Buddha allowed those of his disciples who wished to live as *Grihastha* (householders) to inhabit in *Manjupattan* and to those who wished to live as *Bhikshus* allotted *Viharas* and temples. Then he returned to his former abode.[115] *Sarbanandaripavadana* narrates a legend that Krakucchanda Buddha gave salvation to all the monkeies of Kinshuk forest. The legend also mentions the compassion of Jyotipal *Bodhisattva* who had his birth in the incarnation of a monkey with

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[109]. *Ibid,* SvP chapter IV, verse No. 159, p. 105.

[110]. Landon, f.n. No.4., pp. 223-224.

[111]. Levi, "Nepal", *Ancient Nepal,* No 29 (Kathmandu : DOA), p. 51.

[112]. Wright, f.n. No.3, p. 80.

[113]. Shakya, f.n. No.29, SvP, (Intro) pp. 38-39. Shakya writes -In the discourse Karakucchanda Buddha said "Those who wished perfect enlightenment should take full ordination in this place and generate *Bodhicitta*. As a result of it he or she will pacify his or her defilement and become a *Bodhisattva* after his elimination of all delusions and finally achieve the state of perfect Buddhahood realizing three ways of enlightenment. After hearing this *Bodhisattva* Gunadhoj together with four hundred Brahmans, kings and ministers, Kshatriyas, merchants and sudras sought full ordination to practice the way of *Bodhisattva* i.e. path of enlightenment. In turn Buddha blessed them by putting his golden hands on their heads. They became full fledged Buddhist monks complete with robes, alms bowl and so forth. Buddha gave them teachings of thirty seven factors of enlightenment. As a result of this teaching, all of them achieved five kinds of miraculous powers and became free from delusions.

[114]. Shakya f.n. No. 29, pp. 20-22. Shakya writes- " After paying homage and worshippig Svayambhu *Dharmadhatu* and *Nairatma* Guhesvari Krakucchanda Buddha went to the city and then climed Siddhiphalochcha. He offered Shraravaka ritual to *Bhikshus*, Mahayana rituals to *Bodhisattvas, Yoga* rituals to Yogis and household teachings to householders."

[115]. Wright, f.n. No.3, pp. 80-83.

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the teachings of Krakucchanda Buddha. The *Avadana* also makes reference of Dipankara Buddha, who decended from *Akenista* heaven and converted the monkies of Kinshuk forest into human beings.[116] On the one hand, we have the reference of Krakucchand Buddha in Kinshuk forest and on the other Dipankara Buddha's account occur in with the account of the legend of the incarnation of Jyotipal *Bodhisattva* as a monkey. Thus Dipankara Buddha referred here according to *Buddhavamsha* does not talley with the sequence of time in the legend. A. Fuhrer writes that Krakucchanda Buddha (i.e.he who readily solves all doubts) was born in Kshemavati or Nabhika in *Mahabhadrakalpa* in Kapilvastu, Nepal. [117] Fuhrer further writes that the Bharhut *Stupa* of India of about 250 B.C. shows the *Bodhi* trees of six out of last seven Buddhas.[118]

### 2.4.10. Kanakmuni Buddha

SvP gives account of Kanakmuni Buddha. He had his *Vihara*, Sobhitaram at (Sobhavati). At that time Gautam Buddha, in his previous birth was a *Bodhisattva* named Sudharma also called Mahasattva. SvP refers Kanakmuni Buddha as *Dharmaraj, Munishvara and Tathagata Vinayaka.* We have a legend of Dharmashreemitra later known as Jnanashreemitra came to learn the hidden meaning of twelve letters and *Namasangiti.* Dharmashreemitra's eyes fell on the feet of Manjudeva, as be ignored his *Guru* (teacher) and had to make atonement of his sin.[119] *Digha Nikaya* mentions that Kanakmuni Buddha was son of Yajnadatta Brahman and Uttara Brahmani. At that time King Soma was ruling from his capital Somavati. Kanakmuni belonged to Kashyap *gotra.*[120] It is stated that he got his enlightenment under *Udumbara* tree (fiscus glomerata). Bhayasira and Bharadwaja were his disciples. More information about Kanakmuni Buddha's creed is not available. However future study and researches will throw more light on it. Ashoka's epigraphy inscribed in the Niglihawa pillar categorically mentions about Kanakmuni Buddha's *Stupa* which he had erected. Although the *Stupa* is not yet identified the

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116. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 48, pp.8-10.

117. Fuhrer, f.n. No.7, p. 19. Fuhrer mentions that *Mahabhadrakalpa* is the present age of five sages viz Krakucchanda, Kanakmuni, Kashyapa, Gautam Buddha and future Buddha, Maitreya.

118. *Ibid,* p. 19. Fuhrer writes-"In fact the bas reliefs of the Bharhut *Stupa* dating back as far as about 250 B.C. show us the *Bodhi* trees of the six out of the last seven Buddhas, viz. those of Vipashvi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Konagmana, Kasyapa, and Shakyamuni with the name of the respective Buddhas engraved under the tree."

119. Shakya and Bajracharya, f.n. No. 29 , pp. 131-156. Chapter VI, verse No. 5, 6-9, 29, 81, 180.

120. Sankrityayana and Kashyap, f.n. No. 107, p. 97.

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Ashokan pillar is taken as the testimonial of Kanakmuni Buddha's birthplace in Nepal. Later in the third century B.C. Emperor Ashoka enlarged the *Stupa* of Kanakmuni Buddha in course of his pilgrimage to the Buddhist holy sites. So the scholars remark that Ashoka's visit to Niglihawa has ascertained the birth of Kanakmuni Buddha over there. The text of the Niglihawa pillar inscription is as follows:

1) **Devanama- piyena piyadasina** lajina chodasavasa (bhisi) tena.
2) **Buddhasa konakamanasa** thube dutiyam Vadhite
3) [Visativa] sambhisitena-cha-atana agacha mahiyite
4) [Silathabe-cha usa] papite [11]

Translation of the inscription is as follows:

"King Piyadashi beloved of Gods, having been anointed fourteen years, increased for the second time the Stupa of **Buddha Konakamana,** and having been anointed [twenty years], he came himself and worshipped; [and] he caused (this) stone pillar to be erected." [121] In this regard Fuhrer makes remark that the Buddhists worship of Shakyamuni's predecessors is ascertained by this evidence.[122] Referring to the *Nirvana Stupa* of Kanakmuni Buddha, A. Fuhrer indicates that the *Stupa* of Kanakmuni is discernible on the heaps of ruin on the western bank of Niglisagar where the broken pillar of Ashoka exists. [123] S. Radhakrishnan in this regard refers Ashoka's inscription according to which Ashoka enlarged the *Stupa* of Kanakmuni for the second time. It shows that the *Stupa* was constructed by the common people who visited the place as pilgrim.[124]

Basanta Bidari, the senior archaeologist of Lumbini Development Trust mentions that Mauryan Emperor Ashoka is credited for worshipping *Stupas* and *Viharas* of the Buddha and previous Buddhas. He cites the accounts of Fahien, Hiuen Tsang, Alexander

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[121]. Fuhrer, f.n. No. 7, pp. 39-40.

[122]. *Ibid,* pp. 39-40. Fuhrer writes-"Buddhist doctrine in the *Digha and Majjhima-Nikaya*_referring to previous Buddhas was settled in the third century B. C. First the statement of Asoka - Piyadasi that "he increased " or enlarged the *Stupa* for the second time in the fourteenth year after his coronation as Emperor, or in thetwentieth year ofhis reign, means that he twice restored it, adding to its size.. Hence the monument must have been erected before the beginning of the king's reign or before 269 B.C".

[123]. *Ibid,* Fuhers writes- "The Niglisagar is an expansive sheet of water, being an oblong measuring about 940 feet by 440. A short distance from the western embankment of the lake, on which the mutilated portion of the edict pillar stands, are vast brick ruins streching far away in the direction of the southern gate of Kapilvastu. Amongst the heaps of the ruins, the *Nirvana*- Stupa of Konagmana is clearly discernible."

[124]. Radhakrisnan, f.n. No. 45. p. 478

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Cunningham's report of P.C. Mukerji which mentions the *Stupa* of Kanakmuni Buddha in Niglisagar. [125] Although Bidari mentions Kanakmini Buddha as *Pratyek* Buddha, Waddell defines *Pratyek* Buddha as non teaching Buddha. Kanakmuni Buddha, regarded as the Buddha of *Dvaparayuga* is considered as a teaching Buddha. He is assumed to have preached his religion prior to Gautam Buddha. Had he not been recognized during Ashoka's time, Ashoka would not come to enlarge the *Stupa* and worship it personally. Fuhrer further mentions another argument and writes that the *Buddhavamsha* (XXIII, 29) one of the latest books included in the canon of the *Pitakas* mentions- Buddha Konagamana reached *Nirvana* i.e.died in the Pabbata Arama, that is, in the "Mountain Plaisance or Monastery". Dr. Buhler says that we have to look near the site of his *Nirvana Stupa* for the place of his death. The Pabbata Arama lies just thirteen miles north east of Niglisagar on the lower slopes of the tarai hills overtopped by the snowclad peaks Dhavalagiri and Muktinath, and its deserted site now known as Saina-Maina".[126] T.R.Vaidya writes that the Ashokan pillar of Gotihawa was erected in commemoration of Karkucchanda Buddha and that of Niglisagar in memory of Kanakmuni Buddha. These are the sites of two early Buddhas. [127]

Referring to V.A.Smith, Vaidya writes that Vincent Smith has rightly written about the cult of "previous Buddhas","consequently Buddhism itself originated in Nepalis tarai before the time of Gautama Buddha.[128] It was a landmark in ascertaining the history of Buddhism in the protohistoric period. The pillar commemorates the identity of Kanakmuni Buddha prior to Shakyamuni Buddha. The supposed lion capital on the top of Ashokan pillar at Niglisagar is not so far found. On the western bank of Niglisagar only two pieces of Ashokan pillars mentioned above were discovered in the excavation made

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[125]. Basanta Bidari. "Niglihawako Aitihasik tatha Puratattvik Ruprekha" (Historical and Archaeological Features of Niglihawa), *Voice of History*, Vol, XVI, T.U Central Dept. of History, Kirtipur, p. 68.

[126]. Fuhrer, f.n. No.7, pp. 28-29.

[127]. T.R Vaidya, "Nepal And Emperor Ashok", *Voice of History*, No 1, (Kirtipur : T.U. Central Dept. of History, July 1997 A.D.), p. 39; Interpreting the inscription of Niglihawa of Empersor Ashok, T.R.Vaidya writes - "Emperor Ashoka had visited the site twice one in 255 B.C. when he reconstructed the *Stupa* in a bigger size (for the second time) and second time 249 B.C. During his second visit he erected the pillar. But unfortunately the pillar which once stood beside the *Stupa* of Kanakmuni Buddha is lying on the bank of a lake called Niglisagar."To the north east of Niglisagar lies extensive ruin. Archaeological excavation has not been undertaken there. It is stated that the ruin is the birth place of Kanakmuni Buddha. "The two pillars are the strong evidence of the existence of the cult of the "previous Buddhas". The Ashokan pillars, Fahien and Hiuen Tsang's accounts are the epigraphic evidences of the historicity of Krakucchanda and Kanakmuni Buddhas. The only problem is to ascertain the exact period of those Buddhas.

[128]. *Ibid*, p. 14.

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by A. Fuhrer in September 1896. Thus the *Manushi* Buddhas prior to Gautam Buddha included in the mythological accounts is verified on the basis of archaeological evidences and the two Buddhas have become historic Buddhas. Some scholars link Kanakamuni Buddha's creeds with *Kanaka Caitya* of Kathmandu.

John K. Locke mentions that the existing *Baha* of Kel Tole, Kathmandu is known as *Kanaka Caitya Mahavihara,* from which the *Baha* takes its name. He writes - "We have the tradition of an ancient foundation of *Kanaka Caitya Mahavihara* prior to the bringing of *Avalokiteshvara*, confirmed by the existence of separate *Kwapadya* shrine and old entry way to the *Baha*" (from the west)". The present image on *Jana Baha* was brought from Jamal in 1614 A.D.[129] Kel Tole is also known as *Koliyagram* during Licchavi period. On the basis of the settlement of the Koliyas around the *Baha* and the existence of *Kanaka Caitya*, over there in ancient time, some scholars make an assumption that the Koliyas who came to the Kathmandu Valley as fugitives followed Kanakmuni Buddha's sect.

### 2.4.11. Kashyapa Buddha

We have the account of M.B. Shakya that the Baudhanath *Stupa* was constructed with the relics of Kashyapa Buddha. He mentions that a drone measure of the relics of *Tathatgata* Kashyapa, the third of the Fortunate eon was placed on the womb of the *Stupa.* It is stated that after the construction of the *Stupa*, Kashyapa Buddha appeared himself in person encircled with hosts of other Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas* and host of retinues. [130] He came to the Kathmandu Valley from Benares (Varanasi) in course of his pilgrimage. Then he went to Gaud city. [131] It is also stated that Kashyapa Buddha was preaching *Saddharma* in Mrigadavan *Vihara* in Benares city. At that time Gautam Buddha was devotee of Kashyapa Buddha in the name of Jyotiraj *Bodhisattva* . By his preachings the king of Gaud, Prachandadeva abdicated his throne in the name of his son and practiced *Bodhivrata.* He venerated Kashyapa Buddha on auspicious day.[132] Kashyapa Buddha was a son of Bandhudatta Brahman and Dhanavati Brahmani. At that time Kikri was the king.

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[129]. John K. Lecke, S.J. *Karunamaya,* (Kathmandu : Sahayogi Prakashan, 1980 A.D.) p. 166.
[130]. Min Bahadur Shakya, *Baudhanath,* (Germany : Talisman Worldwide, Earnest Segmuller, 1997), p. 29.
[131]. Shakya and Vajracharya, f.n. No, 29, p. 56.
[132]. *Ibid.*, pp. 159-165. Chapter VII, verse No. 7-10, 43.

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His capital was in Varanashi (Benares).[133] He got enlightenment under *Negrodha* tree. His main disciples were Tishya, Uttama, Sotthita and Jyotiraja *Bodhisattva.* After his visit to Nepal he went to Gaud, Bengal. Prachandadeva, the king of Gaud respected him on the day of *Akshaya Tritiya* and gave him *Pindapatra* (begging boul). Kashyapa Buddha then directed him to go to Svayambhu *Kshyatra* (Nepal) and became disciple of Gunakar *Bhikshu*, the first disciple of Manjudeva (Manjushree). He belonged to *Dvaparayuga.* [134]

### 2.4.12. Construction of Svayambhu Caitya

Buddhists in Nepal generally believe that Svayambhu originated in the primordial period in the primordial lake. SvP gives the account of the lotus which remained in the centre of the lake emerging *Pancarasmi.* It was covered by Shantashree with order of Manjudeva. The lotus was covered with stone slab and a *Caitya* over it was constructed invoking Jinesvari and practice of *Vajravrata.* He offered *Vajracaryabhishekh* and made him renounce the idea of Shravaka Prateyekyana. Then Shantashree covered *Jyotirupa Jinalaya* and constructed a *Caitya* over it. He also constructed five *Puras* and enshrined *Vayudevata* (God of air) in Vayupur, in *Nairityakon*, southwest known as *Phaskadyo* in Nepal Bhasa, *Agnidevata* (God of fire) in Agnipur, in *Agnyekon*, north west, *Varundevata* (God of water) in Nagpur known as *Basiga* in Nepal Bhasa in *Vayebhyakon*, north east, Basundhara (Goddess of earth) in Basupur in *Ishankon,* south east, Mahasamvara in Shantipur in the north west. Practising *Vajracarya,* Shantashree gained miraculous power and became skilled in *Mantra* attaining *Bodhicitta.* [135] The account indicated that Vajrayana Buddhism was there since the very primordial time. The Vajracharyas believe that the history of Vajrayana began from that time whereas this version is questioned by some scholars. The later Buddhist *Vamsavali* also gives the same account.[136] The Buddhist believe in the myth and say that Shantikaracharya lived in Shantipur between *Chintamani* pitcher (right) and *Chintamani* jewel (left) under *Chintamani* tree. Shantipur

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[133]. Sankrityayana and Kasyapa, f.n., No, 107, p. 96.

[134]. Shakya and Vajracharya, f.n. No. 29. pp. 56-57.

[135]. Shakya and Bajracharya, f.n, No. 29, pp. 178-185 SVP, Chapter VII, verse No. 137-139, 144, 151-153, 157-158, 160, 180-185.

[136]. Wright, f.n. No.3, p. 84, *Vamsavali* mentions-"In due course of time the king of Gaud became an (*Acharya*) teacher and changed his name as Shantashree. He then thought that *Kaliyaga* was approaching, in which mankind would be utterly sinful. He therefore covered the Svayambhu light with a stone and built a *Chaitya* and temple over it.

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has four names a) Shantipur, b) Samvarpur, c) Guhyapur d) Akashpur. H.R.Shakya says that Shantikaracharya had installed six Bhairavas as guards of six directions. These Bhairavas are a) Prithivi Bhairava to the south of Shantipur, b) Asitang Bhairava to the east of *Mahacaitya* on the way, c) Tejasa Bhairavi *Patal* (under the hill to the east), d) Vayu Bhairava to south west, e) Akash Bhairava to the west f) and Sunya Bhairava and his *Shakti* (spouse) to the east on the way. Prachandadeva is regarded as the emanation of Vajradhara. He was a pious king with judicious mind. He is said to have visited eight *Vitaragas* and twelve *Tirthas* of Nepal.[137] Svayambhu *Mahacaitya* is the work of Nepalis craftsmen. It represents typical original and unique Nepalis architecture. The original structure of the *Caitya* is still visible when one sees below the nitch of the temple of *Dhyani* Buddhas. It is stated that one craftsman belonging to Manandhar family of Kathmandu involved in construction or renovation of the *Caitya* has his icon in the shape of Buddha without a finger in his hand in the present site of Karmaraj *Mahavihara.* He is said to have lost his finger while he was involved in the construction of the *Caitya.*[138]

## 2.5. Legend of Gautam Buddha's Visit to the Kathmandu Valley

SvP narrates that Buddha had paid homage to Svayambhu *Caitya* to show his regards to *Adi* Buddha. SvP also includes the accounts of Shakyamuni Buddha's previous births as *Bodhisattva* in the name of anterior *Manushi* Buddhas. It is stated that Shakyamuni Buddha had paid homage to *Adi* Buddha seven times. Both SvP and *Nepal Mahatmya* have glorified Shakyamuni Buddha. SvP is the *Purana* believed as narrated to Buddha Maitreya at Purana Svayambhu located between Svayambhu *Mahacaitya* and Manjushree *Caitya* on the western side. At present *Dharma Chakra Mahavihara* is located on that site. SvP gives account of *Bhikshuni* (nun) Chuda's devotion to *Adi* Buddha and Manjushree. She was made protectress of the *Vihara* by Shakyamuni Buddha.These stories seem to be imaginative. SvP also mentioned the prayer of Emperor Ashoka to Shakyamuni Buddha and the account of his pilgrimage to Buddhist shrines in the Kathmandu Valley. [139] Opinion of the scholars varies on the visit of Shakyamuni Buddha and Emperor Ashoka to the Kathmandu Valley. Landon makes remark on the legacy of

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[137]. Shakya, f.n. No.29 p. 58-60.

[138]. Jeet Bahadur Manandhar, *Manandhar Nibandha Muna* (In Nepal Bhasa) Collection of the essays of Manandhar), (Kathmandu : Taradevi Manandhar, 2004 A.D.), p. 21.

[139]. Shakya and Bajracharya, f.n. 29, pp. 135-260, SVP chapter X, verse No. 3, 7, 8, 11 and 57-73.

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SvP. [140] H.R. Shakya quoting Kaishar Bahadur K.C.'s version, writes that Gautama Buddha went to Nala and Namaobuddha after paying homage to Svayambhu. Legends relating to the episode of Namobuddha are also available. Nomobuddha has remained as one of the holy sites of the Valley related with the story of Lord Buddha's previous life. Before his birth as Siddhartha in Nepal, he was Swetaketu *Bodhisattva* in *Tushita Bhuvan*. He gave his throne to future Buddha Maitreya for the welfare of the people of *Jambudipa*. He was born from Mahamaya, queen of Shakya king Suddhodana. All deities, Brahma, Vishnu, Maheshvara, Indra, Yama, Varuna, Kubera, Laksmi, and Sarsvati welcomed Siddhartha at Lumbini Nepal. *Lalitavistara* mentions it elaborately. According to the account, Brahma brooms the ground, Vishnu sprays *Jala* (pure water), Shiva beats the drum, Goddess Laksmi, Sarsvati spread red carpet and other deities shower flowers. [141] This account shows syncretism in Nepal. It has also spiritual feature. It is also mentioned that Gautam Buddha had one *Varshavas* (rainy season dwelling) at Nala in the Kathmandu Valley. Acharya Jinamitra mentions that the renowned Buddhist monk had come to Nepal as the country was well developed in the sixth century B.C. His work *Mulasarvativada Vinaya Sangraha* writes that a group of refugees from Kapilvastu came and settled in the Kathmandu Valley after the death of king Suddhodana. With reference to the visit of Ananda, the Buddha's disciple and cousin to the Kathmandu Valley along with the merchants of Shravasti, India who used to buy Nepalis wool and other goods. *Bhikshu* Ananada and other disciples of the Buddha were in the group who visited the Kathmandu Valley to meet and acquire information about the condition of the Shakyas living there. They had fled from Kapilvastu to escape the onslaught of Virudhaka. Shakya writes that during the last journey of the Buddha at Shravasti, the merchants had gone to the Kathmandu Valley. They had to face severe cold in the Valley. *Bhikshu* Ananda had come with them to meet his close relatives at Pimbahal in Patan. On his return to Shravasti, he had many cracks on his feet. There was great debate on wearing shoes by the monks. As a solution of the problem the Buddha permitted the monks to wear shoes in such unfavourable climate. It is also stated that after attaining Buddhahood, Lord Buddha became famous in Magadha around Ganga and Jamuna. He

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[140]. Landon, f.n. No, 4, p. 12. Landon writes- "Still we get a persistent legend at some time during the life time Gautam Buddha (563- 483 B.C.) the Valley had attained sufficient reputation to induce the Master to make a journey thither.

[141]. Shakya, f.n. No.10, ( Intro), p. 8, cf, Kaishar Bahadur K.C.," *Nepal*", Journal, (Kathmandu : Year 2, No. 4), p. 8. Pashupati Ghosh," *Nepalki Sanskritic Kahaniya*", p. 36.

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went to the place near Himalaya. But it is assumed that the Buddha might have come near the vicinity of Himalaya in the later part of his career. [142] Although the mythological accounts describe the Buddha's visit to the Kathmandu Valley seven times in his previous birth or at the time of mortal Buddhas before him, these accounts are meant for glorifying and venerating the Buddha. Landon mentions that in the ancient legends the Buddhas of more than one reincarnation are recorded. [143] Although the legends mention the visit of Gautam Buddha to the Valley, historians are reluctant to accept it as historical truth. There is no proof to attest the fact. It is limited to mythical accounts only.

## 2.6. Concept of Divine and Manushi Buddhas

Very little information about the creed of *Manushi* Buddha is available in the Buddhist literature. However, *Digha Nikaya* gives the account of Vipashvi Buddha's creed, his career, his renunciation of his palace, practice of ascetic life, attainment of Buddhahood, spread of religion, propagation of *Dharma Chakra*, and deity as witness on the attainment of Buddhahood etc are mentioned in *Mahavagga* 14-(1) of *Mahapadana Sutta.* [144] All these episodes seem like carbon copy of the events of Shakyamuni Buddha. These descriptions seem to have been fabricated to glorify Shakyamuni Buddha's life, career and teachings. So the the accounts of *Digha Nikaya* also appear to be imaginative and look like literary work only. With regard to *Manushi* Buddha Krakucchanda we have one another account. In *Marjaniya Suta* of *Majjhima Nikaya, Tathagata* himself had mentioned that Krakucchanda Buddha had used "*Nagaavalokana Mantra*" to supress *Dussi Mara.* Sridhar Rana writes if *Mantra* does not belong to Buddhism, Krakucchanda was also not Buddha, and Sakayamuni, while referring to it, might have told a lie. Therefore Vajrayana *Mantra* is not that type of *Mantra* as that of Shamanism. [145] In this context, Min Bahadur Shakya's version may be mentioned. He says that Shakyamuni Buddha propagated Shravakayana when he propounded the First Wheel of Law at Mrigadavana (Deer Park) near Varanasi. The Buddha propagated Mahayana or the path

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142. *Ibid*, p. 70. It is also mentioned in, *MulsarvastivadaVinaya*, (Tokyo : edition, Chapter 17, Sutra No. 4, p. 111 quoted by D.R Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, (Calcutta : (second edition), Firma K.L.Mukhopadyaya 1960, p. 202.

143. Landon, f.n. No. 4, pp 12-18. Landon writes- "That some form of Buddhism was kept awake within the Valley is likely."

144. Sankrityayana and Kasyapa, f.n. No.107, pp. 95-109.

145. Sridhar Rana, (Preface), *Munimat Prakash*, (Lalitpur : Padma Ghale, 1999 A.D. (2046 V.S.), pp. 14, 21.

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of *Bodhisattva* at Gridhakuta hill (Vulture Park) near Rajgir. He preached *Tathgatagarbha Sutra, Mahaparinirvana Sutra* at Vaishali. At various places such as Dhyanakataka, Sriparvat, Kamakhya, Srihatta, Purnagiri, Odiyana etc. the Buddha revealed the path of *Mantra* i.e. Vajrayana. It was meant for highly gifted disciples as the shortest path to attain enlightenment. It integrates all three vehicles. [146] This shows that all the three schools originated during the time of the Buddha himself. However, modern scholars deny it. Some scholars opine that the Buddha was deified later by Mahasanghikas or Mahayanists in 100 B.C. to 100 A.D. It is worth mentioning that Svayambhu *Caitya* is dedicated not to human Buddha but to *Adi* Buddha in later accounts. In view of this statement Shakya's version of Shakyamuni Buddha propagating the three main schools of Buddhism even during the life time of Buddha contradicts the views of the scholars who say that Vajrayana was developed only when the radical form of *Mantra* developed in Mahayana tradition. Some scholars say that Mantrayana was popular in rudimentary form even during the time of Krakucchanda Buddha prior to Gautam Buddha. This version is also doubtful in the absence of other evidences. Scholars say that Vajrayana has all the traits of Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism i.e *Sutras* and *Mantras* are its basis. It is quite clear from the conceptual point of view that Vajrayana integrates all schools of Buddhism and it originated later. It is also stated that Vajrayana developed in its full form in between the third to seventh century A.D. Its primitive form might have existed even during primordial time i.e. Krakucchanda Buddha's time. In the same way, the fact that Mahayana developed side by side with Hinayana from the *Mahasanghikas* also is worth consideration from historical point of view. It might have existed as pure sect in the proto historic peiod. Reference may be made of the view of Prof Alexis Sanderson to clearify the status of Vajrayana Buddhism in general. To cite him,"The Vajrayana (the Diamond way) is called the way of *Mantra*." [147] Vajrayana is based on *Mantra* and *Tantra* Mahayana and profound meditation. In it, the *Sutras* are used as *Dharini*. *Tantric Abhishekh* (empowerment) is given to neophites. *Mantras* are used to ward off the black arts. So it is termed as white magic. It has belief in mysticism and it emphasizes on deep meditation, *Mahamudra*. In the prehistoric and proto historic

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[146]. Min Bahadur Shakya, *The Iconography of Nepalese Buddhism*, (Kathmandu : Handicraft Association of Nepal, 1999), p.1.

[147]. Alexis Sanderson, "Vajrayana origin and function", Dharmakaya Foundation f.n. No. 70, p. 86.

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period the *Pretyek* Buddhas are referred to have used all those processes in attaining Buddhahood. Its developed form appeared later on. It was popular in ancient time and became widely popular in medieval Nepal. Historians differ in their opinion on the status of Vajrayana Buddhism in the proto historic period. Some scholars opine that these two traditions may be taken as reversal of Shakyamuni Buddha's teaching. In consideration of this issue from religious point of view, and ezxistence of Buddhas prior to Shakyamuni Buddha, it will appear as misleading. Religiosity of the tradition is also to be considerd in this regard. It is obvious that, the Buddha was deified with the rise of Mahayana and Vajrayana. The followers of Mahayana and Vajrayana tradition aim at purity in mind speech and action. Some scholars like S. Radhakrishnan write that Buddhism was influenced by *Upanishad*. In this regard E.A. Burt may be cited. He writes that in the beginning about 800 B.C., a novel kind of document appeared. It is *Upanishad*, in which the sages of the time seemed struggling to work out a mystical philosophy of universe and that of the human nature with profound implications touching the way that man must follow to find salvation to throw off the hampering limitations of finite existence and achieve union with infinitive existence. Burt referred the prayers of *Upanishad*. Scholars denounce the idea of showing Buddhism as the impact of *Upanishad*. But we cannot completely ignore it." [148]

Gellner, in his work explains the theistic interpretation of *Sunyata* as an inherent symbol of *Adi* Budha. [149] Gellner quotes Oldfield's version- "The system of theology taught in

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[148]. E.A Burt, *The Teachings of Compassionate Buddha*, (New York : The New American Library of World Literature, p.15. Burtt explains the term *Dharmakaya* and voidness. He says- "The void and *Dharmakaya* do not differ from each other. Ordinary people look outwards, while the followers of the way look into their own minds, fearing to fall through the void with nothing to which they can cling. They do not know that the void is really void but real realm of *Dharma*." Expalining *Dharma* as meritorius acievement Burt writes that the spiritually enlightened nature is without beginning or end, as old as space, neither subject to birth, nor destruction, neither existing nor not existing, neither defiled nor pure, neither clamorous nor silent, neither old nor young, cccupying no. space, having neither inside nor outside nor form, colour or sound. It is not to be looked for or sought, comprehended by wisdom or knowledge, explained in words, contacted materially or reached by meritorious achievement. When *Adi* Buddha is referred in *Dharmakaya* form the statement of Burt seems to have its application. Citing Tao Sheng on *nirvana*, and the way of Buddha he writes- "to get mystical union with Nature is illumination", "the cosmic body of Buddha is real. His human body is phenomenal and shaped."

[149]. David N Gellner, "Hodgson's Blind Ally, on the So Called Schools Of Nepalese Buddhism", *Buddhist Himalaya*, (Lalitpur: Vol VIII, No 1 and 3), pp. 6-17. Gellner writes- "the Nepalese historian D.R.Regmi although endorses the existence of four schools mentioned by Hodgson, expresses no overt skepticism." In the footnote he also mentions- "The octopus of Hinduism is slowly strangling its Buddhist victim". Moreover he quotes Robinson and Johnson's view that Hodgson's thought project has imaginary schools. He also quotes C.F. Hunter who says -"Apparently it was Amritananda who

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Buddhist scriptures of Nepal (i.e) is essentially monotheistic and is based upon a belief in the divine supremacy of *Adi*-Buddha as a sole and self -existent spirit perveding the universe." In the same way S. Radhakrishnan interpreted *Sunyata* in theistic way. However, the Buddhist scholars of Nepal denounce their views and say *Adi* Buddha is simply a pure ground. Some *Bhikshus* denounce the idea of creator in Buddhism and write that Buddhism believes on Sunyata (voidness).

## 2.7. Remarks on History of Buddhism in the Pre and Proto Historic Period

It is obvious on the basis of mythology and *Vamsavalis* that Buddhas existed in the prehistoric and proto historic periods. Even eminent scholars believe on it. Moreover, the archaeological evidences are there to prove the concept of the existence of some Buddhas prior to Shakyamuni Buddha. In all forms of Buddhism the tradition of *Manushi* Buddhas is available. Buddhist literature such as SvP and other holy texts include elaborate accounts of anterior Buddhas. Although SvP text is ascribed to have its origin only.After the raid of Sultan Shamsuddin in 1350 A.D. (N.S. 470), it includes the tradition and faith of common people. Although SvP is referred to have been composed only in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is stated that there was oral Buddhist tradition to transmit thought. In view of the mythological accounts, it is obvious that myths were created to venerate the Buddha of past, present and future. P.Landon has presented the following illustration to show the relationship of eternal Buddha; *Dhayani* Buddhas and celestial *Bodhisattvas*, or spiritual Buddhas with human Buddha. After the raid of Sultan Shamsuddin in 1350 A.D. (N.S. 470), it includes the tradition and faith of common people. Although SvP is referred to have been composed only in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is stated that there was oral Buddhist tradition to transmit thought. In view of the mythological accounts, it is obvious that myths were created to venerate the Buddha of past, present and future. P.Landon has presented the following illustration to show the relationship of eternal Buddha, *Dhayani* Buddhas and celestial *Bodhisattvas*, or spiritual Buddhas with human Buddha. [150]

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insisted in certain modes of theistic interpretation. "Gellner quotes Oldfield's version- "The system of theology taught in Buddhist scriptures of Nepal (i.e.) is essentially monotheistic and is based upon a belief in the divine supremacy of *Adi*-Buddha as a sole and self -existent spirit perviding the universe. "He further remarked- "[Hodgson was ahead of his time in understanding that *Sunyata* does not mean nothingness.]" The above mentioned remarks reveal the theistic interpretation of Amritananda. It shows the impact of idea of *Upanishad* with emphasis on monotheism.

[150]. Landon. Fn.No.4, p.220

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| Side | Dhyani Buddhas | Consorts | Celestial Emanation | Human Manification |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Centre | Vairochana | Vajradhatesvari | Samantabhadra | Krakuchhanda (Past Era) |
| East | Aksobhya | Lochana | Vajrapani | Kanakmuni " |
| South | Ratnasambhava | Mamaki | Ratnapani | Kashyapa |
| West | Amitabha | Pandara | Avalokiteshvar -a | Shakyamuni (Present Era) |
| North | Amogahsiddhi | Tara | Visvapani | Maitreya (Coming Era) |

It shows that there existed Buddhas of the past, present and future and will be there in coming aeon's i.e. Buddhas existed even before Gautam Buddha and the future Buddha will come. The mythological accounts of SvP reveal that Gautam Buddha finally became *Samyek Sambuddha* (the fully enlightened one) by the merit of *Bodhisattva Carya* or *Bodhisattva* deeds in his previous births. The accounts centre round the meritorious acts of Gautam Buddha. Veneration to Buddha seems to be the main motive of the mythological accounts. In this context Divya Vajra Vajracharya's citing a palm leaf of 1374 A.D (N.S.494) illustrates *Panca* Buddha or *Jinas* (victors). He mentions celestial *Bodhisattvas*, their *Mudras* (gestures), *Vahanas* (vehicles), directions, colours, distinctive symbols, domains (*Panca Bhuvan*), their representative cosmic elements equated with senses, five elements (*Skandhas*), *Pancarasmi*, *Pancarakshya*, *Panca Gomata,* their *Mantras* etc. Citing a hymn, he mentions that Vipashvi Buddha is renowned for spirit, Shikhi for strength, Vishvabhu for true words, Krakucchanda for meditation, Kanakmuni for knowledge, Kashyapa for mystery and Shakyasimha for strength. They served as great medicine to sentient beings. [151] To summarize the accounts of *Vamsavali*, *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu, the self born had come down from *Akanista Bhuvan* (heaven) in the form of light on the full moon day of *Ashwin* in *Satyayuga*. In the same age Shikhi Buddha incorporated himself with the light on *Mesh Sankranti* (*Ist Vaishakh)* after much meditation and observation of Svayambhu light. In the *Tretayuga*, Vishvabhu Buddha offered flowers to Svayambhu from Phulochcha (Phulchoki above Godavari). In the same

[151]. Dibya Vajra Vajracharya, (Preface), *Pancha Raksha Sutra,* ( Kathmandu : Sattva Tara Vajracharya 1998 A.D. (N.S. 1118)), pp. Ja, Jha.

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age Manjushree came from Mahachina (China). He saw the Svayambhu light and stayed on Mahamandap (one mile east of Bhaktapur now called Manjushreesthan) and cut the mountain called Kooduwal.

Manjushree saw Svayambhu in the form of *Vishwarupa* on the day of fullmoon in *Kartik* and discoverd Guhesvari in the form of *Vishwarupa* on the $9^{th}$ *Paush Krishna* and worshipped in the centre of the lotus flower whose root was at Guhesvari. He built a town called Manjupattan. In the same age Krakucchanda Buddha saw Guhesvari in the form of Svayambhu light and explained the merit of Svayambhu on *Mesh Sankranti* day. Gangadevi appeared in corporal form with water for performance of *Abhishekh* and Keshavati River was formed. In *Dvaparyuga* Kanakmuni Buddha visited the shrine of Svayambhu and Guhesvari and ascended into heaven where he caused Indra to practice virtue. After this Kashyapa Buddha came from Benares. He paid homage to supreme Buddha Svayambhu and Guhesvari. [152] Accounts mentioned in the myth show the theistic or religious feature of Buddhism in Nepal. Levi says that Nepalis Buddhism seems to have incorporated the Brahmanical elements in its mythology thus Svayambhu has remained as a common shrine of the Hindus and Buddhists. He writes that Nepalis Buddhism has in every respect like Brahmanism, cultivated the style of the *Mahatmya*, it has celebrated and recommended its sacred spots in the *SvP*. He further says that SvP confines itself to magniyfying (or exaggerating) Svayambhu and the collection which bears it in general, the whole of the Valley. It is a *Nepal Mahatmaya* in use by the Buddhists. [153] Thus, it is clear that Mahayana Buddhism of Nepal is holy Buddhism. Scholars say that the last six *Manushi* (human) Buddhas are popular in Nepal. They are the Buddhas of proto historic period after divine, eternal Buddha of prehistoric period. According to myth, Harischandra Lal Singh writes that mortal or *Manushi* Buddha Kanakmuni and Krakucchanda were born in Nepalis terai. Six years before the installation of the famous Ashokan pillar in Lumbini, Ashoka visited Niglihawa and reconstructed the the *Stupa* of Kanakmuni, double in size of the previous one and also constructed another *Stupa* in honour of Krakucchanda near Gotihawa. He further mentions that the concept of *Adi* Buddhas *Dhyani* Buddhas, *Bodhisattvas* and their

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[152]. Wright, f.n. No.3, pp. 77-83.

[153]. Levi, f.n. No. 111, p. 89. Levi writes – Free from disguises of the legends itself a small number of acceptable facts could be reduced. With the coming Manjusri mystical age opens then. The Nepalese story tellers had no difficulty in peopling this distant past.

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consorts was a creation of Mahayana philosophy. [154] A. Fuhrer mentions the characteristic feature of anterior Buddhas prior to Gautam Buddha. [155] Suwarna Shakya writes that there were many Buddhas like Krakucchanda and many *Tathagatas* like Dipankara before Shakyamuni Buddha in Nepal. Gotihawa, in Kapilvastu of Nepal has been identified as the home town of Krakucchanda Buddha. Location of Ashokan pillars and *Stupas* in Gotihawa and Niglihawa are taken as indication of the existence of Krakucchanda and Kanakmuni Buddhas in the past. Scholars say that the Buddha is not the name of any body, it is a title. *Samhegun* is the oldest *Vihara* of Nepal. Gunakar *Bhikshu*, disciple of Manjudeva lived in this *Vihara.* [156] In the same way the epigraphic account incised on the Ashokan pillar of Niglihawa testifies the fact that the *Stupa* enlarged by Ashoka belonged to Kanakmauni Buddha. In the same way the existence of Kanaka *Caitya* in Janabahal at Kel Tole is supposed to be the existence of Kanakmuni's creed in Nepal in the proto historic period. In this regard P. Landon's version may be summed up. Making passing reference of the ancient legends of Pashupati and Svayambhu, he writes that Buddhas of more than one reincarnation are recorded. He adds that some form of Buddhism was kept awake within the Kathmandu Valley is likely. Manjushree was the hero of Buddhistic sagacity who holds sway in China and who still manifests himself today under the guise of the Son of Heaven. [157] On the basis of mystical accounts, S. Levi shows the feature of toleration. [158] Study of SvP presents the scenario of *Adi* Buddha in primitive as well as later phase of the development of Buddhism in Nepal. According to the view of the scholars, the definition of *Adi* Buddha

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154. Singh, f.n. No. 12, p. 4.

155. Fuhrer, f.n. No. 7, p.19. Fuhrer writes-According to the most authentic record, the *Buddhavamsa*, all these afore time Buddhas were tranquil and free from every passion. Like the many rayed sun, they chased away the dense darkness and, having flamed like fireballs, became extinct with all their train.

156. Suwarna Shakya, *Buddha Dharma Ra Vyavahar* (Buddhism and Practice), (Kathmandu : [A collection of differenr articles on Buddhism published in different journals], Saran Publication, 2003 A.D.), pp. 97and 129.

157. Landon, f.n. No. 4, p. 18. Landon writes- The idea of the *Adi* Buddha goes back to earliest ages of Nepalese Buddhism. Swayambhunath has probably stood for something like two thousand years as a symbol of "The Self Existent One" who was not merely a First cause, but a supreme and definitely conceived God". To cite him again, "The Nepalese pantheon contains three elements, often united in modern legends; firstly aboriginal deities such as *Nagas* and other nature spirits; secondly, definitely Buddhist deities or *Bodhisattvas*, of whom Manjushree receives the most honour; and thirdly, Hindu deities such as Ganesh or Krishna. The popular deity Machendranath or Matsyendranath appears to combine all these elements in his own person.

158. Levi, "Nepal" *Ancient Nepal*, No. 28, (*Kathmandu : DOA*), pp. 51-60. Levi writes - "the spouse of Civa offers to Buddha a favour to select and consents to allow him share with Civa, the honours of the worship. ... "And the sympathizer who does not wish to be behind in courtesies dedicates to Civa the linga of compassion, Karunikecvera

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in later Buddhism is much loose. To summarize the version of Landon, Vairochana is sometimes regarded as unknown *Adi* Buddha. He remains in invisible position in the central relic's chamber of the *Stupa*. He is placed higher than his four compeers. Vairochana's son and Vajrasattva, a disputed sixth *Dhyani* Buddha in later phase is regarded as *Adi* Buddha. [159] The medieval epigraphic account mentions "*Svayambhu*"as "*Svabhu*" then *Shambhu*. The transformation of the term is like this- *Svayambhu-Svabhu-Shambhu*. It is referred as the root of origination of self born. It may be the interpolation of Brahmanical chronologists. Svayambhu, eternal and self existent one is represented as *Dharmakaya* of the Buddha. In the Buddhist doctrine Svayambhu is the embodiment of *Dharma* in *Dharmadhatu Mandala*. His body is *Bodhikaya*, *Buddhakaya*, *Prajnakaya*, *Svabhavikakaya* (Essential body), invisible and universal. All beings live, move and have their being in it. He is sometimes represented as creator of all. But Theravadians denounce this view. It is defined as absolute reality (*Tathata*). His real body is cosmic absolute.According to Mahayana all Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas* are spiritually united in *Dharmakaya*. He possesses *Sambhogakaya* (refulgent body, a body of bliss or enjoyment). He thus appears in celestial body. He has six fold process of evolution. According to the theory of Buddhology, the quaint essence of Buddha is pure enlightenment (*Bodhi*) perfect wisdom (*Prajaparamita*) or knowledge of law (*Dharma*) i.e. absolute truth. By obtaining knowledge *Nirvana* is attained. It is also called *Buddhayana - Bodhisattvayana*. It is clear that Bodhisattvayana is the other name of Mahayana. The theme of SvP is to propagate this concept. H.R. Shakya says- "*Adi* Buddha, Svayambhu performed meditation and manifested five *Dhyani Buddhas*. The *Dhayani Buddhas* or celestial Buddhas originated as *Bodhisattvas*. Their *Shaktis* (spouses) are known as *Taras*. A flower offerd to Svayambhu has great merit. [160] According to *Bodhisattva* concept *Bodhisattva* represents potential Buddha. *Bodhisattva* means the one who has attained perfect knowledge and has postponed the progression to *Nirvana* in order to help sentient beings with whom he feels interrelated. In Nepalis Vajrayana tradition, the eight main *Bodhisattvas* popularly included are Avalokitesvara, Manjushree, Vajrapani, Shamantabhadra, Sarvanirvana Vishkambhi, Kshitigarbha,

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[159]. Landon,f.n. No. 4 p. 219. Landon writes – It is remarkable that the doctrine of *Adi* Buddha was originally taught in Nepal by *Aisvarika* school about eleventh century according to Grunwedel. But it came into full growth in China and Japan.

[160]. Shakya, f.n. No. 29 (Intro), p. 6.

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Swagarbha and Maitreya.[161] *Bodhisattva* concept is the integral part of *Adi* Buddha and *Khaganana*, *Nairatma* Guhesvari or *Sunyata*. *Vajra* and *Ghanta* represent the the symbol of *Sunyata* and wisdom. *Namasangiti* text of 5/6th century A.D. refers the concept of *Adi* Buddha and *Gunakaradavyuha Sutra* of 3/4th century refers Svayambhu. *Guhya Samaj Tantra* has given the germ concept of *Adi* Buddha. According to it, *Adi* Buddha emanated five transcendental Buddhas. [162] Scholars doubt on the fact that Manjushree founded Manjupattana by draining out the lake. It is not regarded as as the act of God. Recently a group of Japanese geologists made investigation in the Kathmandu Valley on the subject matter whether the Kathmandu Valley was made inhabitable by divine grace or by natural process of degradation of mountain or earthquake big enough to make a gorge at Chobhar or by hydrolic pressure to make a way to flow the lake water. The mythological accounts highlight the story of creation which mentions that all creations are the creation of God. The act of draining out the lake water i.e water of *Naga-vasa-daha* is taken as divine bliss whereas it is regarded as the outcome of metamorphosis process.

Scholars mention that Svayambhu remained as the shrine of all the three schools of Buddhism- Shravakayana (Hinayana), Mahayana, and Vajrayana. Svayambhu *Jyotirupa* represents Buddhist pantheon which includes *Panca Buddhas*, *Panca Taras*, *and Panca Bodhisattvas.* It includes *Dharmadhatu Mandala* surrounded by *Panca* Buddhas. *Adi* Buddha shrine is supposed to be of pre historic period. The Vajracharyas of Nepal boast that they inherited the tradition of Mahamanjushree. The deity is worshipped as Manjudeva, prime *Bodhisattva* and his spouse as (Mokshyada) who gives salvation. She is Goddess of learning. Although the accounts of seven Buddhas beginning from *Satyayuga* to *Kaliyuga* seem imagination of the compilers of the *Punana, the* accounts seem to have been created to glorify Svayambhu, supreme God as per SvP. Some scholars opine that this idea is repulsive to the teachings of the Buddha. Historians also do not rely on this age division of SvP. The Buddhists believed on metempsychosis i.e. belief on birth after death and previous birth which is revealed from the accounts of SvP. *Avadanas* include Shakyamuni's incarnation of a monkey named Jnanakara in Kimshuk forest at the time of Krakucchanda Buddha. It seems to have been based on moral teachings of Buddhism. Mythological accounts mention that Kanakmuni Buddha

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[161]. Pradhan, f.n. No. 8, p. 89.

[162]. Min Bahadur Shakya (Intro) *Arya Guna Karanda Vyuha Sutra*, Trans by Jogmuni Vajracharya, (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Institute of Exact Methods, 1996 A.D.), p. 18.

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preached *Bodhicarya* including 37 aspects of the *Bodhi* (*Bodhisattva* deeds). Scholars believe that in the protohistoric period Nepalis Buddhists might have followed the teachings of Krakucchanda and Kanakmuni Buddha which are termed as *Bodhisattvayana* according to SvP, holy Buddhism or particular form of Buddhism. The SvP, *Mahatmyas* and *Avadanas* highlight *Vitaragas*, *Tirthas* and *Upatirthas*, *Vratas* which also indicate the syncretic nature of Buddhism in Nepal. Accounts in the *Puranas* include new ideas incorporated from time to time. The inclusion of Hindu thoughts in Buddhism such as the *Tirthasthalas* is meant to foster the sense of devotional feelings among the followers of Buddhism. Thus it is apparent that Buddhism of Nepal in those days reflects the Buddha way of life, Buddha Nature and gives emphasis on piety, benevolence and morality. One later version of mythological account mentions the merit of worshipping the *Vitaragas* which is the syncretic feature of Buddhism in Nepal. [163]

Some scholars aptly believe that Buddhism had its origin when Hinduism was on decline. It was meant to bring about reforms in Hinduism. So it has many components common to Hinduism. Generally the Buddhist scholars say that Vajrayana adopted Hindu deities as *Upayakausalya* and this tradition has become syncretic in nature. Some scholars say that Buddhism originated long before the coming of the Aryans. According to them the Harrapans of the Indus Valley in the Punjab followed Buddhism long before the coming of the Aryans. Their history is distorted and misrepresented. The Gurungs have the tradition of the original Buddha. They think that there was original Buddha; *Maha* Buddhas prior to Shakyamuni Buddha. Shakyamuni Buddha is the recent Buddha. He did not create new religion. Rather he revised the religion of the past Buddhas. However, the scholars remark that the account of original or first Buddha according to Gurung concept seems merely a coincidence. It is also remarked that SvP propogates Mahayana. Rituals such as *Ashtamivrata,* practice of *Caturbrahmaviharas*, six *Paramitas*, *Bodhivratta* and *Chakrasamvaracarya* etc. are given importance. SvP give imoportance to pious life and propagates Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism. This sense of religiosity has preserved

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[163]. Shakya and Bajracharya, f.n. No. 29, SvP, chapter IV, verse No. 110-136, pp. 98-102. SvP mentions - "The mind of those who offer prayers to eight *Vitaragas* while bathing in the Vagmati will be pure. They will be prosperous. They will be fit for entering the *Sivaloka*, the realm of Siva, after enjoying worldly pleasures. Those who wish *Vitaraga* of Swayambhu with ghee will be entitled to *Sivaloka*. Those who wash it with honey will have access to *Brahma Mandira*, the temple of Brahma. Those who wash with it curd will have access to *Vaishnava-loka*, the realm of Vishnu. Those who wash it with liquid scent, milk, cool liquid will attain *Gandharvaloka*, the realm of heavenly musicians, *Chandraloka* (the moon realm)

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the tradition of the Buddhists of Nepal, Buddhist faith based on culture for centuries. *Adi* Buddha appears as one in five and five in one. The concept of Samantabhadra, Vajradhara and Vajrasatva some times confuses the readers when they are referred to as *Adi* Buddha. These reveal the development of Buddhism in the later phases. In this context, it is stated that the meaning of *Adi* Buddha is pure ground, infinitive, Buddha Nature etc. From these citations it is also clear that *Bodhisattvas*, celestial emanations are referred to sometimes as *Bodhisattvas*, sometimes as sons of *Dhyani* Buddha and some times as *Adi* Buddha itself. It reminds us the *Brahma* concept of the Brahmans. Shamanta Bhadra is referred as emanation from Vairochana. Thus *Adi* Buddha concept is religious in its nature and is intertwined or inter related with *Dhyani* Buddha and celestial *Bodhisattvas*. Landon's illustration shows that the celestial Buddhas are equated with *Manushi* Buddhas too. It is stated that *Bhakti* cult was developed in the fifth century .B.C.

In this context Dangol writes that most of the scholars including Aiyaswami are of the view that *Bhakti* tradition developed in Buddhism later with the influence of Hinduism. In this connection, he quotes Har Dayal's version. [164] According to SvP, *Bhakti* cult has made Shakyamuni Buddha as *Lokeshvara* or the Buddha who possesed the traits of five Dhyani Buddhas. The Buddhists believe that the real Buddha is in *Akanista Bhuvan* (heaven) whereas the Buddhas who came down to earth are only emanations of the real Buddha. This version also reveals religiosity and it is similar to the Hindus's belief. Thus imagination plays prominent part in the concept of Buddhism in pre and proto historic period. SvP may be taken as the pious imagination of the Vajracharyas of the 16th century.also. So Vajrayana Buddhism and its rituals are highlighted and Svayambhu appears as eternal or primordial or divine. But it is clear that Buddhas existed prior to Gautam Buddha in the proto historic period. Scholars say that the term Buddha should be

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[164]. Dangol, f.n. No 14, pp.4,31,.64 : Cf. Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas, 1975.)p.36. Dayal writes –" Although the idea of *Bhakti* originated among the Buddhists and was adopted in self defence by the Hindus, yet the new sects, which arose after the fifth century B.C., exercised a profound influence on the further development of Buddhism. They established the cults of certain devas and defied heroes, and the Buddhists were compelled to endow their Buddhas and bodhisattvas with similar attributes and powers." "The bodhisattva doctrine was promulgated against the theory of arhatship, which was regarded as doubly defective It disregarded the higher duty of acquiring the perfect wisdom of a Buddha; and it deprived the world of services of the holyman and woman who had attained nirvana and passed away":" A great religion is not a dead static formula of salvation and ethics; it is always a living, dynamic, self evolving,and self adjusting spiritual movement. The founder's discipline try to render explicit in the original teaching, and they also contribute new ideas and ideals. Only an ultra- orthodox Mahayanist would sup[port S.Kumura's contention that the philosophers of Mahayana really expounded Gautam Buddha's own untological and introspectional prinsciples which were communicated to the ordinary disciples. This is unwarranted assumption"

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taken as the title of a *Guru* (teacher). The literary and archaeological sources attest the fact. Nepalis tradition thus exhibits the existence of *Adi* Buddha in the pre historic period. The Theravadians donot regard the Buddha as God. Relating to the idea of God, *Bhikkhu* Dhammapiya writes-"A verse of *Visuddhi Magga*, translated by Nyanamoli Thera, mentions

No God, no Brahma can be called

The Maker of this Wheel of Life:

Just empty phenomena roll on:

Dependent on conditions of all" [165]

The *Digha Nikaya* describes Vipashvi Buddhas's career just like Gautam Buddha. It reveals veneration for Gautam Buddha and other human Buddhas.

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[165]. Bhikkhu Dhammapiya, "God Idea" *Vaishak Mahotshav* ,No.3,(ed) Dunda Bahadur Vajracharya,( Patan : Ratnakar Mahavihara,Lyayemha Puchah, 2007 A.D), p 74.

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Sanu Bhai Dangol quoting *Bhikshu* Sangharakshita and Edward Conze mentions- "Mahayana tradition propagates the divine form of the Buddha as *Sambhogakaya* not historical or *Manushi* (human) Buddha." He also quotes *Bhikshu* Sangharaksita, Richard H. Robinson and William L Johnson in this connection. [166] Western scholars simply advocate that Theravada is only the oldest text. Local scholars denounce it. It is remarked that they have not studied Mahayana and Vajrayana very closely. So they simply mentioned that Nepal is the storehouse of Mahayana and Vajrayana tradituion. They have not been able to graspe the spiritual, aspects of the Buddhist literature and the hidden meaning thereof. Although the Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas* prior to Shakyamuni Buddha are recognized by Theravada, the western scholars ignore their tradition and term them as legendary Buddhas. They simply advocate that Shakyamuni Buddha was only the Buddha to be relied upon. Sridhar Rana therefore, points out that the Theravadians highly appreciate *Bodhisattvas* in their works. Quoting *Tripitakavagisvaracharya* Walpole Rahul, he further mentions that Theravada just like Mahayana places *Bodhisattva* in the

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[166]. Dangol f.n. No 14.pp.47,48,64,65: Cf. Bhikshu Sangharakshita, *A Survey of Buddhism,* (Banglore : Indian Institute of World Culture, 1966),pp.279,281. Sangharakshita writes –" Just as the *Nirmanakaya* Buddha, in the sense of human and historical Shakyamuni, is the central figure Hinayana, so is the *Sambhogakaya*,in one or another of its manifestation, the dominating figure of Mahayana. It is the *Sambhogakaya* which preaches the Mahayana *Sutras*,just as it was the *Nirmanakaya* which preaches those of Hinayana ... In the system as a whole, however, Gautama the Buddha occupies a distinctly subordinate, indeed almost insignificant position, one is not unoften left with the impression that the Mahayana could now get on well without Him.. As Conze (Edward) writes- "To Christian and agonistic historian, only the human Buddha is real, and the spiritual and the magical Buddha are to him nothing but fictions. The perspective of the believer is quite different. The Buddha nature and the Buddha's glorious body stand out most clearly and Buddha's human body and historical existence appear like a few rags thrown over this spiritual glory:
Richard H Robinson and William L. Johnson, *The Buddhist Religion: A Historical Introduction,* (California : Wadsworth Publishing Co. , Third Edition,1982), pp. 42,68. Robinson and Johnson write-" They(the Mahasanghikas claimed to be truer to the primitive teachings than did the elders ... But they carried transfiguration of the Buddha much further than the Sthaviras did, holding that he is the supermundane and perfectly pure. His body is infinitive; his power boundless and his life endless ... Furthermore, apparition- bodies (conventional human forms) of the Buddha appear and act in different world –systems at the same time " "The theory , though, was never openly used to defend the Mahayana *Sutras*, because to do so would have meant goving up false historical claim the Mahayanists had foolishly made – that their Sutras were from the mouth of the Buddha. ";
Edward Conze, *Buddhism: Its Essence and Developmet* (New York : Harper and Row Publishers, 1959 ) ,pp.28,29, Conze writes- " Another important division is that between *Sutra* and *Shastra*.A Sutra is a text which claims to have been spoken by the Buddha Himself. It always begins with the words, *Thus I have heared or at one time The Lord dwelt at* ...Many *Sutras* were composed centuries after the death of the Buddha. The actual authors of the *Sutras* which were not spoken by the historical Buddha himself are, of course, unknown ...A *Shastra* is a treatise written by an author who is generally known by name, who endeavours to be more systematic than the Sutras usually are, and who quotes the *Sutras* as authorities.Many *Shastras* by the doctors of the Church , such as Nagarjuna, Vasubandhu, and others, are preserved for us."

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highest position. [167] SvP glorifies the Buddhas, *Bodhisattvas* and *Bodhicitta* highlighting *Dharmakaya* (transcendental) form of the Buddha as well as Buddha way of life or Buddha Nature or infinitive as representation of pure mind free from all defilements. Mahayana puts emphasis on *Dharmakaya* (transcendental) form of *Adi* Buddha. It is the distinguished feature of this tradition. According to it, homage to Svayambhu has great merit. SvP myth shows that *Adi* Buddha appeared as supernatural Buddha many aeons ago representing pre-historic age. Some scholars think that *Adi* Buddha is not the first Buddha. *Adi* Buddha is simply a primordial ground which exists in the form of *Prabhasvara* representing the ultimate reality of the world. Many religions including Christianity highlight *Preravasvara.* Svayambhu *Caitya* is the most essential part of all the *Viharas* of the Kathmandu Valley which suggest the universal reality. In the same way, *Panca Buddha* came into existence as cosmic system. They also represent the Buddha Nature. It is stated that *Manushi* (human) Buddhas preached their creeds before historical Gautam Buddha. Nepalis tradition believes that Buddhism appeared in Nepal long before Gautam Buddha and existed as pure sect with emphasis on *Bodhicitta.* The Buddhas of the past appeared in different ages, preached their religion and passed away. According to Buddhist scholars Vajrayana follows 37 aspects of enlightenment. As mentioned above Satipatthana Sutta (Smritiprasthana Sutra)[168] is included in the 37 aspects of enlightenment .The four Smritiprasthana are *Kayanupassana, Vedanupassna, Cittanupassana* and *Dharmanupassana.* Shravakayana traits such as *Vipassana* and *Sunyata* are the integral components of Mahayana, Vajrayana. As such Mahayana, Vajrayana should not be taken as separate units of Buddhism. Thus Svayambhu *Mahacaitya* represents the traits of Shravayayana too.

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[167]. Rana, f.n. No. 15, p.30.

[168] Dunda Bahadur Vajracharya (Trans.Ed.), *Majjhima Nikaya*, Lalitpur: Pavitra Vajracharya and others,2001 A.D., pp.34-35

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# CHAPTER III

# History of Buddhism during Ancient Period

## 3.1. Background

From the historical point of view, it is universally accepted that Buddhism had its origin in the sixth century B.C. i.e. with the attainment of enlightenment by Siddhartha Gautam, real history of Buddhism ushered in.[1] Although some historians have tried to trace the history of Buddhism from 3000 B.C in India, the period of Buddhism begins in Nepal in the 6th century B.C. To some extent, Nepal shares common cultural heritage with India. It is evident that antiquity of Buddhism in the South East Asia may be traced from Indus Valley culture, if the Indian historian is correct. But it cannot be denied that Nepal is endowed with her own distinctive culture from ancient time. The history of Buddhism in Nepal during ancient time can be traced from the 6th century B.C. in different phases. The first phase starts from 6th century B.C. to 1st century B.C. and the second phase may be traced from the 1st century A.D. to 8th century A.D. while the third phase may begin from the 8th to 9th century A.D. From the 8th century A.D.onwards the age of *Siddhas* and preachers starts.

Indicating an important event of Buddhism in the 6th century B.C. Hari Ram Joshi writes that Lord Buddha sent *Bhikshus* to propagate Buddhism to the far off Himalayas. But the *Jataka* does not include Nepal [2] Moreover, SvP mentions the Buddha's homage to *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu, but it is also not attested by other evidences. We do not get any clue that Lord Buddha spread his religion in Nepal in the 6th century B.C.

Bhuwan Lal Pradhan writes that after the attainment of *Bodhijnana* (enlightenmant), Lord Buddha visited his mother land Kapilvastu three times. It is mentioned in Buddhist texts. According to *Kunala Jataka,* he preached to the wives of the *Bhikshus* in 525-524 B.C. On the basis of Buddhist texts, chronicle and history of Nepal, Buddhism entered the Kathmandu Valley during the life time of the Buddha. The Kiratas lived in the Valley. They embraced Buddhism being impressed by the simple life of the *Bhikshus* and laities

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1. H. Ambrose Oldfield, *Sketches from Nepal, Vol. I,* (Delhi : Cosmos Publication), p. 69.
2. Hari Ram Joshi, *Pages of the Forgotten Past,* (Lalitpur : Joshi Research Institute, 1998), p. 187. Joshi writes- "It is stated in *Kunala Jataka* (Kunala Avadana?) mentions that Lord Buddha had sent the *Bhikshus* comprising of the Sakyan and the Kolian clans to the for off the Himalayas".

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coming from Kapilvastu during and after the life time of the Buddha.[3] Citing Babu Ram Acharya, Naresh Man Bajracharya also supported Pradhan's statement mentioned above.[4]

Scholars have divided the ancient history of Nepal politically as early and later period or pre and post ancient period or pre and post Licchavi period also on the basis of the script used in the inscriptions. Babu Ram Acharya has referred to the period of thirteen hundred years starting from the seventh and eight century B.C. to the rise of *Tantricism* among the Buddhists and Shaivites in Nepal as ancient period in the history of Nepal.[5] He might have mentioned it on the basis of the prevailing *Tantric* cult in those days. It seems that it is a global division. Some scholars mention Licchavi Period from C.200 to 750 A.D.and Thakuri Period from C.750 to 1200 A.D. Other scholars opine that the Licchavi dynasty ruled Nepal from C.536 B.C.877 A.D. and the Thakuri kings ruled from C. 879 to 1200 A.D.

In the first phase, we discuss the development of Buddhism with reference to India as the next door neighbour and in the second phase we make an overview of the history of Buddhism during the Licchavi period. Then we have epigraphic evidences and literary sources as *Vamsavalis* to trace the history of Buddhism during Licchavi period. These sources show that the Licchavi rulers greatly contributed to the development of Buddhism by patronizing it. Buddhayana or Bodhisattvayana was the popular cult during the Licchavi period. Local and foreign scholars are unanimous on this view. Rahula Sankrityayana in his work *Rahula Yatravali Part II* mentions that *Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara*'s image was found in Lumbini excavation. [6] The notable kings who contributed to the development of Buddhism during the Licchavi period were Vrisadeva, Shankerdeva, Manadeva, Amshuvarma, Narendradeva, Jayadeva II and Shivadeva II.

*Vamsavali* mentions the ruling dynasties of ancient Nepal which states that after Kirata rule the Licchavi dynasty was established. The *Gopalraja Vamsavali* mentions-"*Athah Suryavamsha Prabhavat Nepal Ki(rat) Raja Nirjitya Licchavi Vamsha Pravartate.*"

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3. Bhuvan Lal Pradhan, *Nepalma Baudha Dharma* (Buddhism in Nepal), (Kathmandu : Royal Nepal Academy, 1968 A.D.( 2045 V.S.), pp. 21-33.
4. Naresh Man Bajrachaya, *Buddhism in Nepal (465 B.C. to 1199 A.D.)*, (Delhi : Eastern Book Linkers, 1998 A.D.), p. 11. Bajracharya writes the kings of Kirat dynasty of Nepal had embraced Buddlism and they built the Asoka *Stupas* on four corners of their capital town, Patan.
5. Babu Ram Acharya, "Newar, Newar Language and Culture", (Lalitpur : Sahityaya Moo Lukha (Main Gate of Literature),1995 A.D.(N.S. 1115), p. 20. [Article published in *Nepal Bhasa* Trans. by Svayambhu Lal Shrestha from" *Situ*" Journal, No.1, Year 6, No 32/2 Year 9, No 49].
6. Joshi, f.n. No. 2," Om Mani Padme Hun" (Kathmandu : *Ancient Nepal*, DOA No. 24, July 1973), p. 29.

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(Thereby the solar dynasty got victory over Nepal and Licchavi dynasty is established). They defeated the Kirata kings. [7] The Pashupati inscription of Jayadeva II mentions that the solar dynasty was established in Nepal in the name of Licchavi dynasty. Supuspa's name appears as the first king of Licchavi dynasty in Nepal. T.R.Vaidya on the basis of *Vamsavali* and inscriptions (Pashupati inscription of Jayadeva II and others) has made assumption according to which Supuspa's time lies between 536-511 B.C. [8] We are here tracing the history of the development of Buddhism from circa 536 B.C. to 733 A.D. i.e. of 1269 years.

In the first phase of it, we take the help of history for the development of Buddhism in India as reference and its visible impact in Nepal. Scholars say that Nepal practised Mahayana Buddhism before the coming of Ashokan Mission. It was Buddhayana or Bodhisttvayana. The contemporary rulers of Nepal when Mauryans were ruling in India were the Kiratas, Licchavi as per Vaidya. He mentions that the Kiratas ruled as far back as the seventh century B.C.

Epigraphic sources throw more light on the history of Buddhism of ancient period especially during the rule of the Licchavis. Buddhist literature, treatises, accounts of the foreigners, especially the Chinese travelers are the main source materials for tracing the history of Buddhism of the period. Buddhist literature like *Divyavadana, Deepavamsha, Nava Sutra Sangraha* and *Namasangiti* were most popular in Nepal. The Buddhist texts like *Digha* and *Majjima Nikaya Sutras, Mahavamsha* translated by Ananda Kausalyana into Hindi, *Vamsavalis* like the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali, Rajbhogamala Vamsavali, Bhasa Vamsavali,* works on Buddhism written by local and foreign writers are the literary source materials of this period. In addition to these sources, reports on archaeological excavations carried out at different places are also used to trace the history of Buddhism during the period. Several factors such as ethnic traits, social customs, subjective interests and practical knowledge of religion (on-going from present to past) contemporary developments are the other source materials taken into consideration for tracing the history of Buddhism of the period.

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7. Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Kamal Prakash Malla, *The GopalrajaVamsavali,* (Kathmandu : Nepal Research Centre No. 9, Wiesbaden Franz Steiner Virlag, 1965 A.D.), p. 27.
8. T.R Vaidya,"Assumption of the Reigning Period of the Rulers and Dynasties of the Proto- historic Period of Nepal", (Pokhara : *Historia,* Department of History and Culture, Prithivi Narayan Campus), p. 6.

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### 3.2.1. First Phase of Development

The Buddha was regarded as a teacher in the beginning i.e. from the 6th to the 1st century B.C. He was conceived as a Great Man (*Maha Purusha*) and Universal Ruler (*Chakravartin*). Popular veneration to him originated Buddha cult (*Buddha Puja*). He was expressed as the exalted one (*Bhagavata*). In India and Ceylon, Buddha *Dharma* was developed in doctrinal statement and scholastic interpretation in texts like Pali, Sanskrit, *Apavramsa* and Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit. Several Buddhist councils and conferences were held in India which had their bearing or impact in Nepal. The Buddha was born in Lumbuni, Nepal and he had his *Sanskar* (cultivation of mind) and attained philosophical concepts in Varanasi and Bodhgaya, India respecdtively. He came in contact with great thinkers and scholars of India. In this way Buddha way of life is influenced by the intellectuals and thinkers of different parts of India. One thing might be presumed in mind that religion, culture, and philosophy, thoughts and ideas have no limitation of territory as a state. We must keep this feeling in mind while dealing with Buddhism and Hinduism. While interpreting the Buddha's teaching, they seem to have imposed their own way of thinking. In other words the religious leaders and thinkers reflected their way of thinking in different sects of Buddhism. The whole stream of ideas emerged as Buddhist thinking or Buddhist thought. For about a century, the Buddhist remained united after the *Parinirvana* of the Buddha. During the life time of Buddha his teachings were not written in black and white.

### 3.2.2. Bhanakas and Oral Tradition and Development of Different Schools of Buddhism

It was the duty of the *Bhanakas* (recollectors) to memorize the teachings of the Buddha. After the *Mahaparinirvana* of the Buddha, his works so far remembered were collectively rehearsed. Each dialogue and lecture remembered was endorsed as an accurate account by those who were present on that event and the whole body of texts thus established and arranged was forwarded down on oral tradition. After some centuries the texts were written down and preserved in manuscripts as well as oral tradition. The bodies of texts came to be called *Tripitakas* (three baskets) i.e. *Abhidharma Pitaka, Vinaya Pitaka* and *Sutra Pitaka. Sutras* (dialogues) are recognized as primary source for the doctrine of Buddhism known as *Agamas* (tradition). The *Tripitakas* are written in Pali

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language. They are main tenets of Buddhism. About a century after the death of the Buddha, the Buddhists were split into separate schools. These schools had their own recessions of the *Tripitakas* for texts of giving authority to their new ideas. [9] In *Tripitaka*, *Suttapitaka* (Pali) *Sutrapitaka* is the first treatise. It consists of five texts. These are 1) *Digha Nikaya* (34 *Sutras*) 2) *Majjima Nikaya* (152 *Sutras*) 3) *Samyukta Nikaya* (7762 *Sutras*) 4) *Angutara Nikaya* (9537 *Sutras*) 5) *Khuddaka Nikaya* (15 texts including *Sutras*). The 15 texts of *Khuddaka Nikaya* are 1) *Khuddaka path* 2) *Dhammapada* 3) *Udan* 4) *Itibutta* 5) *Suttanipata* 6) *Vimanabattu* 7) *Petabattu* 8) *Theragatha* 9) *Therigatha* 10) *Jataka* 11) *Niddesh* (*Mahanidesha* and *Chattunidesh*) 12) *Palisammidamagga* 13) *Apadana* 14) *Buddha Vamsha* 15) *Cariyapitaka*. One of the divisions of *Digha Nikaya* is *Shila Khanda Bagga* which includes 13 *Sutras*. The first *Sutra* is *Brahmajala Sutra*. It includes 62 philosophical concepts of the time of the Buddha. These concepts are taken as false concepts. In this *Sutra* the religious and social life of the time of the Buddha are depicted. The Buddha said that sixty two concepts were prevalent among the Shravanas and Brahmanas during his time.[10]

### 3.2.3. Sanghayanas after the Mahaparinirvana of the Buddha

The First *Sanghayana*: *Bhikshu* Bodhijnana mentions that the first *Sanghayana* was held after the *Mahaparinirvana* of the Buddha by *Bhikshu* Kashyapa under the patronage of Ajatasatru, King of Magadha, in India.to clear the doubts on the teachings of the Buddha. It was participated by 500 *Arhat Bhikshus*. It was continued for seven months under the leadership of *Mahasthavir* Kashyapa. In this *Sanghayana* Upali answered the questions related with *Vinaya* (discipline) and Ananda answered the questions related with *Dharma* (Law). Since that *Sanghayana Pitaka* was imparted orally on *Acharya* (teacher-pupil) tradition. After this *Sanghayana* Buddhism developed for 100 years in North and Central India.

The Second *Sanghayana*: Bodhijnana further mentions that after 100 years of *Mahaparinirvana* of the Buddha, the second *Sanghayana* was held. The cause attributed is that some Vajji's *Bhikshu's* deviation of ten *Vinaya* (discipline) rules of the *Bhikshus*. A

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9. A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarasi Das, 1970), p. 4.
10. Bhikshu Sangharakshita, "Tripitakako Digha Nikaya Grantha Ra Brahma Jalasutra "(Tripitaka Text and Brahmajalasutra), *Sovenir*,(Kuleswara, Kathmandu : Kuleswara Bauddha Vihara Sangh, 2006 A.D. pp.6-10

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*Sthavira*, with a view to avoid deviation of the *Vinaya* in the *Sanghas* proposed second *Sanghayana* in 383 B.C. It continued for eight months, participated by 700 *Arhat Bhikshus* under the patronage of King Kalashoka (of the Nanda dynasty in India). In this *Sanghayana* it was decided that ten deviation of *Vinaya* are not pure teachings of the Buddha. In the second *Sanghayana* convicted *Bhikshus* conducted separate *Sanghayana* in the chairmanship of *Mahasthvir* Mahadeva under the patronage of King Madali at Kaushambi. It consisted of 10,000 Bhikshus called Mahasanghikas. In this *Sanghayana* those who believed on original Buddhism were known as Theravadins and those who were convicted as deviating original Buddhism were known as Mahasnghikas. In course of time Mahayana developed from Mahasanghikas.

The Third *Sanghayana*: During the time of Dharmashoka, many non- Buddhists came to *Bhikshu Sanghas*. There was quarrel among them. To make *Bhikshu Sanghas* pure 60,000 *Bhikshus* were expelled from *Bhikshu Sanghas* after interview with the *Bhikshus*. They were treated as laymen with white dress. It became the cause of the third *Sanghayana*. In 248 B.C., during the reign of Emperor Ashoka, the third *Sanghayana* was held in Ashokaram *Vihara*, under the leadership of Mogaliputra Tissa. It continued for nine months. Many Buddhist missionaries were sent to different countries to spread Buddhism.

The fourth *Sanghayana*: The fourth *Sanghayana* was held in Sri Lanka in 79 B.C. 500 *Bhikshus* under the leadership of Avalokrakshita codified *Tripitaka*.[11]

Scholars have different views about the dates of these Buddhist Councils and venue of the fourth Council. A scholar points out that the first *Sanghayana* took place in 542 B.C.during the reign of Ajatashatru after the *Parinirvana* of Buddha, the second Council took place in 242 B.C., the third Council during the time of Emperor Ashoka and the fourth Council took place during the reign of Kanishka in 78 A.D.

Laksman Shakya writes that Buddha era began after the *Mahaparinirvana* of the Buddha. In the first year of *Mahaparinirvana* (542 B.C.), the *Arhat Bhikshus* held the first *Sanghayana* at Rajgriha, the capital of Magadha under the patronage of King Ajatashatru. The *Sanghayana* codified *"Dharma* and *Vinaya"*. After hundred years of the Buddha's demise viz. in 442 B.C., seven hundred *Arhat Bhikshus* conducted second

[11] Bhikshu Bodhijnana, "Buddha Shasana Ra Sanghayana,"( Buddhism and its Council), *Tribodhi Sovenir*, (Kirtipur: PGD in Buddhist Studies, Central Dept. of NeCHA, T.U. ,2000 A.D.), p.32.

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*Sanghayana*. It decided the ten rules of *Vinaya*. At that time Gautam Buddha was known as *Shasta* and his *Dharma* was known as *Bauddha Dharma* (Buddhism). The community of monks who followd *Dharma* and *Vinaya* were known as progressive *Bhikshus*. They held separate *Sanghayana* at Kausambi and were known as *Mahasanghikas*. They were led by *Bhikshu* Mahadeva. Scholars say that in the second *Sanghayana*, *Mahasanghikas* were separated from Sthaviravadins. The concept developed was later known as Mahayana. The third and fourth *Sanghayana* were also held in India. The third *Sanghayana* was held at Ashokaram of Pataliputra during the reign of Ashoka in (269-226 B.C.). At that time *Buddha Shasana* was known as *Vibhajyavadi*. In the same way the fourth *Sanghayana* was held at Jalandhar in Kashmir under the patronage of Emperor Kanishka under the chairmanship of *Bhikshu* Vasumitra in 78 A.D. [12]

Regarding the second *Sanghayana*, Sanu Bhai Dangol's comment is worth mentioning. He mentions that in second *Sanghayana*, the first deviation in the history of Buddhism appeared. To summarize his version, the *Bhikshus* of Vajji republic broke ten rules of *Bhikshu's* discipline to prove pure form of Buddhism. 700 *Sthavira Bhikshus* held *Sanghayana* at Balukaram of Vaishali under the chairmanship of Revana *Mahasthvir* during the reign of Kalashoka, the King of Magadha. This *Sanghayana* expelled the *Bhikshus* of Vajji republic from *Bhikshu Sanghas* for breaking the rules of *Bhikshu Vinaya*. The expelled *Bhikshus* held separate *Sanghayana* at Kaushambi under the chairmanship of Mahadeva Sthavir as mentioned above. The 10,000 *Bhikshus* who participated in that *Sanghayana* were known as Mahasanghikas. Since that time Buddhism was divided into Sthaviravada and Mahasanghika. The Mahasanghika *Bhikshus* composed *Mahavastu* against Sthaviravada. In it, Shakyamuni Buddha was presented as super mundane rather than human being. In this connection he quotes Anukul Chandra Banarjee and Walple Rahula's versions. [13] The historical development of

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[12]. Laksman Shakya, *Baudha Itihasma Shakyamuni Buddha* (Shakyamuni Buddha in the History of Buddhism), (Kathmandu : Human Jem Study Circle, 2005 A.D.), pp. 15-17.

[13]. Sanu Bhai Dangol, "Baudha Itihaska kehi Priasthaharu: Buddha Dharmama Dekhapareka Vikriti Ra Vichalanharu Sambandhama Ek Adhyayana" (Some pages of Buddhist history: A study relating to distortions and anomalies that appeared in Buddhism),(Madhyapur, Thimi: Nagadesh Lyamha Puchah, 2007 A.D.), p.2,3. Cf. B. Jinanda, "Four Buddhist Councils" 2500 Years of Buddhism(ed) Prof. P. V. Bapat, (New Delhi : Ministry of Information and Broadcasting ) p.37: Anukul Chandra Banarjee " The Mahasanghikas," 2500 Years of Buddhism," Prof P.V.Bapat, (New Delhi : Ministry of Information and Broadcasting ,) pp.100,101. Banarjee writes- " According to them the Buddhists are lokottara (supra mundane); they have no *sasrava* (defiled elements); their bodies, their length of life and powers are unlimited; they neither sleep nor dream: they are self possessed and always in the state of *Samadhi* (meditation); they do not preach by name; until they attain *Parinirvana*, the Buddhas possess *Kasayajnana*

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Buddhism shows that Buddhism was divided into eighteen sects during the fifth century B.C. In this regard Rahul Sankrityayana mentions that Buddhism developed eighteen original sects before the 4th century B.C. Within another 120 years, at the time of the beginning of Ashokan rule, eighteen schools were in existence in India. Rahula Sanskrityayana further writes that during the next three centuries before the beginning of Christian era, south India became the great field of Buddhist activities under the patronage of Andhra Emperors. After the speculation and doctrinal controversies of the centuries, a system of thought now known as Mahayana was developed. The scattered thoughts belong to it were systematized in the philosophical form by Nagarjuna in the 2nd century A.D. and by Asanga in the North West in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. About the second century A.D., the new school began to move towards the North. With the advent of great logician and philosopher such as Dingnaga and his followers, all the older schools were subdued. By the end of sixth and the seventh centuries almost all the Buddhist monastic institutions were converted into Mahayanic ones. But by the time Mahayana succeeded in its great attempt. From within Mahayana, there arose a movement which was introducing more sweeping changes. This was the *Tantric* school of Buddhism. It was also originated in the south amongst the mystics but afterwards those theories and psychic suggestions degenerated into gross sensual abuses. This extreme form of *Tantric* Buddhism is known as Vajrayana or the vehicle of Thunderbolt. It was first propagated secretly but by the middle of the eight century it became very strong under the leadership of great poet- mystic Sahara and his followers. In about one hundred years Mahayana was forced to make compromise with it. With the increase of its popularity gross moral abuses and superstitions also increased. This undermined the whole edifice of Buddhism in India.[14] Richard A.Gard writes- "Accordingly various

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(knowledge of decay) and *Anutpadajnana* (knowledge of non-origination) ... Thus the Mahasanghikas conceived the Buddhas decetically and give rise to the conception of the Bodhisattvas. According to them, the Bodhisattvas are also supra- mundane, and do not pass through the four embryonic stages of ordinary beings. They enter their mother's wombs in the form of white elephants and come out of the wombs from right side. They never experience feeling of lust (kama), malevolence (vyapada) or injury (vihimsa). For the benefit of all classes of sentient beings, they are born of their own free will in any form of existence they choose. All these conceptions led to defecation of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.": Walpole Rahula, "Validity and Vitality of Theravada Tradition" *The Dharmakirti, Vaisakh a Full Moon Day*,2006) p.39. Rahula writes-" During the days that followed the Second council, there arose many Sects or schools , both from Theravada and Mahasanghika such as *Gokulika, Ekavyaharika, Pannttivada, Bahulika, Mahisasaka, Vajjiputtaka, Bhadrayanika, Sammiti, Sabbatthvada.* They promulgated various theories and doctrines. Of these schools or sects, no one, except Theravada exists today bearing any of these names."

14. Rahula Sankrityayana, *Renaissaissance of Buddhism in The East, Intellectual Perspective of Rahula Sanskrityayana,* (Patna : Rajendra Ram, (edt) Janajagarana Prakashan, 2005), p. 56.

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Buddhist schools arose, coalesced, disappeared- totaling more than eighteen-among which Theravada, Mahasanghika, Sarvastivada and Sautantrika became the most influential. The Theravada tradition was wide spread but established itself permanently in Ceylon. The Mahasanghika fostered dissension with the Theravada. Together with other factors eventually resulted in the rise of Mahayana tradition. The *Prajnaparamita* literature and related Mahayana tradition began to evolve. With regard to the development of Buddhist monasticism such as *Sangha* scholars write that with the donation of the laities and the patronage of the kings, the *Bhikshus* could live without going for alms. Their life became easy. Buddhist followers as the wanderers settled in residences at first as *Avasas* during *Varsavas* (rainy season) later established as *Viharas*. In the next period, they became *Sanghas* communities, thus Buddhist monasticism was established. In the North West India, a Buddhist Council or Conference was convened in Kashmir or Gandhar at Puruspur (of Peshawar) by king Kanishka of Kushana dynasty sometime during the first century A.D. which strengthened Sarvastivada tradition. Mahayana tradition developed in Buddhist areas. This movement was in two general directions, the Mahayana school and Yogacara school each with varying sub schools. Conception of Buddha further developed into *Bodhisattva* doctrine and numerous idealized Buddhas in the Mahayana tradition. The Buddha cult was aided by Hindu *Bhakti* devotional practices and acquired variant ethnic forms as it was being adopted by different people. Theravada is known as teachings of *Theras* (senior *Bhikshus*), *Arhats* and *Pratyeka* Buddhas (unconcerned about the enlightenment of others) are related with Shravakayana. In Bodhisattvayana, the Buddhas postpone their enlightenment in order to help all sentient beings".[15] From Sankhu epigraphic account, it is evident that Mahasanghika sect was popular in Nepal in ancient time. During this period of development in India and Ceylon, Nepalis seemed to have come in contact with them.

To cite S. Radhakrishnan, three major schools of thought appeared in Indian philosophy of Buddhism. These were *Sarvastivada* (Analysts), *Pudgalavada* (Personalists) and *Vaibhasika* (Expert in *Vibhasa* or interpretation). *Sarvastivada* was one of the main divisions of non-Mahayanist Buddhism related with Hinayana. *Kathavastu* and *Pudgalakatha* make mention of them. Vasubandhu named *Pudgalas* as *Vatsiputriya*.

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15. Richard A Gard (edt) *The Great Religion of Modern Man, Buddhism*, (New York : Washington Square Press, 1963), p.17,18.

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*Vatsiputra* and *Moggaliputra* were the sons of *Gotiputra*. *Vatsiputra* is guessed to be the opponent of Moggaliputra Tissa. Moggaliputra was opposed to the thought of *Sarvam Asti* (everything exists). *Pudgalavadins* believe that *Pudgala* (Self) exists as a reality. It is in contrast to the usual Buddhist view, the concept of *Nairatma*. *Abhidharmakosh* of Vasubandhu mentions that *Sarvastivada* lays emphasis on the *Abhidharma* of Kashmirian *Vaibhasika*. *Vaibhasikas* deny that *Atma* (Self) or *Pudgala* is the basis of personality. *Bhaibhasikas* believe on the causation or cause and effect. Arya Asanga (ca 310- 390) and his brother Vasubandhu (ca320-400) the teacher of Dinganaga established *Vijnanavada* or *Yogacara*, or the idealist sect. [16]

Min Bdr Shakya puts the date of Vasubandu from 400-480 A.D.and mentions as transmitter of Mahayana *Sutras* in Nepal. Asanga had written *Yogacarabhumishastra*, *Mahayanasutralankar*. Vasubandhu composed a master piece work called *Abhidharmakosh*, the treatise of Hinayana. But in the later part of his career, he was made the follower of Mahayana by his brother Asanga. He learned all the *Mahayana Sutras* and composed commentaries and *Dasa Bhumika, Saddharma Pundarika* five works of Maitreya and others. Ashwa Ghosh was the follower of *Yogacara*. His main treatise is *Mahayana Shradshrapada*. He was the composer of *Buddha Carita*. Kalidas had mentioned Dinganaga, the follower of *Yogacara* in his *Meghaduta*. Dinganaga was the inhabitant of Andra Pradesh, India. We have the reference of Vasubandhu *Caitya* at Svayambhu. Vasubandhu is believed to have died in the Valley. [17]

Dealing with different Schools of Buddhism, Suwarna Shakya writes that many sects and subjects came into existence after 400 years of the *Mahaparinirvana* of the Buddha. The Mahasanghikas and Sthaviravadhins were the two main schools of Buddhism in the beginning. The orthodox remained as Sthaviravadins and the progressive were known as Mahasanghikas. The Mahasanghikas were divided into Gogulikas and Yekavyavaharikas. The *Gogulikas* were also divided into two sub- sects known as Prajnaptivadi and Bahulikas. The Bahulikas were further divided into Caityavadi sub-sect. Thus Mahasanghikas were divided into six sects. On the other hand Sthaviravada was divided

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[16]. S. Radhakrishnan, *Bharatiya Darshan* (Indian Philosophy) Vol. I, (New Delhi : Rajpur and Sons, 1998), p. 503, 5011

[17]. Min Bahadur Shakya, "Buddhism in the Himalaya" (Kathmandu : Paper presented on the Occasion of Unesco's Seminar on Intergrated Study of Silk Road, LDT, Netnatcom, September 21-30 1995 A.D.), p. 5 (unpublished paper).

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into Mahishasaka and Vrijiputraka sub-sects. The Mahishasaghikas were also divided into sub-sects like Sarvastivada and Dharmaguptikas. Again from Sarvastvadins Kashyapiya sub-sect emerged. From Kashyapiya, Sutravadins came into existence. From Sankrantika, Sautantrikas came into existence. From other branch of Sthaviravada known as Vrijiputraka four sects known as Dharmottariya, Bhadrayanika, Chhannagarika and Samitiya sub-sects were formed. Thus twelve sub- sects of Sthaviravada came into existence. The Thervadins give emphasis on *Shila*, *Samadhi* and *Prajna* (discipline, concentrative meditation and wisdom) *Samadhi* is divided into *Samaya*, and *Vipassana*. The term *Samaya* denotes concentrated mind renouncing sexual will. *Vipassana* means self introspection. [18]

Shakya further mentions that the Sthaviravadins follow *Madhyama Marga (*middle path). Its main aim is to attain *Arhathood*. There are six concepts of Sthaviravada. The Mahasanghikas believe in *Pancangikamarga* (five fold noble paths) instead of *Ashtangikamarga* (eight fold noble paths). They think that right speech, right action and right livelihood are related with *Shila* (discipline). So these are not included in noble path. Vatsiputraka or Vrijiputrakas believe in the existence of *Pudgala* (Self). According to their concept there will not be birth without the existence of self. Sarvastivada under Mahishasaka believe on the principle *Sarvamasti*, meaning thereby is everything exists. They believe in *Karma* (action) and *Nirvana* (salvation). Dharmaguptikas show their reverence to *Stupas* representing Buddha's mind. They think that *Stupa* worship makes man pure and free from desire. Kashyapiyas believe that *Sanskara* (volition) will always be changing. They originate as the result of past action. Sautantrikas seem to believe on the concept that salvation is attainable through the eight fold noble path. The *Skandhas* (aggregates) is never destroyed. Every person possesses the potentiality to be Buddha. They believe on the teachings (words) of the Buddha as true. They believe on evidences. Samitiyas under Vatsiputriyas or Vrijiputrakas believe on six *Pudgalas* (*Shrotapanna, Kautankula, Sakridagami, Yekjivika, Anagami and Arhat*). *Dharmotarya, Bhadrayanika* and Channagarikas believe on the concept that *Avidya* (ignorance) exists in a tribe and ignorance is there as its hinderance. [18]

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[18]. Suwarna Shakya, *Baudha Dharma Ra Vyavhar*, (Buddhism and Uses), (Kathmandu : Sharan Prakashan, 2003 A.D.), pp. 140-141.

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Pradhan writes that Gautam Buddha, the historic Buddha is the propounder of Buddhism. He possessed uncommon wisdom according to Sthaviravada. But the Mahayani Buddhists of Nepal venerate him as supernatural deity, always devoted to compassion for the liberation of sentient beings. They attach more imporance to his supernatural traits than his historicity. He further remarks that they are inclined to devotion, respect, prayer and practice of austirity rather than observing *Shila* (morality) *Samadhi* (meditation) and *Prajna* (wisdom). Quoting Rhys David, Pradhan mentions that Mahayana philosophy entered Nepal through *Bhikshu* Manjushree in the beginning of Christian era. In addition to the six human Buddhas (Vipashvi, Shikhi, Vishvabhu, Krakucchanda, Kanakmuni, Kashyapa), the five celestial *Tathagatas* have also been venerated by Mahayana. Although *Lalitvistara* does not include *Panca Dhyani* Buddhas, the Mahayana Buddhist text, written in the 1st century A.D. includes Vairocana, Amitabha Buddha and *Bodhisattva Avolokiteshvara.* Quoting Rahul Sankrityayana, Pradhan mentions that the concept of *Bodhisattva* was imagined in between the first to the fourth century A.D. in consonance with Mahayana thought. It applies in case of Manjushree *Bhikshu* too.[19] However, the local Buddhists believe that Mahayana was preached by Lord Buddha himself. In view of the historical development of Buddhism, Pradhan's view seems realistic.

### 3.3.1. Buddhism in Nepal in Ancient Time

Scholars mention that Mahayana Buddhism dominated the Kathmandu Valley under the patronage of Kushanas, some times during the reign of Pashupuspadeva, who revived Hinduism. [20] Pradhan quoting *Rajbhogmala Vamsavali* mentions that Buddhism entered into the Valley during the reign of Yaksyagupta, the last ruler of Gopal dyanasty. He imbibed Buddlism renouncing his own religion and became issueless. Another *Vamsavali* preserved in Kaishar Library also repeats the same version. It mentions that Buddhism being popular in the country, King Yaksyhagupta followed Buddhism leaving his anscestor's religion and as such be became issuless. *Vamsavali* thus mentions that Yakshyagupta had to declare his successor to a person other than his dynasty. According to Babu Ram Acharya, Pasuprekshyadeva, grand father of Bhumivarma ruled the country

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19. Pradhan f.n. No. 3, pp. 76.. 69, 91.

20. Rishikesh Shah, *Ancient and Medieval Nepal,* (Kathmandu : Manohar Publications, 1997), p. 11: Luciano Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal,* (Rome : Instituto Italiano per il Medio as Estrino Oriente, (Second Edition) 1964), p. 31.

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about 50 A.D. before the establishment of Licchavi dynasty in 100 A.D. However, Kasi Prasad Jayaswal places his reign in about 265 A.D. During his reign of Pashupreshyadeva, Mahayana Buddhism entered Nepal. Pradhan further explains that the preliminary form of Mahayana had appeared in the 3rd century B.C. to 1st century B.C. when *Sutras* were regarded as the source of power and sex was permitted for certain objectives. [21]

The final report of the archaeological excavation of Satyanarayan Temple complex of Harigaon, Kathmandu mentions - "Archaeological remains show the presence of Saka Parthians in the Valley in the end of 1st century B.C. and the beginning of Christian era. It is debatable but cannot be ruled out on the basis of the findings". The report states that the archaeological objects discovered in the Satyanarayan Temple complex included hydraulic work like the construction of a large tank, *Makara* (dragon), a Kanishka coin attributable to the latter part of his reign (Kanishka's reign) found sealed in a layer in Harigaon tank constructed in between the 1st to 3rd century A.D. associated with some charcoal fragments which served for C-14 analysis (carbon-14 dating). Citing L. Bangdel, the report mentions that a number of *Matrikas* in Kushana style were discovered over there in the holy complex. [22] Hari Ram Joshi also states that iconography of Banepa of ancient time reveal the feature of *Bodhisattvas* associated with *Shakti*. It is stated that reference of five *Dhyani* Buddhas is found in ancient Buddhist treatises. Buddhists mention Vajrasattva as the sixth *Dhyani* Buddha. According to them Vajrasattva was originated by *Tantric* sect for invocation of *Shakti* (power). Therefore, he is represented as *Yogambara*.

Pradhan writes- "Tibetan texts written after many centuries mention that Lord Buddha turned the wheel of Law and propounded Mantrayana at Dhanyakataka (south India) after sixteenth year of his enlightenment. This argument seems to have been based on the date of composition of *Saddharma Pundarika*, *Manjushree Mulkalpa* and *Guhyasamaj*. *Guhyasamaj* was written in 5th century A.D. *Manjushree Mulkalpa* was written in second-third century which includes *Mandala and Mudra* in addition to *Dharani*. It is

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21. Pradhan, f.n No. 3, pp. 87,110: Cf. Babu Ram Acharya, "Prachin Nepal Ra Tesako Sanskriti" (Ancient Nepal and its culture), (Kathmandu : The Gorkhapatra, 1961 A.D. (2018 V.S.), 2nd *Chaitra*.
22. Giovani Verardi, *Excavations at Harigaon Final Report*, (Rome : IsMEO, Instituto Universitario Orentale De Nepoli, 1992, pp. 10-17 (Bone or any remains of living beings are tested for determining the date in carbon -14 dating on the basis of isotope contents).

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assumed that *Tantric* system took its shape in the 3rd century A.D. Quoting Prof. Kern, A.Waddell writes - "Mahayana scripture *Saddharma Pundarika* dates back to 2nd century A.D or goes further than this." People were attracted to Mahayana being impressed by the *Tantra, Mantra* (*Tantric* incantations) and necromancy of the *Yoga*. By the libereal donation of the donors, the *Bhikshus* passed luxurious life and became corrupt. Instead of practicing *Tantric* incantations and exercise of the *Yoga*, they adopted sex and alcohol. In the 6th century A.D., a corrupt *Bhikshu* of *Samitiya Nikaya*, during the reign of King Harsha declared that going with the prostitute and taking alcohol are in keeping with *Shila* (discipline) in the *Nilpat* philosophy. In Nalanda the monks abstained themselves from such abuses.[23]

It is stated that Vajrayana lays emphasis on invocation of *Shakti* (power) for attaining bliss. It has therefore become esoteric as well as exoteric cult. Joshi writes that *Vyashyaratna* is included among the triple jewels (*Tri Ratna*). Citing a verse of *Nilpat* philosophy Joshi mentions- "*Vyashyaratnam, Sudharatnam Ratnadevomanobhava, Yetadratnamtrayam Vanda Anyeta*".

About *Matrikas* reference of Nagarjunakonda inscription of India of the 3rd century A.D, stone inscriptiion of Gandhar of 423 A.D. and Gupta inscriptions of *Matrikas* are cited. *Sutra* and *Tantra* being the basis of Vajrayana Buddhism, Joshi gives account of *Nikayas* related with *Sutra Pitaka* i.e. *Digha Nikaya*, *Majjima Nikaya*, *Samyukta Nikaya*, *Angutara Nikaya* and *Khuddaka Nikaya*. The Nagarjunakonda inscription of the third century A.D. describes the *Manushi* Buddhas, their consorts and *Bodhisattvas*. [24] Nivadita K. Mishra writes- "Vajrayana follows the path which incorporates *Prajna* and *Upaya* which are symbolized by female and male forces. *Tantric* process follows on the way of emancipation having consort." [25] It is believed that the *Shakti* cult was introduced in Buddhism around the third century A.D. We have epigraphic accounts of the *Matrikas* in 573 A.D. (*Samvat* 495) in Nepal. Deha Bhattarika, spouse of Babruvarma had replaced

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23. Pradhan f.n. No. 3, pp. 112-113 Cf. Baldev Upadhyaya, *Buddhist Philosopy*, p. 426; Austine Waddell, Buddhism And Lamaism of Tibet, (Kathmandu : Educational Inter prise (Pvt). Ltd., 1878 A.D.), p. 138.
24. Joshi, f.n. No. 2, pp. 196-197.
25. Nivedita K. Mishra, "Newar Buddhism and the Context of History", Shanker Thapa (edt) *Newar. Buddhism*, Nagarjuna, (Lalitpur : Publication Pvt. Ltd. 2005 A.D.), p. 61.

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the clay images by stone images for the merit of Babruvarma in the sixth century at Shankhamul, Patan. [26]

Yogacara and Vijnanavada had become popular in the 5th century A.D. People thought small efforts will give them great happiness by these practices. Vajrayana was taken as the religion which gives great pleasure. Vajrayana got momentum as Mahayana adopted *Mantra* and *Tantra. Mantra* (incantation), *Maithun* (sex) *Yoga* (meditation) and *Madya* (alcohol) became the four main elements of Vajrayana. In the process of development, Mahayana reached to Vajrayana after it passed through Mantrayana. Vajrayana is termed as the radical form of Mantrayana in the 6th century A.D. It had its origin as the developed form of Samitiya *Nikaya* (tradition). During the time of King Dharmapal 768-809 A.D. Saraha, the first *Siddha* among 84 *Siddhas,* it emerged as developed form of Vajrayana. One century before Saraha is also regarded as the period of alliance between Vajrayana and Mantrayana. In the 6th century Vajrayana had become effective in Nepal. In the 7th century, it spread not only in the Valley but also in Gorkha. Vajra Bhairava, the deity of Vajrayana was popular in Gorkha during that time. [27]

As mentioned in chapter I, Dangol quotes Bharat Singh Upadhyaya who gives account of Vajrayana Buddhism as practiced in India and also gives the version of *Anagarika* Govinda to show that Vajrayana deviated with the original teachings of the Buddha. [28]

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[26]. Dhanavajra Vajracharya, *Licchavi Kalka Abhilekh* (Inscription of Licchavi Period), (Kathmandu : Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies), pp. 211-213.

[27]. Pradhan, f.n. No. 3.

[28]. Dangol,.f.n.No.13,pp.10.11: Cf, Bharat Singh Upadhyaya, *Bauddha Darshan Tatha Anya Bharatiya Darshan Prtham Bhag,* ( Buddhist philosophy and and other philosophy Part I)( Motilal Banarasidas Publishers Pvt. Ltd. 1996), p.564. Upadhyaya writes-" During the same time practice of making Bhairvi Chakra and enjoyment with women began in the name of Avalokiteshvara and other Bodhisattvas in Buddhism. To sum up Mantra, Hathyoga and Sex, three elements were established in Buddhism.In Mantrayana two features were visible.1) Soft Mantrayana prevailed from C. 400 to 700 A.D.2) Vajrayana continued from C.800 to 1200 A.D. Withen these two periods the so called features in Buddhism became harmful to the people. The chief features of Vajrayana of that time were Yantra, Mantra, Hathayoga and woman which could never be the opinion of Nagarjuna. Vajrayana certainly destroyed the form of Buddhism. It is astonishing and matter of sad that they did not fail to incorporate these elements in their literature."; Anagarika Govinda , "Later Modifications of Buddhism: Tantic Buddhism", *2500 Years of Buddhism* (ed) Prof. P.V.Vapat, New Delhi : Ministry of Information and Broadcasting ), p.313. Govinda writes- Allicd to this branch of esoteric Buddhism, there is still later phase of Vajrayana which, apart from the original principles on which the purer and brighter side was based, became mixed up with popular cults and assumed, among the lower classes of society a darker and objectional form. Corrupt practices like the use of five, makaras, i.e., words beginning with letter 'ma', such as ***madya*** (wine), ***mamsa*** (flesh), ***matsya*** (fish), ***mudra*** (woman) and ***maithuna*** ( sexual intercourse) qwere encouraged and practiced even by men who were supposed to be leading a religious life. In Vajrayana words like the ***Sri-Samaja*** (also called

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Sri-dhar Rana refuting the use of *Pancamakara* in Buddhism writes-"Not a single Buddhist *Tantra* has the concept of *Pancamakara. Bhairava Charka* is not the concept of Buddhist *Tantra*. Most of such concepts are in *Sandhya Bhasa* (vague language). He states that the version of Bharat Singh Upadhyaya regarding the use of *Bhairavi Chakra* in Buddhism is hundred percent false and a lie and Snellgrove's version regarding the *Sandhya Bhasa* in *Tantra* is not well comprehended. [29] Thus it is clear that *Tantric* Buddhism in Nepal aims at the removal of defilements.

Suwarna Shakya explains that the *Tantric* language is symbolic in meaning. He writes that *Madya* indicates *Dibyajnana* (super knowledge), *Mamsa* (complete surrender to God), *Matsya* (condition of happiness and suffering in an equal way), *Mudra*, *Durgun* (abandon bad traits) and *Maithun* (union with almighty). He quotes one hymn from *Mahanirvana Tantra* which should not be interpreted with surface meaning. The hymn is as follows- "Matriyonau chhpelingum bhaginyastana mardanam, Gurormurdhinam padamdatwa punarjanma na didyate"

The hidden meaning of the hymn is that *Bhaga* indicates *Tribhuja* (triangle), *Linga*- (living beings) *Kundalini*- (lotus) (sister), head of *Guru* (teacher)-lotus, *Punarjanma* (Rebirth)-No relation between the teacher and taught. He also quotes another hymn which is as follows.

"Matarm pitaram hantwa rajanodwya cha khatiye

Itatham sanucatam anidho yati brahmano"

"Mataram pitaram hantwa rajanodweca sotiye

Vyagdham pancamam hantwa anidhoyati brahmano"

---

***Guhya Sanaja***) the ***Sadhana-mala*** and ***Jnana-siddhi***, etc., we find the violation of these five rules, which form the basis of Buddhist Discipline, is recommended. For instance, in the ***Guhya-samaja***, murder falsehood, theft and intercourse with women are recommended. Can the Buddha ever be imagined to have sanctioned such things." Based on descriptions of four tantras sets found in the highest Yoga Tantras, it is said that in Action Tantra the desire involved in male and female or gazing at each other is used in the path, in Performance Tantra the desire involved ion male and female smiling at each other is used in the path, the Yoga Tantra the desire involved in male and female embracing and touching each other is used in the path and in the Highest Tantra the desire involved in sexual union is used. "

[29]. Sridhar Rana, "Sanu Bhaijyuko Lekhko Khandan" (contradiction of the article of Sanu Bhai), Baudha Itihaska kehi Pristhaharu; Buddha Dharmama dekhapareka vikriti ra Vichalanharu Sambandhama Ek Adhyayan (Some pages of Buddhist history: A study realating to deviation and anomalies that appeared in Buddhism) Madhyapur thimi: Lyamha Puchah, 2007 A.D.,pp.40,66 .

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The surface meaning of the first hymn is that a branmin eliminates suffering by killing father, mother, Khyatri king, his incumbents and the whole nation. Its hidden meaning is to remove *Trishna* (desire)-(mother), *Ahankar* (ego), (father), *Uchheda* – two kshyatriya kings, incumbents and the nation symbolizes attachments and Brahman – devoid of defilements. In the same way a Brahman removes suffering by killing father mother, two Kshyatriya kings and five tigers symbolize removal of five kinds of defilements. Such a *Sandhya Bhasa* (vague languages) is used in *Tantra*.[30] It is also stated that the Newar Buddhism is based on *Bodhicitta* and purification of mind devoid of all defilements. So it is not corrupt sect as interpreted by some scholars on the basis of surface meaning.

Although scholars mention different period of the origin of Vajrayana Buddhism in Nepal, we have the epigraphic evidences of the popularity of Vajrayana and Svayambhu during the time of Amshuvarma. The Gokarna inscription of the time of Amshuvarma inscribed on the stone used for making sandalwood paste mentions (*Va-*) *jrayana* and (*Svayam*) *bhuCaitya*. It clearly shows the popularity of Vajrayana Buddhism during the time of Amshuvarma in the seventh century A.D. [31]

### 3.3.2 Ashoka's Visit to Lumbini

In 249 B.C., Ashoka the Mauryan Emperor, in the 20th year of his anointment paid homage to Lumbini and erected the pillar in commemoration of the birth of Lord Buddha. He came with his preceptor Upagupta and worshipped the holy place where the Buddha was born 374 years back.

Existence of archaeological remains like Ashokan pillar, *Puskarni* (the holy tank in which Mayadevi took holy dip before delivery of Siddhartha) near the Sanctum Sanctorum (in which lies in the recently discovered Marker Stone) marking the original birthplace of Siddhartha, the Mayadevi sculpture of 4th century A.D. made of Mathura sand stone, the successive layers of Mayadevi temple constructed in different phases of history, the votive *Caityas* around the temple, the monasteries made in different times for the residence of the monks etc. are the testimony of the antiquity and historicity of the site. Lumbini is regarded as the foremost place of pilgrimage "*Caturmahasthanani*" and remained the holist of the holy place. The Ashokan pillar of Lumbini was discovered by

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[30]. Suwarna Shakya,"Newataye Nakha wa JatryeTantric Lidhansa," (Tantric support in the feast and festival of the Newars), Newa wa Vyavahar, Kathmandu : Olumpus Club, 2005 A.D.,pp.82-84.
[31] Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, pp. 370-371

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the then Governor General of Palpa, Khadga Shamsher and German archaeologist, A. Fuhrer on 1st December1896. In the name of Rupandevi - (Mayadevi) the present name of the district Rupandehi existed. Rupadevi or Mayadevi gave birth to Siddhartha at Lumbini. Lumbini, Ramagram, Devadaha and Kapilvastu are closely related sites with the life of the Buddha. The Shakyas and Koliyas used to take holy dip in Devadaha. Ramagrama is referred as the capital city of Ram. Ancient brick *Caitya* is discovered there. The recent excavation by the side of *Caitya* site at Ramagram revealed that the *Caitya* was erected after Mahaparinisvan of Buddha (6th century B.C.). Archaeologists report that some artifacts could be dated up to the 9th centurey B.C. over there. Devadaha was the paternal home of Mayadevi, Prajapati and Yasodhara. The Kathmandu Valley had close link with those sites located in Nawalparasi, Rupandehi and Kapilvastu districts of Nepal of the time of the Buddha and prior to him. Moreover, it is also assumed that the Buddhism practiced in these sites has inspired the people of the Kathmandu Valley.[32]

The Ashokan pillar of Lumbini, Nepal is the first epigraphic evidence relating to the life history of Gautam Buddha. The archaelogical evidences are the testimonials of the fact that the Mauryan Emperor Ashoka came on pilgrimage to the holy sites where Shakyamuni Buddha and earlier Buddhas to him like Krakucchanda and Kanakmuni were born. History records that Ashoka was son of Bindusara, a Mauryan king of India. His mother's name was Subhadrangi. She was a daughter of a Brahman of Champanagar. As the sorrow of her mother was eliminated after his birth, she named her son as Ashoka. Among the sixteen queens of Bindusara, the eldest queen had a son named Suman. Having possessed of all virtues, Suman was supported by the ministers to be successor of Bindusara. Ashoka had become king after bloody war with his brothers. He ascended the throne in 273 B.C. but was crowned four years after his father's death in 269 B.C. as there was four years war of succession among the brothers. Ashoka is described by the Buddhist chronicles as something like monster in his youth hence his name was Kalasoka "The Black Ashoka", the *Kamashoka*, "Ashoka the lustful". In the (seventh year of his reign according to Ceylonese chronicle) eighteen years of his anointment and twenty two years of his reign, he became *Dharmashoka*. After Kalinga war near Bay of Bengal in

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[32]. Sukra Sagar Shrestha verbally communicattd it while presenting paper on Excavation of Ramagram Stupa, in the International Seminar conducted by HISAN in Lumbini in Feb 16-18, 2002 A.D. (unpublished paper).

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between Godavari and Mahanadi in the nineth year of his coronation i.e. 260 B.C., he promised to renounce war and determined to spread love. He came on pilgrimage to the holy sites related to the Buddha. He erected a pillar in Lumbini. Ashoka's erection of Lumbini pillar in the twentieth year of his coronation has cleared all the doubts that the Buddha was born in Lumbini *gram* (village) once renowned as *Cittalata* grove of Indra. The Buddha was born in Lumbini in 623 B.C.according to Ceylonese tradition. Historians have doubts on this date. They mention that 543 is the date of birth of the Buddha whereas it is the date of his *Mahaparinirvana* according to the Ceylonese tradition. The text of Lumbini pillar inscription is as follows:

1) Devana - piyena Piyadasena lajina Visativabhisitena
2) atana - agacha mahiyite hida Budhe jate Shakyamuni - ti
3) sila - vigadabhi - cha kalapita silathabhecha usapapite
4) hida - Bhagavan - jate - ti- Lumminigame ubalike - kate
5) athabhagiye - cha (11)

**Translation**

"King Piyadashi, the beloved of Gods (or dear to the Gods) having been anointed 20 years came himself and worshipped saying "Here Shakyamuni Buddha was born and caused to be made a stone (capital) representing a horse, he caused a stone pillar to be erected, because the worshipful one was born in the village i.e. Lummini has been made free of taxes and recipient of wealth."[33]

T.R Vaidya's writes that the discovery of Ashokan pillar was a great land mark in the history. The recent discovery of Marker Stone (pointing out the exact spot of Lord Buddha's birthplace) now seems to have solved the meaning of the word *'Silavigadhavica.*" Vaidya further mentions- "Emperor Ashoka's third pillar is that of Lumbini erected in 249 B.C. It is least disturbed and damaged compared to other two

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[33] A. Fuhrer, *Antiquities of Buddha Sakyamuni in Nepalese Terai*, (Kathmandu : The Nepal Studies, Past and Present, 1996), p. 28.

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pillars of Gotihawa and Niglihawa. Except for the horse capital and small crack, the pillar has remained erect since the time of its erection."[34]

### 3.3.3 Contribution of Ashoka for the Promotion of Buddhism

The Mauryan Emperor of India has great contribution in the promotion of Buddhism in India which had impact in Nepal. He conducted the third *Sanghayana or Sangiti* under the chairmanship of Upa Gupta in Ashokaram of Pataliputra. The Buddhists regard *Dhatus* (relics) of the Buddha as holy. Ashoka is attributed to have made thousands of *Caityas* with the relics of the Buddha. A.Fuhrer writes that more relics of Shakyamuni Buddha and his disciples are discovered. *Bodhi* trees are also considered as *Caityas*. Legends mention that *Caitya* worship was in vogue during the life time of anterior Buddhas and after their demise. We find a group of sixteen *Caityas* and other *Caityas* around nativity site in Lumbini. A *Caitya* of Mauryan time with casket containing relic is found there. The casket with relic is displayed at National Museum Chhauni, Kathmandu. The nativity sculpture of Mayadevi in Lumbini is asserted to be of the 4th century A.D. Puskarini with hot and cold spring and the remains of *Viharas* are all archaeological remains which attest the holiness of the site as the birth place of Lord Buddha. The archaeological remains in the holy site within circular levy are at present included in the World Heritage site as cultural property by UNESCO. It is regarded as the foremost site among *Caturmahasthanani* (four holy sites of the Buddhists). The accounts of several Chinese travelers testify it. Ashoka is credited for popularizing Buddhism by fielding the *Dhamma* mission to the Himalayan region including territory of the Kathmandu Valley. He also erected Lumbini, Gotihawa and Niglihawa pillars to commemorate the birth places of the Buddhas of the past and present time.

### 3.3.4 Visit to Lumbini and Kapilvastu

We have the account of Yuch-chi monk of Tsin dynasty (265- 420 A.D.) named Seng Tsai who visited Nepal and also wrote "Wuo- Kuo- Shih" (Matters concerning the foreign kingdoms). Some fragments of his works are included in the Shu- ching-chu

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[34] T.R. Vaidya," Lumbini the Peace Shrine and Place of Pilgrimage", *Ancient Nepal*, No 143, (Kathmandu : DOA, 1999), p.5: "Nepal and Emperor Ashoka", (Kirtipur : *Voice of History Vol, XII*, Central Dept. of History, T.U. 1997), p. 15, Vaidya writes-Emperor Ashoka's third pillar is that of Lumbini erected in 249 B.C. It is least disturbed and damaged as compared to the other two pillars. Except for horse capital and a small crack, the pillar has remained erect since the time of its erection.

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(commentary on Water Classics). There are some quotations in Yuan -chin -lei- an (the Ching Encyeclopaedia of 1706 A.D). Seng- Tsai's work provides an important description of Kapilvastu including an important source of information on the topography of Lumbini, the birth place of Lord Buddha, the apostle of peace, love and compassion. [34] Vijaya Kumar Manandhar writes- "Fahien. expresses his dismay by depleting the declining condition of Lumbini, Kapilvastu and surrounding areas" He further writes- "Fahien traveled India and Ceylon (399-414 A.D.) in search of the Buddhist books of discipline. Fahien set out for India in A.D. 399 at the advanced age of sixty five with four other Chinese monks from Ch'ang-an. He visited Kapilvastu and Lumbini, the home town and birthplace of Lord Buddha respectively in 406 A.D. [35]

Fahien: "Fahien in 406 A.D. found two pools of cold and warm water in the sacred area, the bathing pond and a well."[36]

Fahien has given account of Ramgram Stupa. [37]

Hiuen Tsang's (636 A.D.) account places Lumbini on the bank of Telar River and he mentions that the Ashokan Pillar was damaged by lightning. The Bath Pond, the Nativity site, tree and a few *Stupas* are included in his accounts. [38] The account of Hiuen Tsang about Lumbini, Kapilvastu and Ramagrama is also available. [39] These accounts too exhibit religious feeling. T.R.Vaidya, mentions that Hiuen Tsang's account indicates that Emperor Ashoka had constructed a *Stupa* near the spot where Lord Buddha was born at

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[31]. Vijaya Kumar Manandhar, *A Comprehensive History of Nepal- China Relations up to 1955 Vol I*, (New Delhi : Adroit Publications, 2004), p. 19.

[35] Manandhar, f.n. No34 p. 19, Fahsien, *A Record of the Buddhist Countries*, (Peking : Chinese Buddhist Association, 1957), pp. 50-51, James Legge, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*.

[36] Tara Nanda Mishra", The Origin and Development of Buddhism in the Terai", (Chhauni, Kathmandu : *National Museum Publication*, 1998), p. 16.

[37]. Shrestha f.n. No.32. (unpublished paper), *Ramagrama Excavation, Ancient Nepal*, (Kathmandu: DOA, No.142, 1990, pp. 2-3..Shrestha refers accounts of Fahien about Ramgram Stupa which is as follows. East from Buddha's birthplace and a distance of five *yojanas* there is a kingdom called Ram. The king of this country having obtained one portion of the relics of Buddha's body returned with it and built over it a tope. By the side of it was a pool and in the pool a dragon, which constantly kept watch over (the tope) presented offerings to it day and night. When the king Asoka came forth into the world, he wished to destroy the eight topas (over the relics) and to build (instead of them) 84,000 topes. After he had thrown them seven others he wished next to destroy this tope. But the dragon showed it, took the king into the place, and he had seen all the things provided for the offerings, it said to him, if you are able to wish your offerings to exceed these you can destroy the tope and take it away. I will not contend with you. The king thereupon returned (without carrying out his purpose).

[38]. Samuel Beal (ed) Travels of Hiouen Tsangs, (Calcutta : Sushil Gupta (India) Limited, 1958), pp. 276-277.

[39]. *Ibid*, pp. 268-282.

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Lavani (Lumbini garden). His account mentions - "East from this is a *Stupa* built by Asoka Raja on the spot, where two dragons bathed to the body of the prince." Archaeological activities in Lumbini, Kapivastu and Ramgrama in the last decade of the nineteenth century provide important information. The excavations of Lumbini, Kapilvastu and Ramagrama indicate the development of Buddhism during the life time and after the *Parinirvana* of Lord Buddha. Babu Krishna Rijal may be cited with regard to the findings of the archaeological excavations. He mentions "In 1895 Dr. Fuhrer discovered a new Ashokan pillar (at Niglihawa). In 1896, he discovered two more Ashokan pillars one at Rumindehi and another at Kapilvastu. This discovery of the three Ashokan Pillars in 1895-1896 A.D. confirmed that Gautam Buddha, the Apostle of peace was born in western Nepal and his birthplace was known as Rumindehi. His royal palace was in Tilaurakot. After right location of Lumbini and Kapilvastu as birthplace and capital of the Shakyas by Dr Fuhrer and P.C Mukerjee in 1896-1898 A.D. the Koliyan *Stupa* of Ramagram was discovered by Dr. Hoey at Parasi on the bank of river Jharahi."[40] I-tshing (7th century A.D.) mentions a pond of clear water at Lumbini. In 764 A.D. another Chinese traveler Wu-kong visited the place. [41]

Hye Cho: In the first quarter of the eight century Hyo-cho, a Korean monk visited Kapilvastu. Nepal). He came to India in 719 A.D. and returned to Central Asia in 729 A.D. His travel records "Wang O Chung Chuk Kuk Juan" in Korean and "Travel Records of five Havenly Kingdoms", is superb. [42] He traveled Saudi Arabia, Syria, Persia, Indonesia, India, Pakistan and Kapilvastu (Nepal), Tibet, Central Asia, China and other places. When he was in China, he was the disciple of Vajrabodhi, a Tripitaka master of India. Hyo Cho translated the famous Mahayana *Sutra* into Chinese. He copied many Buddhist manuscripts in Nalanda University. He died in China before he could return to his country. He studied *Vinaya* in Jalandhar for four years. There was another Korean monk named Ho Young studying in India. Chinese traveler I-tsing took away all the Sanskrit *Sutras* and manuscripts including *Saddharma Pundarika Sutra* to China. Hyo cho recorded whatever he saw and heard along with his own personal views and analysis

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40. Babu Krishna Rijal, "The Birthplace of Lord *Buddha" Ancient Nepal*, (Kathmandu : DOA, No. 82, 1984), p. 12.

41. Tara Nanda Mishra, "The Historical Dynasties and Ancient Archaeological Sites in Nepal", Ancient *Nepal*, (Kathmandu : DOA, No 103, 1988), p. 9. cf, E.J Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, London: 1975, p. 20.

42. Harihar Raj Joshi, Hye Cho, "The First Korian To Visit Nepal", Buddhist *Himalaya* Vol V No 1 & 2, 1993, (Lalitpur: pp. 38-39.

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of the places he traveled. It is mentioned that Hye Cho engraved the text of *Saddharma Pundarika Sutra* on the rocks of western lake in Hang Chou in China. [43]

### 3.3.5 Nativity tree

Hiuen Tsang (636 A.D.) mentions that Buddha was born under Ashoka tree. However, *Mahaparinirvana Sutra* of *Digha Nikaya* describes that the Buddha passed away between two Sal trees at Kusinara, present Kushinagara of Uttar Pradesh, India. *Lalitvistara*, a general compilation in the form of *Mahayana Sutra*, dating to the first, second century A.D. mentions that prince Siddhartha was born under a pipal tree (Fiscus religiosa). It is stated as the nativity tree. The *Divyavadana* (containing the minute account of northern Buddhist tradition regarding the Mauryan Emperor Ashoka) mentions that when King Ashoka visited Lumbini, he saw the actual Ashoka tree under which Siddhartha was born. So he opines that prince Siddhartha was born in Lumbini garden under Ashoka tree (Soraka Indica). But it seems, it is only a general notion. P.C. Mukherji writes that after the *Mahaparinirvana* of Gautam Buddha, he was cremated in Kushinagara. His relics were divided into eight parts by a Brahman named Drona. Sukra Sagar Shrestha refers P.C.Mukerjee and mentions that Gautama Buddha's relics were taken away by eight principalities. They were 1) Magadh 2) Vaisali 3) Kapilvastu 4) Allakappa 5) Koliyanagara 6) Vathadipa 7) Pawa 8) Kushinagar. T.R Vaidya elaborately mentions it. [44] Sukra Sagar writes that the Koliyan king is said to have built the *Stupa* containing the relics in Ramagrama. After building the *Stupa* containing the relics of the Buddha, the site became the centre of pilgrimage and devotion. When Ashoka was converted into Buddhist after Kalinga war, he made pilgrimage to the sites related to Buddha. Besides the pilgrimage, he thought to open all the *Stupas* containing the relics of Buddha and distribute them to 84,000 parts and rebuilt a *Stupa* on each of them as well. He opened seven of the original eight *Stupas* but when he arrived in Ramagrama to open the eight he found that the *Stupa* was being guarded by the serpent king. On persuasion of the king,

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[43]. *Ibid*, p.39

[44]. T.R.Vaidya," Identification of Ramagrama" *Nepal: A Study of Social Economic And Political Changes*, (New Delhi : Anmol Publications, 1992), pp. 65-66. Vaidya writes-After the *Mahaparinirvana* of Lord Buddha the corporal remains of his body were divided by Drana into equal portions among the claimants who were : 1) Ajatasatru, king of Magadha 2) Licchavis of Vaisali 3) Shakyas of Kapilvastu 4) Bulis of Allakappa 5) Koliyas of Ramagrama 6) Brahmins of of Vethadipa 7) Mallas of kushinagar 8) Mallas of Pawa. Drona kept the urn with himself and Morriyas of Pipaliwana who came last for relics got the embars from the funeral pyre.

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Ashoka did not dare to open the *Stupa*. The legend seems to have been created to arouse religious feeling. However, the devout Buddhists strongly believe it. Ramagrama *Stupa* is believed to be the original *Stupa* where the Buddha's relics lie from the 6th century B.C. In 1974 Babu Krishna Rijal decided that the *Stupa* is no other than Ramagrama referred in Chinese traveller's account. He is said to have made this decision on the basis of calculation of the distance and direction given by the Chinese pilgrims. The Chinese travellers had described that the *Stupa* was on the bank of Jharahi River. At the time of the visit of the Chinese pilgrims, Gautam Buddha was already deified.

### 3.3.6 Ashoka's socalled Visit to the Kathmandu Valley

Ashoka's visit to the Kathmandu Valley is not attested by the historical evidences. Opinion of the scholars differs on the visit of Mauryan Emperor Ashoka to the Kathmandu Valley. Some scholars have mentioned different sources to prove that Ashoka visited the Kathmandu Valley. In this context D.Wright and P. Landon may be referred to.. They are of the view that Ashoka visited the Kathmandu Valley in course of pilgrimage to the sacred Buddhist sites. Some local as well as foreign historians and scholars disagree with the opinion of Wright and Landon. However Mukunda Raj Aryal quoting the Wright edited *Vamsavali* mentions the Buddha's visit to the Kathmandu Valley during the reign of 7th Kirata king Jitedasti. This was followed by the visit of Emperor Ashoka of Pataliputra in the reign of 14th Kirata King Sthunko. The statement is contradicted by several scholars on many grounds. They say that the account of *Vamsavali* which narrates that the Kirata King destroyed the horse / elephant / *Arkabandhu* or *Adityabandhu* a stone slab bearing a large representation of *Surya*, capital of Ashokan pillar, is a story of Lumbini. It was destroyed by a thunderbolt. It is clearly visible from the small mark in the Ashokan pillar. Citing legends they say that Ashoka erected five commemorative *Stupas* in the city of Patan and the sixth one at Kirtipur. It is stated that the Ashokan *Stupas* of Patan were built by the followers of *Dharma* Mission. It is not yet been proved by the epigraphic evidences. It is also pointed out that when Ashoka was ruling in India, the Kiratas were the rulers of Nepal. Making remarks on the Ashoka's visit to the Kathmandu Valley, S.Levi also writes that no evidence attesting Ashoka's visit to the Kathmandu Valley is available. However, he does not rule out the

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fact entirely.[45] Perceval Landon assuredly writes that Emperor Ashoka visited the Kathmandu Valley.[46] On the other hand S.Levi mentions that the Mauryan Emperor Ashoka's visit to the Kathmandu Valley is doubtful but it has a portion of truth. He says that the Buddhist missionary from India was the first to preach Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley. [47] Although scholars' present different arguments it is clear that no evidences are available to attest the visit of Emperor to the Kathmandu Valley.

Local scholars unanimously opine on the fact that Ashoka did not visit the Kathmandu Valley but they have the view that Ashoka came to Lumbini, Kapilvastu and Ramagram on pilgrimage of the holy sites. D.R Regmi writes that Ashoka's visit to Lumbini is established. He erected a pillar in Lumbini and caused the inscription to install there and his visit to the Kathmandu Valley is doubted by the scholars.[48] Those who are moved by *Bhakti* cult say that Ashoka had come to the Kathmandu Valley with his preceptor Upagupta. Citing SvP Shakya mentions that Ashoka came with his wife Tishyarakshita (Asandhimitra) and his daughter Charumati in pilgrimage to the holy shrine. He constructed four *Thurs* (mounds) in Patan representing four ages. These are Silapur,

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45. Sylvain Levi, "Nepal" (Translated into English from La Nepal), *Ancient Nepal*, No 29, (Kathmandu: DOA, 1974, p. 52. Levi writes- "If Emperor Asoka ever visited the valley as the *Svayambhu Purana* mentioned, no monument expressly commemorates his passage".

46. Perceval Landon, *History of Nepal* Vol. I & II, (New Delhi : Asian Educational Services, Reprinted, 2001), pp. 17 and 211. cf. The important part played in Northern Buddhism by early schools in Nepal is well shown in Mrs Getty's masterly book.*The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1914.Landon writes-More definite assurance of Gautama's visit to Nepal is given by the undoubtedly conviction of the great Emperor in 250 B.C. that Gautam Buddha had not only visited the valley but that some incident of unusual importance had taken place there. For in Kathmandu Asoka had left ponderous evidences of his visit than any where else in his long career. To this day and mercifully almost unchanged - the four great Stupas with which he surrounded Patan are still standing. Regarding the Buddha's visit he writes- If the Master himself visited the valley - a probability which may be ranked as a probability - his teachings were of course promulgated there as early as sixth century B.C. The erection of six Stupas and a record of the establishment of a shrine and a vihara of Deopatan, which can be identified today, is a proof that Emperor Asoka visited the valley of Kathmandu as well as Rumindehi. But in the valley a free thinking Buddhism which which was not unready to welcome the development of the greater vehicle.

47. S.Levi, "Nepal", *Ancient Nepal*, No 23, (*Kathmandu :* DOA, 1973), pp. 61- 62. Levi writes- Literary taken the two facts are doubtful if not improbable: they express, however, a portion of truth. Buddhism was born at the feet of Nepalese mountains and at the opening of routes which led from Nepal to plains, to the limits of Aryan sphere. The proximity of Himalaya has perhaps tempted the first apostles, eager to propagate the works of salvation. And later on, about 250 J.C. when Asoka undertook pilgrimage to holy places, still recognizable by the pillars he erected." Levi adds- "Buddhist missionaries from India were undoubtedly the first to bring the gospel in the valley of Nepal".

48. Harischandra Lal Singh, *Buddhismi in Nepal*, (Lalitpur : Satish Singh, 1990), p. 5, Citing D.R. Regmi he writes- "To admit that Ashoka ever visited Nepal was some how or other a part of historical map of India within Ashoka's empire. This is an important question regarding the status of Nepal as a vassal state under the Mauryan Empire."

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Danagiri Thur of Pulchowk representing *Satyayuga*, Teta Thur, to the east of Lalitpur representing *Tretayuga*, Ebahi Thur on the bank of Vagmati representing *Dvaparyuga* and Lagankhel Thur representing *Kaliyuga*. Some say that one *Stupa* was erected in the central part of Lalitpur at Pimbahal before Chhayabahal Pokhari. It is stated that Ashoka gave away his daughter Charumati in marriage to Devapala Kshyatriya who later became the follower of Buddhism. Later on, Charumati became *Bhikshuni* (nun). After the return of Ashoka, Devapala constructed a city known as Devapattana (Gwala). It is also mentioned that after the reconstruction of Niglihawa *Caitya*, Ashoka came to the Kathmandu Valley to visit the first *Caitya* of Svayambhu known as *Dharmarajik Svayambhu Mahacaitya*.[49] Shakya's version is simply a myth. *Rajbhogmala Vamsavali* mentions that the Chabahil *Caitya* also known as Dhando *Caitya* was made during the reign of Gunakamadeva.[50] Citing Bhasa *Vamsavali*, Dhanavajra mentions that Vrisadeva constructed Chabahil named *Manju Bahal*. From that day it was known as Dhando *Caitya*.[51] Ashoka made 84,000 *Caityas* symbolizing *Dharma Skanda*.[52] Hari Ram Joshi mentions that Chabahil was the place where merchants going to and from Tibet took shelter at night.[53]

In the third century B.C. Mauryan Emperor Ashoka had started an extensive campaign to spread Buddhism. The Ashokan pillar inscription asserts that Ashoka had erected the pillars in course of his pilgrimage to the Buddhist shrines. Scholars like D.R.Regmi did not agree with other scholars who say that Ashoka really visited Nepal. It is quite clear that he might have sent his *Dhamma* mission to Nepal while the other events are speculative. The names of Buddhist *Bhikshus* like Haritiputra, Majjhima and Kashapa who had gone to the Himalaya region to propagate the religion are found engraved in the metallic casket found in Sanchi *Stupa*. In support of the fact that Ashoka did not come to Kathmandu Valley and the four *Stupas* of Lalitpur were not constructed by him. Hari

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49. Hem Raj Shakya, *Shree Swayambhu Mahachaitya*, (Kathmandu : Swayambhu Vikas Mandal, 1978 A.D). pp. 79-80.This account is based on Ashokavadana

50. DOA, *Rajbhogamala Vamsavail:* Ancient Nepal, No. 8, (Kathmandu: 1964), p, 6.

51. Dhanavajra Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, p. 3 cf, King Vrisadeva a city named Chabahil and called it Manjubahal. From this day it was known as Dhando *Caitya*., *Bhasha Vamsavali* p. 56, published by Department of Archaeology.

52. Shakya, f.n. No. 49, p. 81.

53. Joshi, f.n. No. 2, p. 189.

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Ram Joshi mentions that Ashoka had not come to Nepal.[54] Quoting Wright edited Chronicle Vajracharya writes- "Ashoka visited the Kathmandu Valley during the reign of 14th Kirat King Sthunko." Quoting Prof. Bhandari, he writes- "Asoka did not come to the Valley (Nepal), his daughter Carumati might have erected the Ashokan *Stupa* of Patan (Ashokapattana) as per wish of his father Emperor Asoka." Quoting Babu Ram Acharya, he mentions -" Kirat kings built Ashoka *Stupas* on four corners of their capital town Patan. Then be concludes that no authentic records are found to ascertain the truth."[55] To summarize Joshi's views, the Buddhist genealogists of Nepal had given the accounts only to glorify Ashoka as a great Buddhist Emperor. Again the accounts of later chronicles stating that Ashoka had erected five Stupas of Lalitpur do not match with the contemporary historical materials of Nepal as well as India. With regard to the five *Stupas* of Lalitpur, so far believed to have been erected by Ashoka, Joshi says that the existence of these *Stupas* have made the scholars to believe that Buddhism was in a flourishing state in ancient Nepal. He says that truly speaking, no solid grounds are yet found to prove that the above mentioned *Stupas* were erected by Emperor Ashoka. There is more probability in it that in the post ancient Nepal as Buddhism was in flourishing state to a great extent, the Buddhists of Nepal while constructing *Stupas* and *Caityas* had used the name Ashoka (not to shock) orit is a emblem (symbol) of the state of obtaining *Nibbana* (salvation). So the word *Ashoka* denotes not to lament. Joshi refers that in an Ashokan *Caitya*, erected at Lalitpur Tyagal Tole, an inscription in Brahmi Script of post ancient time is inscribed. He says that none of Tibetan, Chinese, Singhalese other Indian materials are found to mention that the Emperor's visited Nepal. Prof. Nilakantha Shastri and G. Srinivasachari have hinted that the visit of Ashoka to Nepal has been mentioned in the *Vamsavalis* of Nepal, but, except that, other sources are lacking. In an article Vaidya writes clearly that both Lord Buddha and Ashoka had not visited Nepal (Kathmandu Valley)[56] According to an inscription of the far western Nepal, the term Ashoka is

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54. *Ibid*, p. 64, Joshi writes- "None of the renowned Buddhist treatises like *Mahavamsha, Deepavamsha* and so on as well as 13 pillar edicts Shashpazagdhi Kalasi and Girnar erected by Ashoka Maurya, the Emperor have mentioned that Nepal was under the dominion of Emperor Ashoka and he had gone to Nepal".

55. Bajracharya f.n. No. 4, pp. 10-11.

56. Vaidya, f.n. No 8,"A Historical Approach to Ashoka's Visit to Nepal" "*Nepal, A Study of Socio Economic And Political Changes*", (New Delhi : Anmol Publications, 1992). pp. 1-5. The article was first published in *Nepal Review*, (a magazine) Jan 1970, Vol II No. 3, and another article entitled "Buddhia's and Ashoka's visit to Nepal" was published in *Motherland* ", (a news paper, Jan 5, 1967. A.D. Kathmandu.

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inscribed in miniature terracotta *Caitya*. The inscription incises-"Abhaya, Shree Shree Ashoka". Mention of these words in the inscription gives chance to guess that the words are associated with the manifestation of the state of *Nibbana* (summum bonum) of some persons.[57]

To cite Landon, "A corrupt form of Buddhism, still exists in Nepal..... Buddhism, he says was introduced under Asoka but of its history, there is little that can be known with any certainty. The country remained under the influence of both religions for many centuries."[58] The comment is based on westerner's view that supported Theravada Buddhism. It may be suggested that no religion becomes corrupt simply on its nature of syncretism.

G.Verardi writes in the footnote of his report on the excavation report of Satyanarayan temple of Harigaon that Buddhism had to make compromise with Vaishnavite and Shavite religion prevalent in Nepal.[59]

David N. Gellner refers to Hodgson's attempt. According to him, Sanskrit Buddhist texts origininating in Nepal were as ancient as the Pali texts mainly from Sri Lanka. Hodgson also made on attempt to reconstruct Buddhist philosophical schools of the past which was often mistakenly taken to be a description of contemporary Newar Buddhism. The westerners termed the living Buddhism as rituahistic, superstitious and priest ridden. He mentioned that Newar Buddhists have always lived side by side with the Hindus and Newar Buddhism is both Mahayana and Vajrayana. This means that the ideal of *Arhat*, for which one must become a monk, has been supplemented and superseded by the ideals of the *Bodhisattva* and the *Siddha*. Doctrinally the *Bodhisattva* is defined as one who has set out on the path of complete Buddhahood to save all beings i.e. to bring them to *Nirvana*. The *Bodhisattva* ideal stresses the need to convert, help and some other beings which take many rebirths to achieve. Karunamaya/*Bodhisattva* of wisdom, Maitreye, the *Bodhisattva* of love, *Prajnaparamita*, Goddess cum supreme virtue (Perfection of

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57 *Ibid*, p. 631, *Nepalko Prachin Abhilekh*, (Ancient Inscription of Nepal), (Kathmandu : Royal Nepal Academy, V.S), p.34.

58 Landon, f.n. No. 41, p. 214.

59 Verardi, f.n. No. 22, p. 30.

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wisdom) *Panca* Buddha, the cosmic principles is the ideals of Mahayana, Vajrayana Buddhism of Nepal. *Caityas* are built putting inside them relics of Buddhas or saints. [60]

Sridhar Rana writes that Vajrayana Buddhism practiced in the Kathmandu Valley empowers the practioners to practice *Samatha* and *Vipassana* of *Tantra* viz *Anuttara Yoga Tanta*, power of visualization imparted on the practioner by creation of *Mandala*. The second and third empowerments are used to create bliss by stamping with emptiness. The fourth empowerment is related to the *Vipasyana* of *Prabhasvara citta* (Mind of clear light) i.e. *Cittanusmriti* and *Dharmanusmriti* of *Tantrayana*. Thus *Kama*, *Dvesa* and *Moha* are weakened and finally extinguished. The four *Abhishekhs* of *Tantra* make the practioner pure in mind and body to attention the goal of *Nirvana*. The basis of these four empowerments is the practice of *Anuttara Yoga Tantra* like, *Cakrasamvara*, *Hevajra*, *Kalacakra*, *Mahamaya*, *Vajrabhairova Buddhakapala* etc.[61] How can a religion be corrupt which aims at mind of clear light and realize *Yetha bhuta* (as it is). It is pure and its philosophy is different from Hinduism. Although the Shakya and Vajracharyas of Nepal are not celibate monks, they practice *Adikarmapradipah*. It is the lay *Bodhisattva* practice. *Acharya* Anupamvajra has profound impact on it. *Adikarmapradipah* deals with the practice of *Triratna* recitation of *Namasangiti*, *Bhadracarya Pranidhana*, offer *Pretabali*, circumbulate *Caitya*, Buddha images, perform *Guru Mandala*, meditate on tulelary duty, recitation of *Prajnaparamita*, *Mahayana Sutras*, *Danagatha*, perform *Bodhisattva* practice, prayer to *Triratna* offer five fold prostration to the Buddha in ten directions and sleeping in a lion's posture after meditating on deity *Yoga*.[62]

In this context scholar like Asha Ram Shakya writes- "Buddhism introduced by Ashokan mission was Theravadin in character but Buddhism which was here before the mission came was Mahayanic". "The Swayambhu *Caitya*, the living symbol of Mahayana Buddhism is standing before us." [63] In the 3rd century B.C. after the Third *Sangiti* at Ashokaram of Pataliputra a mission was fielded. Among the nine teams of propagators who had gone to different regions, the team led by *Sthavir* Majjihim came to Nepal. This

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60. David N. Gellner, "*Foreword*", Niels custschow's The Nepalese Caitya, 1500 years of Buddhist Votive Architecture in the Kathmandu Valley, (Stuttgart/London : Axel Monges, 1997), pp. 11-13.
61. Sridhar Rana, "Practice of Buddhist Tantrain Nepal", Shanker Thapa (Edt.) *Newar Buddhism*, (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd., 2005), pp. 109-110.
62. Min Bahadur Shakya, "Monasticism in Newar Buddhism", Shanker Thapa (Edt) *Newar Buddhism*, (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd. 2005 A.D). pp.77-78.
63. Asha Ram Shakya, Preface, *Shree Svayambhu Mahachaitya*, (Kathmandu : Swayambhu Vikas Mandal, N.S. 1098), pp. 39-41.

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is confirmed by the Singhalese chronicles like *Dipavamsha* (VIII. p.13), *Mahavamsha* (XII-1-8). The other monks who came to the Himalaya territories of Nepal were Kasapagotta, Haritiputra, Dudubhisara, Sahadeva, Vachhiya, Sabin, Gotasisya, Aram, Mahavinaya, Apagiri, Kodiniputra, Kosikiputra, Gotiputra and Suvijayita. Some of them are mentioned in the inscriptions from Sonari and Sanchi *Stupas*. They have been called as the teachers of the Himalaya people (*Sava Himavatacharya*).[64]

Regarding ancient *stupas*, Mukunda Raj Aryal has given the features of earliest *Stupa* of Kathmandu Valley, which is monolithic in character. We see many monolithic *Stupas* still extent in the Kathmandu Valley. They do not contain any icon, they represent only symbols.[65]

### 3.4.1 Buddhism during the Kirata Rule:

The accounts based on *Vamsavalis* mentioned above reveal that the Kiratas were the contemporary of the time of the Buddha and Mauryan rulers of India. Babu Ram Acharya writes that the original inhabitants of ancient Nepal were the Nepars of Kirata origin. Their culture is known as the culture of Nepal. It is known as original culture. How civilization developed in the region between Sakhika (?) to Singhlela (?) Lake (peak of the hill) is worth mentioning. According to the travel accounts of Hiuen Tsang the region from Singalela to Sakhika Lake is included in Nepal. The upper part of Vagmati River is the central part of Nepal. During the time of Gautam Buddha and Ashoka, the central part represented the original culture of Nepal. Acharya further mentions that Ashoka's *Dhamma* mission spread Buddhism among the Nepars and made them pacifist. The Nepars became Newar and they involved themselves in agriculture and crafts and became civilized. Their martial spirit was minimized. In the first century their state was snatched by the Licchavis.[66] Scholars write that the Kirata dynasty ruled form C 1336-536 B.C. [67]

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64. Mukunda Raj Aryal, *A Report on the Study of Iconography of Kathmandu Valley and their Preservation and Protection*, (Kathmandu : HMG Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture, DOA. 1956 A.D (2053 V.S.), p. 13.

65. *Ibid*, p. 9. Aryal says- "The earliest *Stupa* art in the Kathmandu valley goes back to the legendry visit of Emperor Asoka," He adds -"These monolithic Stupas, however, contained no icons of the Buddha- perhaps they represented only symbols. So we see no Buddhist statues in the Kathmandu valley until the first or the second century A.D. The Asokan Stupas of Kathmandu, though they survived the ravages of time, are small in size and are represented by an earthen brick mound, being a little more than a tumulus and crowned with a small brick tapering structure.

66. Acharya, f.n. No. 5, pp. 13-22.

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Dhanavajravajra Vajracharya says that the Kiratas ruled over Nepal for many centuries. They had their settlement around the Kathmandu Valley. An inscription of Hanumandhoka incises the word "Kirata."[68] It is taken as the indication of Kirata's existence in the Kathmandu Valley during ancient time. The Kiratas were the contemporary of the Mauryas of Pataliputra, the Shakyas and Koliyas of Ramgram and Kapilvastu. To refer *Mulasrvastivadavinaya*, Chapter II, we have the mention of the Shakyas and Koliyas taking refuge in the Valley after the general massacre by Virudhava, the king of Koshala. Vajracharya mentions that the *Bhikshus* of Shakya *Vamsha* (clan) resided in Tebahal Kathmandu. It is revealed from the epigraphic evidences. The name of Shakya *Bhikshu* was Priyapala Bandhu Bhadra. Another inscription of Chabahil also mentions of Shakya *Bhikshu*. It is stated that the Shakyas who migrated from Kapilvastu called themselves as Shakya *Bhikshus* and the Shakyas who migrated from Ramgram were known as Shakya *Vamshi*. The Shakyas and Vajracharyas also remained as the priests of Matsyendranath temple of Bungamati and Janabahal in the Valley. It indicates that the Shakyas, the Koliyas and the Kiratas had their tradition in the Kathmandu Valley in ancient time. They were Buddhists. *Vamsavali* mentions that the Limbus, the Kiratas and the Lepchas are Buddhists and live in the same way as the Newars.[69] Swayambhu Lal Shrestha also mentions that the Newars came from the Nerbung tribe.[70] *Bijhuwa Bakaune* tradition (sorcer narrating the past history) also indicates that the Kiratas were originally the inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley. They are referred as the one expelled from the Valley by the Vajracharyas. A legend mentions- "The Kiratas were driven by the bees coming out from the pit lying on the cross road of Kwalakhu Tole, Patan." "The Tepe women of Lalitpur Chyasal Tole are also considered to be of Kirata family." "The primitive tribes of Nepal belonged to non- Aryans and the Kiratas too belonged to non-Aryan of Mongolian stock."[71] On the other hand, Hari Ram Joshi citing Nagarjunakonda inscription refers that the Kiratas were inclined towards Buddhism. The facts mentioned above shows that Newars (Nepars) being one of the branches of Kirata tribe still follow

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67. T.R. Vaidya, "Different Ruler and Dynasties of Nepal ",*Itihaspravah*, ( Kathmandu: Dept. of History, Ratna Rajya Laxmi Campus, T.U. Vol 2 no 2 2007 A.D.) p. 57
68. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 50, pp. 172, 454-455.
69. Daniel Wright, *History of Nepal*, (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, (Reprint) 1993), p. 30.
70. Swayambhu Lal Shrestha,"*Situ*" Journal No 1, Year 6, No 32/2, Year 9, p. 49.
71. Joshi, f.n. No. 2, p. 60.

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Buddhism. Citing Babu Ram Acharya, Vajracharya writes that the Kirat rulers in Nepal embraced Buddhism and the local people followed the footsteps of the rulers.[72]

All these accounts show that the people of Mongolian stock followed Buddhism in the ancient time. The Kiratas too were Buddhist in the beginning. As they belong to non Aryan stock they are presumed to be Buddhists 5000 years ago. As mentioned above the Harapans are also assumed to be Buddhists on the basis of the figures painted in their pottery as per Indian scholars. If the assumption of the Indian scholar is correct it will certainly give a new dimension to the history of Buddhism in Nepal and India too. Buddhism was in flourishing stage even in ancient period. Opinion of the scholars varies on it. However, it is presumed that the Kiratas were the Buddhists in ancient time. Later they might have changed their religion. With regard to the status of Buddhism in Nepal, Mary S. Slusser vividly describes how Buddhism was practised by different communities in Nepal after the *Parinirvana* of Gautam Buddha.[73] However Nepalis tradition traces the history of Buddhism earlier than the period. It is generally accepted that after *Maha Parinirvana* of Lord Buddha, Buddhism was divided into Mahasanghika (Mahayana) and *Sthaviravada* (Theravada) in the ancient time. Chyamasimha inscription on the way to Nagarkot in Bhaktapur, inscriptions of Sankhu and Pashupati, Kathmandu indicate the existence of Mahasanghikas.[74]

It is also mentioned that Shravakayana was introduced in Nepal by Ashoka's Dharma Mission in the third century B.C. However we find the assumption that Buddhism practised by the people of non Aryans was Buddhism of original Buddha or Mahagurus not of recent Buddha. This concept too needs further elaboration and illustrations on the basis of further study and researches. It has remained as only crude idea or wild idea at this moment.

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72. Bajracharya, f.n. No. 4, p. 12.

73. Mary Shephard Slusser, *Nepal Mandala, A Cultural Study of Kathmandu Valley Vol. I*, (New Jersey : Princeton University, 1992), p. 275 Slusser writes- "The introduction of Buddhism long preceded the historical period and that Buddhist history in the valley is essentially as old as doctrine itself. "She adds-" The reference of early Shakyas from Kapilvastu supports such intercourse, and is in turn given credence by the subsequent mention in Licchavi inscriptions of domiciled Shakyas. Other evidence for the early introduction of Buddhism in the Kathmandu is provided by the monastery known as Gumvihar (the monastery of the wooded Hill, located on a hilltop near Sankhu, the vihara is now part of the domain of goddess Vajrayogini).

74. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, pp. 508-510.

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### 3.5.1 Nava Sutra Sangraha

*Nava Sutra* (nine holy texts of Buddhism) was very popular in Nepal during ancient time to present day. These texts are known are *Mahayana Sutras*. Shakya writes that these *Sutras* might have been brought to Kathmandu Valley by Vasubandhu. The Great Master Vasubandu (5th century) contributed in the expansion of Buddhism in Himalayas. He transmitted these *Sutras* in Nepal. We have the reference of Vasubandhu and his disciples's visit to the Kathmandu Valley. Vasubandu was born in Puruspur, Peshawor. M.B Shakya says-"The historians Buston and Lama Taranath have given the vivid accounts of Vasubandhu and his disciples's visit to the Kathmandu Valley." Vasubandhu was the master debator on the *Vaibhasika* doctrine of Hinayana tradition. Later he was converted into Mahayana by his elder brother Asanga. He learned all the *Mahayana Sutras* and proceeded to compose commentaries on *Dasa Bhumika, Saddharma Pundarika* and five works of Maitreya. It is difficult to ascertain when *Mahayana Sutras* were introduced into Nepal. These *Sutras* were taken to China by the missionaries of India and Central Asia. These were regarded as the authentic words of Lord Buddha. The first of which appeared in 68 A.D in China. Nepalis Buddhists preserved these *Sutras* from generation to generation. *Nava Sutras* and *Namasangiti* are the popular texts of Nepal. It safeguarded Mahayanic ideals. In 1824 Brian Hodgson found hundreds of *Nine Vaipulya Sutras* or *Nava Khandas*. The *Nine Sutras* are very often recited by the pious devotees of Nepal. *Nava Sutra Sangraha* is known as nine *Dharma* or *Nava Khanda* or collection of nine *Sutras*. These are nine Mahayana Buddhist texts. There *Sutras* are divided into two types divisions i.e. *Vaipulya* and *Samanya Sutras*. They contained Mahayana ideals. These *Sutras* are regarded as the earliest record of scriptures dating back to Kanishka's period. They belong to non-Sthaviravada tradition. The *Nava Sutra Sangraha* includes-1) *Lalitvistara* 2) *Lankavatara* 3) *Suvarnaprabha* 4) *Gandavyuha* 5) *Saddharmapundarika* 6) *Dasabhumika* 7) *Tathagaaoguhyaka Sutra* 8) *Samadhiraja* 9) *Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita*. These are regarded as the authentic words of the Buddha. Opinion of the scholars differs on the dating of the *Sutras*. According to Winternitz, *Lalitavistara*, a biographical account of the Buddha is assigned to the 2nd century A.D. Har Dayal says that the earliest part of *Saddharma Pundarika* may belong to 1st century B.C. while the supplementary part (XVI-XXVI) dates from 3rd century A.D. According to Binoytosh Bhattcharya probably *Nava Sutra* literature belongs to the 3rd or

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4th century A.D. He says that many of the *Sutras* deal with Mahayana tradition such as doctrine of emptiness in *Prajnaparamita*, the theory of *Tathagatagarbha* and *Cittamatra* doctrine in *Lankavatara*, innumerable types of *Samadhi* such as exchange of Self with other, *Bodhicitta* practice and virtue of *Kalyanamitra* in *Gandha Vyuha* and *Samadhiraj Sutras*, stages of *Bodhisattva* in *Dasabhumika Sutra* and twelve principal deeds in *Lalitvistara*. [75] Dangol writes –" *Prajnaparamita Sutra* and other Mahayana texts are not taken as contemporary of *Sutrapitaka* of Theravada. It is probable that these texts may be taken as pseudo texts." In this context, he quotes Richard H. Roninson and Williard Robinson's work. [76] *Saddharma Pundarika* is a widely popular holy text of the beginning of the Christian era. It is regarded as the holy text of Mahayana in the countries of South East Asia as Nepal, China and Japan. The devout Buddhis take it as genuine teachings of Lord Buddha. However, the Sthaviravadins have negative remarks on it. *Saddharma Pundarika* was popular during the Licchavi period. It is evident from Tyagal Tole inscription, Patan.that Mahayana deities such as Aksobhya, Amitabha, Manjushree, Samantabhadra; Padmpani Lakeshvara's name is inscribed in this inscription. Dhanavarjra Vajracharya explains that the hymns of these Buddhas reveal the popularity of this Mahayania text. On the basis of the script prevalent during Amshuvarma's time, the inscription is supposed to be of Licchavi period. It is stated that *Panca* Buddha had become popular in Nepal only in the 4th century A.D. *Vamsavali* mentions that Vrisadeva had established the images of *Panca* Buddha at Godavari.[77]

Satya Mohan Joshi writes- *Guhya Samaja Tantra, Kala Chakra Tantra, Heruka Tantra, Vajravali Tantra, Yogambara Tantra, Chandra Maharoshana Tantra, Samvarodaya Tantra, Yoginijal Tantra, Hayagriva Tantra* etc. are Buddhist *Tantras*. These *Tantras* are

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75. Shakya, f.n. No. 15, pp. 5-7.23. Shakya, Synopsis, *Nava Sutra Sangraha*, (compiled by Divya Bajra Bajracharya), (Lalitpur : Bodhi Prakashan Kendra, 1990 A.D, (N.S.1110). Shakya writes- In 1984. Hodgson had discovered dozens of sets of collections of *Nava Sutras*. *Nava Sutras* were introduced in China by the missionaries of India and Central Asia. The Sutras were translated into Chinese, the first of which appeared in 68 A.D. R.L Mitra states that the discovery of Chinese translation of the original Buddhist records from the Sanskrit dating as early as the first century A.D. provides the existence of original Sanskrit texts long before the Pali translation of Srilanka: Shakya,"

76. Dangol, f,n. No 13,p.63. Richard H. Robinson and Williard Robinson, *The Buddhist Religion, A Historical Introduction*, (California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1982),p..67R.H.Robinson and other write- "The lotus Sutra castigates wicked people who say that the expanded Sutras were not the words of the Buddha. Well it might, as much of the Buddhists community believed on good grounds that such texts were recent forgeries. Mahayanists then claim that their Sutras have been preserved for five hundred years by the Nagas (mythological serpentine spirits) in their under water places, to be divulged when the world was ripe for them. Such tales probably did not convience many opponents."

77. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, pp. 387-388, Pradhan, f.n. No. 3, p. 92.

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pratised in Nepal and they are preserved in the National Achieves of Nepal. *Guhya Samaja Tantra* devotes a special chapter on the practice of *Bodhicitta* (awakened mind), which is a basis of all Mahayana themes. There is also a mention of Prajnantaka, Padmantaka, Yamantaka and Bighanantaka.[78] S Radhakrishnan also writes –"Ashwa Gosh's *Buddhacarita* of the (Ist century A.D.) is regarded as super and ancient Buddhist literature." Ashwa Gosh was the first Buddhist commentator of *Digha Nikaya*. Buddha Ghosh's Visuddhimagga was composed by a Brahmin in the 4th century. *Sumangalavilasini*, *Athasalini* and *Dhamma Sangani* are the works of Buddha Ghosh. *Dipavamsha* was composed in the 4th century and *Mahavamsha* in the 5th century. Citing Rhys David, he mentions that after the 2nd century of the demise of the Buddha Buddhism was divided into eighteen sects.[79]

Scholars mention that Mahayana was in vogue during the time of Ashoka in the Kathmandu Valley. They say that Ashokan missions brought *Theravada*. It is stated that the base of *Guhya Samaja Tantra* is a text of Vajrayana. According to it Buddhahood is attainable within shorter possible time, and even in one life time under a perfect Vajrayana *Guru*.

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78. Satya Mohan Joshi, Nepali Rastriya Mudra, (National Coins), (Lalitpur : Jagadamba Prakashan, 2019 V.S (1952 A.D), p. 10. Joshi gives the name of *Brahman Tantras* preserved in Beer Library. These are *Kal Jnana Tantra*, *Brahmayamala Tantra*, *Rudrayamala Tantra*, *Mahaguhya Tantra*, *Kriyakal Guna Tantra*, *Meru tantra* etc.

79. Radhakrishnan, f.n.No. 16, pp.277,280,480. To sum up f.n.No.1 of his work, Radhakrishnan writes – The nine texts 1) *Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita*, 2) *Gandhavyuha* 3) *Dashabhumishvara* 4) *Samadhiraja* 5) *Lankavatar* 6) *Saddharmapundarika* 7) *Tathagataguhyaka* 8) *Lalitvistara* 9) *Suvarnaprabhas* are the important texts of Mahayana Buddhism. *Prajnaparamita* (2oo A.D), includes accounts of six previous forms of *Bodhisattva* and *Sunya* concept, the highest (wisdom). In its short form Nagarjuna wrote *Mahayana Sutra*. *Gandhavyuha* glorifies *Bodhisattva* Manjushree.. *Dasabhumishvara* (400 A.D.) gives account of the grounds which were passed by Lord Buddha in order to attain Buddhahood. *Samadhiraja* is a dialogue which describes how the Bodhisattva attained the highest wisdom. Lankavatar (400 A.D) mentions Yogacara thoughts. *Saddharmapundarika* (250 A.D) consists of moral laws in which the Buddha is mentioned as the best among the Gods. In it, it is stated that each and every human being can be Buddha by the teachings of the Buddha and by benevolent acts and one who worships Caitya and erects it. Edwin Arnold's book *The Light of Asia* is based on it. The theme of Suvarnapravas is something philosophical and some based on legends. It consists of *Tantric* activities. *Sukhavatvyuha* (100 A.D) *Amitaryudhyana Sutra* and *Vajrachhedika* are popular in Japan. Karandavyuha includes the eulogy of *Avalokiteshvara* who is compassionate to all the sentient beings. The deity is the ideal of compassion. He has made a vow that unless and until all the sentient beings get Buddhahood, he would not get salvation. *Mahavathu* which is also referred as the book of Hinayanists include the great events. It is also the book of transcendental Buddhism which depicts the Buddha as super human. Ashwa Ghosh's *Buddha Carita* (1st century A.D.) is the best book on Mahayana. It is also regarded as the super and main book of Mahayana Buddhism. *Shikshya Samucaya* of Shantideva (7th century) is the book based on teachings of the Buddha. *Bodhicaryavatar* is the most important religious book on Buddhism

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### 3.6.1. Buddhism during the Licchavi Period in Nepal upto 8th Century A.D.

The Licchavis appear in the political horizon of Nepal having conqurered the Kiratas as mentioned above. The coming of the Licchavis after Kiratas is historically accepted. Although we have the reference of Licchavis in *Puranas*, they are not taken as historical evidences. To identify the Licchavis of Nepal reference of Vajjian republic of Vaishali may be made. The Licchavis of Vaishali had a strong republican state in the sixth century B.C. during the time of Buddha. Buddhist literature makes mention of it. After Kushan invasion the republican state of Licchavis disintegrated. One of its brances is referred to have entered Nepal. The Licchavis are said to have entered the Kathmandu Valley as Shakyas and Koliyas in the sixth century B.C. H.R.Joshi writes that the Licchavis, who after running away from Vaishali had settled at Tirhut in the North, a part of their own Vajji republican state, entering Nepal led the people of this region and smashed of what remained of the Kirati rule. He refers that the Licchavis came to Nepal as the refugees. Citing *Puranas* as hearsay, he gives the account of *Pashupati Purana* which mentions that the ruler of Vaishali defeated the Kiratas and ruled in Nepal. However, it is not certain when they came to Nepal. He also refers to *Varaha Purana*, which mentions the coming of the Licchavis to Nepal. Citing *Avashyaka Sutra* of the Jains, he ascertains the rule of the Licchavis after the Kiratas. [80]. The *Gopalrajavamsavali* also mentions the same account. [81]

The Pashupati inscription of Jayadeva II mentions that solar dynasty was started in Nepal, in the name of Licchavi dynasty. After twelve kings of Licchavi dynasty, Supuspa became the king of Nepal. Supuspa's name appears as the first king of Licchavi dynasty. On the basis of the local famous *Vamsavali* and inscription, Vaidya has assumed that the Licchavis ruled in Nepal from the second half of the 6th century B.C. to the 1st half of 8th century A.D. up to Jayadeva II's reign. Supuspa is regarded as the earliest king of this

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80. Joshi, f.n. No.2,pp.12,66. Joshi refers the extract of *Pashupati Purana*, It mentions- *Jitva Kiratarajanamvakyana Pratyancha parisoda karishyati tatharaja Vaishaladhipatirvali*.Its meaning is that the king of Vaishali defeated the Kiratas. Joshi writes - According to *Avashyaka Sutra*, a Jain treatise, having been defeated by Ajatasatru the Magadhan Emperor, all the Licchavis, left alive had entered Nepal, cf, Shree Ram Goel, *Prachin Nepalka Rajanitik Itihasa*, (Varanashi: Bharitiya Vidhya Prakashan.)

81. Vajracharya and Malla, f. n. No.7, p. 27. The Gopalrajv*amsavali* mentions- "*Athah Suryavamshaprabhavat Nepale Ki (rat) Raja Nirjitya, Licchavivamshsa Pravarte*". The meaning thereby is that the solar dynasty gets victory over Nepal and Licchavi dynasty is established..

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dynasty. His time is assumed in between 536-511 B.C.[82] The *Gopalaraja Vamsavali* mentions the life span or reign of king Supuspadeva as 56 years. Some scholars think that Supuspa ruled in the beginning of the Christian era. Some scholars such as (Prof. K.A. Nilkantha Shastri, G.Srinivachari and Dr. R.C Majumdar) opine that the Licchavis ruled in Nepal since the 2nd century A.D. Politically the Licchavis are supposed to have ruled in Nepal from the beginning of Christian era to the 9th century A.D. Scholars like Charles M. Novak portray the history of Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley from (Ca 300-879 A.D).[83] We are here tracing the history of the development of Buddhism from circa 543 B.C. to 733 A.D. i.e. 1276 years.

To cite Joshi again,"the Licchavis of India of pre- ancient times at Vaishali had adopted the republican system of government where as the Licchavis of Nepal, who reigned in Nepal since the second century A.D. undertook monarchial system".[84] Italian scholar Prof.G.Verardi mentions that the Licchavi kings based their source of power on *Bhagavata* concept of *Kula* to survive as kings. Licchavis brand Supuspa whom the later chronicles credit as builder of Pashupatinath temple, as new Pashupat Licchavis who replaced the legitimate *Bhagavatas*.[85] It is obvious that Buddhism was patronized by the Licchavi rulers although they followed Brahmanical religion. The Licchavi rulers donated lands as *Agrahara* and patronized the *Bhikshus* and *Bhikashunis* (monks and nuns). They built many *Viharas* and the monks and nuns were empowered as the custodians of moral laws in the country as evident from the inscriptions of the period. It is stated that the early veneration of the Buddha as the Blessed one gradually developed into a Buddha cult known as *Buddhayana* during the Licchavi period. It fostered new concept of Buddha. *Bodhisattva* cult in the form of *Lokeshvara* or *Avalokiteshvara* cult was developed in Nepal during this period. A *Bodhisattva* is described as the *yogin* par excellence. An image of *Bodhisattva* was discovered in Lumbini excavation.in 1935 A.D. It is supposed to be the icon of the first century A.D. Many *Bodhisattva* images are found in the Kathmandu Valley. They present artistic excellence. An inscription located on the way to Lagan Tole from Dharahara is supposed to be of the time of Ramdeva 545 A.D. (*Samvat* 467) makes it clear that *Avalokiteshvara* cult was popular during the Licchavi

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82. Vaidya, f. n. No. 8, p. 8. Vaidya 's assumption of the reigning period indicates the period.
83. Charles M. Novak, "A portrait of Buddhism in Licchavi Nepal," (Lalitpur : *Buddhist Himalaya, Vol, IV*, No, 1-2, Nagarjuna Institute of Buddhist Studies), p. 28.
84. Joshi, f.n. No. 2, p. 77.
85. Verardi, f.n. No. 22. pp. 18-34, cf, Mary S. Slusser, (1982-1-227).

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period. [86] On the basis of Ramadeva's inscription of Pashupati located on the way to Mrigasthali dated 545 A.D (*Samvat* 467) the above inscription is dated. To refer the Lagan Tole inscription Mani Gupta and his wife Manimati wished welfare of all sentient beings. Mani Gupta who bears the title of Gupta is supposed to be Abhira Gupta. He followed Buddhism whereas Vairochan Gupta and Anuparam incised in Hadigaon Satya Narayan temple inscription followed *Vedic* tradition. It shows the practice of religious toleration during the Licchavi period. There was paradigm shift in their belief. *Saddharm Pundarika*, (Lotus Sutra manuscript) makes mention of the eulogy of *Avalokiteshvara*. It shows the impact of *Saddharma Pundarika* during the Licchavi period. [87] In the same way we find a beautiful *Bodhisattva* image at Sankhamul and an image of life size *Bodhisattva* at Svayambhu. They referred to as the images of the Licchavi period on the basis of typology and metal polishing on the stone sculpture. The image of Sankhamul was discovered on the riverbed of Vagmati. Probably it came floating from one of the *Viharas* of Visalnagar or Pashupati. The *Bodhisattva* image on the bank of Vagmati at Pashupati, Rajrajeshvarighat on *Bhavishya Vyakarna Mudra* is still found half buried on the ground. It indicates the worship of the *Bodhisattva* or Buddha. Some scholars take the image in negatve manner interpreting the Buddhist way of life during the predecessors of Lord Buddha The stone image of *Bodhisattva* of Svayambhu presents another best model of icons of the time. (See pictures in Appendix I.III). As a potential Buddha, the *Bodhisattva* greatly resolves to postpone progression to *Nirvana* in order to help all sentient beings.

### 3.6.2. Vrisadeva and Buddhism (389-414 A.D)

Vrisadeva was a great king of Licchavi dynasty who contributed a lot for promotion of Buddhism in Nepal. His epithet "*Licchavikulaketu*" a flag of Licchavi dynasty shows his greatness. He was a pious king. The inscriptions and chronicles praise him highly. Pradhan places him in between (390-415 A.D.) [88] Vaidya has placed him in between 389-414 A.D.[89] Jagadish Chandra Regmi has placed him in circa 300 A.D. Regmi writes that Nepalis kings had approved Buddhism since the time of Vrisadeva in circa 300 A.D. He adds that many historical evidences are available which prove Nepalis king's

86. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, p. 177-178.
87. *Ibid*, p. 178.
88. Pradhan,f.n.No.3,p.101.
89. Vaidya, f.n. No. 8, p. 6.

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patronization of Buddhism.[90] The *Gopalaraja Vamsavali* mentions - "Raja Viswadeva Varsha 100. Tenakrita Sinagu Vihara Caitya Bhattarika Pratisthita Sampurna Kritam, tatrena panalikacha punapashupati sthane utra vrihat trisula pratisthitam". King Viswa (Vrisa) deva ruled or lived for one hundred years. He established *Caitya Bhataraka Sinagu* (Svayambhu) *Vihara*. He built stone spout there. Again he installed great *Trisul* (trident) to the north of Pashupati temple. [91] Hem Raj Shakya mentions that Vrisadeva converted himself from Shaivism to Buddhism. Being disciple of Shanti Shila *Bhikshu*, he renovated Svayambhu *Caitya* of Singu or Samhegun *Vihara* consisting of *Panchapuras*. He himself is referred as remaining priest of it. Later he is said to have assigned the Shakya *Bhikshu Vandeju* to worship the *Mahacaitya*.[92]

Dhanavajra Vajracharya in his interpretation of Chabahil inscription cites a *Vamsavali*. He writes that Vriadeva made Manju Bahal and Chabahil town. It was renowned as Dhando *Caitya*. *Rajbhogmala Vamsavali* mentions that Vrisadeva Varma was a Buddhist serving Vajrayogini. After making Manju *Bahal* he was renowned as Dhanadeva. He was also known as king Gunakama. He is referred as contemporary of Prachandadeva of Gaud. He came to Nepal and got ordained by a *Vande* named Gunakara. He made Svayambhu *Caitya* and installed the images of *Pancha* Buddha at Godavari. He made a great *Vihara* at Baneswar and installed the image of Shakyasimha.[93] Min Bahadur Shakya, citing a *Vamsavali* writes that Vrisadeva erected an image of *Dharma Raj Lokeshvara* and one of the *Yamantaka Agamas*. In a legend it is referred that Vrisadeva was exposed to coldness while undertaking the circumambulation of Ashoka *Stupa* of Lagankhel, Patan. He died from coldness. He was taken to *Yama*, the king of the Hell. Seeing the extremely pious man, *Yama* rebuked his servants for having brought a good man to his domain. He therefore returned him to the earth. There in the Hell, he saw how the dead men (impious persons) tortured were relieved by the intervention of *Avalokiteshvara*.[94] Vrisadeva compared what he had seen in the Hell and what was written in *Karanda Vyuha Sutra*." He attributed his curious adventure and his release to *Padmapani Lokeshvara*, who as he learned from this book has caused cessation of torture

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90. Jagadish Chandra Regmi, *A Glossary of Himalayan Buddhism*, (Jaipur : Nirala Publication, 1994 A.D), p. 20.
91. Vajracharya and Malla f.n. No. 7, p. 28.
92. Shakya, f.n. No. 49, p. 91.
93. DOA, "Raj Bhogmala Vamsavali", *Ancient Nepal*, No. 8, (Kathmandu : 1969), pp. 5-6.
94. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, p. 3, cf, *BhasaVamsavali*, p. 56.

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in Hell."[95] Quoting Hasrat, Bajracharya writes that during the time of Vrisadeva, Buddhism became more powerful. The king built a *Vihara* called "*Punya Vihara.*"The king and people had all embressed Buddhism and plunged themselves in the ocean of Buddha *Marga*. Referring Shanker Lal's interpretation relating to the inscription of Cabahil, Bajracharya mentions that the inscription is assigned to the time of Vrisadeva belonging to the time earlier than Manadeva's reign. [96] Sylvain Levi writes-"Vrisadeva was very pious king. Everyday he fed Vajrayogini before taking his meal. He repaired the *Caitya* of Dharmadatta (*Dhando Caitya*) in the North West corner of Pashupati and built several *Viharas*. [97] It is also stated that the four Ashokan *Caityas* of Patan were constructed in his time. However, Buddhist account has mentioned that these *Stupas* were made in the Kirata period. The Svayambhu inscription contains high eulogy of Vrisadeva. It is regarded as the first inscription of the Kathmandu Valley. Its copy is preserved in the National Archives Kathmandu.[98] It is incised in a stone placed in a pit where the lime is made soluble into water for painting Svayambhu dome. The contents of the inscription are published on the basis of the copy preserved in the National Archives. It is in mutilated form. The stone in which the inscription is inscribed is not found at Svayambhu at present. Hem Raj Shakya has published the inscription in its original form without transliteration and called it the oldest inscription of the Kathmandu Valley. Shakya refers to king Vrisadeva as the disciple of Shantishila *Bhikshu*. With the instructions of Shantishila *Bhikshu*, he covered Svayambhu *Jyotirupa* which existed from primordial time being worshipped by the people and gave it to *Caitya* form. After the construction of the *Caitya* the king himself became priest in the beginning and later he entrusted this responsibility to Shakya *Bhikshu Vande* as mentioned above. [99] He made Sauhava *Caitya* (Maha Bauddha *Caitya* of Patan), Subimukha *Caitya* at Bandegram. The second inscription which refers toVrisadeva is the Changu Narayan inscription of Licchavi king Manadeva dated 464 A.D. (*Saka Samvat 386*). It is a eulogy of Vrisadeva. The third inscription which praises him highly in the Pashupati inscription of Jayadeva II of Licchavi dynasty dated 735 A.D. (*Samvat* 157). In this inscription Vrisadeva's ephithet as

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95. Min Bahadur Shakya, *Arya Guna karanda Vyuha Sutra,* (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1997), p. 19.
96. Bajracharya, f.n. No. 4, p. 19.
97. Singh, f.n. No. 48, p. 19.
98. Vajracharya, f.n, No. 26, pp. 74-78.
99. Shakya, f.n. No. 49, p. 94.

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"*Rajotama Sugatashasana Pakshyapati*" is mentioned. It categorically mentions that Vrisadeva was a super king or the best king following canons of Buddhism.[100] Scholars mention the coming of Shankaracharya to Nepal during the time of Vrisadeva. Rajendra Ram mentions that *Aadhya* (first Shankaracharya) was the contemporary of Shantarakshita who had his career from (788-820 A.D). Jnanamani Nepal writes that the *Aadhya* Shankaracharya was born in 844 and died in 877 in India. So he belonged to later period. He writes that Shankaracharya's visit to Nepal during the time of Vrisadeva is fictitious. It does not talley with the time of Shankaracharya.[101] Moreover, it is also argued that Santarakshita's *Tattvasangraha* which enlist the names of contemporary saints of other sects does not mention Shankaracharya. *Vamsavali* mentions different legends about the work of Shankaracharya during the reign of Vrisadeva. Vrisadeva is referred to as a Buddhist king who made many images of the Buddha and Buddhist *Viharas*. One legend mentions that Baudhacharyas made *Sadhana* (invocation) of *Harita Vrishava* (green bull) and create *Akshyaya Bhandar* (endless treasure). They offer food including alcohol and food they eat to Pashupati. Every morning they clean it and worship the deity. Shankaracharya is said to have removed this process. He is also said to have defeated the Buddhists in the religious discussions. So they fled to Tibet. He is also referred as denouncing the Buddhists and he started the tradition of worshipping Pashupatinath by the Brahmins of south India. All these accounts seem totally false. Nepal mentions that *Tantric Vamachar* was practiced during the time of Vrisadeva. *Nitya Shodashi Arnava Tantra* preserved in the National Archives mentions that the *Tantra* was practiced during that time. Vrisadeva was the contemporary of Chandra Gupta II of Gupta dynasty in the 5th century A.D.[102] The Indian history reveals that in the later ancient and early medieval period, the conflict between Buddhism and Hinduism continued.

Vrisadeva's son and successor Shankerdeva also (415-440 A.D.) made land endowment to Svayambhu *Vihara*. Like his father, Shankerdeva was also devoted to Buddhism. He constructed *Dharmashala*, (inn), rest houses and road to Svayambhu. He also offered

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100. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, p. 549, SVP, p. 92.

101. Jnanamani Nepal, *Nepalko PurvaMadyakalko Itihas* (History of Nepal of Early Medieval Period), (Kirtipur : Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1997 A.D,( 2054 V.S .), pp. 82-83.

102. Jnanamani Nepal, *Pashupatinathko Darshan Sparsan, Poojan Sambandhama Samikshya* (Review relating to homage, touching and worshipping of Pashupatinath) (Kathmandu : Mahesh Raj Pant, 1986 A.D (2043 V.S.), pp, 18-19.

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*Chhatra* (Umbrella) to Svayambhu *Caitya* to enhance the merits of his father.[103] A legend shows that Manadeva killed his father Dharmadeva unknowingly. He simply followed the order of his father and killed a person lying before a stone spout. The person was no other than his father Dharmadeva. According to this legend, Manadeva constructed Bauddhanath *Stupa* in order to atone of the fratricidal sin committed by him. Manadeva also composed a hymn of Bauddhanath. As there was no rain for twelve years, water had to be collected from *Khasu* (frost) and make the *Stupa*. So in local language the *Caitya* is also called *Khasu Caitya* for water had to be collected from the frost very difficultly. There is another legend related to the *Caitya*. It is stated that Pya-edsi-ma or Kanchuma was a foul keeper. She decided to build a large *Stupa* in honour of *Tathagata*. She made a trick to get permission of the king. She requested the king for a piece of land which would be covered by a small piece of leather. The king granted permission. She cut the leather into thread like piece and extended over the land. Thus she occupied extensive land and made a great *Stupa*. When the incumbents complained the king about it the latter told that he had already spoken or given words i.e. *'ka-sor'*. It is also mentioned that a drone measure of relics of Kashyapa Buddha are there in the *Garbhagriha* (womb of the *Stupa)*. Kashyapa Buddha was one of the seven human Buddhas as mentioned earlier. The *Stupa* in general term represents the mind aspect *Dharmmakaya* of the Buddha. The thirteen spires symbolize thirteen stage of *Bodhisattva*. The two eyes and *Urna* painted on *Hermika* of the *Stupa* show the feature of Newar *Stupa* structure which symbolizes wisdom, compassion and the third eye. In other words, between the two eyes a circular mark represents a characteristic mark of perfectly enlightened Buddha. As such the *Stupa* architecture exhibits Nepalis architectural design but some ideals relate with the Tibetan legend.

A legend refers to Padmasambhava, and Thri Shrong Detson who were the sons of the mother foul keeper, Kanchuma in their previous birth, Bauddhnath *Stupa* is related with lhe legends of Nepal, Tibet and India because Kashyapa Buddha was from Benares, India. Regarding the legend of Manadeva relating to fatricidal incident Dhanavajra assumes that the death of Dharmadeva might have occured all of a sudden because at the time of the death of Dharmadeva Rajyavati was worshipping the deity. In Changu Narayan inscription, Mandeva had depicted his father as an ideal king. But Vaidya

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[103]. Shakya, f.n. No. 49, p. 94.

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mentions Manadeva as a fatricidal king. [104] On the basis of the hymn composed by Manadeva the *Stupa* seems to have been built in the fifth century A.D. although Shivadeva-I is attributed for its construction on the basis of *Gopalraja Vamsavali.*

### 3.6.3. Manadeva (464-505 A.D.)

*Vamsavali* mentions that Manadeva made Mana *Vihara* after his name. The Svayambhu inscription mentions the words *"Shree Mana Vihare"*. The construction of Mana *Vihara* indicates Manadeva's respect to Buddhism. The inscription also mentions that Svayambhu was developed as a religious shrine during Licchavi period.[105] G. Verardi writes "The Licchavi linage offered by Manadeva in his *Prasasti* as *Bhagvata* shows that he was a Vaishnavite. Reference of Hari is made at the beginning of the *Prasasti* at Doladri. [106] Satya Mohan Joshi referring *Manaka* coin mentions that the image of lion and king's name incised on one side and image of Devi seated on the throne and Bhogini on the other shows that Manadeva was a devotee of Goddess or *Shakti.*[107] Verardi mentions common elements between *Bhagavatas*, Shaivites and the Buddhists.[108]

He built *Cakra Vihara* near *Maitrirajya Caitya* in Patan. The complete name of the monastery is *Manadeva Sanskarit- Chakra Mahavihara.*[109] In the reign of Manadeva Buddhism, Vaishnavism, Shaktism, Shaivism all sects were equally respected. Religious toleration was the main feature of the day. The *Gopalraja Vamsavali* mentions that Manadeva's time for 41 years. The *Vamsavali* also mentions that he performed severe penance at the summit of *Gun Vihara.*There were other *Viharas* too.

### 3.6.4. Anuparam's Attitude towards Buddhism

During the Licchavi period the rise of Buddhism was not tolerable to the *Bhagavatas.* Some Abhira Guptas were orthodox Bhagavatas. *"Bhagavato Dvaipayanasya*

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104. T.R.Vaidya, "Death of Dharmadeva", Nepal: *A Study of Socio-Economic and Political Changes,* (New Delhi : Anmol Publications, 1992), pp. 219-227.

105. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, pp. 74-78, *Raj Bhogamala Vamshavali, Ancient Nepal,* (Kathmandu : DOA, No 8, 1969), p. 16.

106. Verardi, f.n. No. 22, p.6.

107. Joshi, f.n. No. 77, p. 6.

108. Verardi, f.n. No. 22, p. 32. Verardi writes- Early Buddhism had certain features in common with innovative movements such as Bhagavatism and Shavite sects. Otherwise it would be hard for the central position occupied by the problem of establishing who the true Brahmana was Vishnu was identified with *Surya* (Sun) and *Surya* was linked with Amitabha Buddha.

109. Min Bahadur Shakya, *A short History of Buddhism in Nepal,* (Lalitpur : Young Buddhist Publication, 1986 A.D). p. 11.

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*Strotrangakrita*" inscribed in the Garud pillar inscription at the Satyanarayana temple complex shows that the *Bhagavatas* opposed the Buddhists. It is clear that Anuparam composed Dvipayana hymn. Anuparam was the son of Paramabhimani, husband of Abhiri Gomini and father of *Mahasamanta* of Bhauma Gupta as mentioned in the Pashupati inscriptioon dated 540 A.D.(*Samvat* 462 ). During the reign of Basantadeva Gupta Abhirs had become powerful. The Gupta Abhirs were supporters of *Vedic* rituals. Anuparama composed Dvaipayana hymn because Dvaipayana authored *Mahabharata* and *Vedanta Sutra* (*Brahma Sutra*). During the Licchavi period *Mahabharata* was very popular in Nepal. Anuparama was a great scholar. Influenced by *Vedanta Sutra*, he was opposed to the opponents of *Vedanta Sutra*. The Buddhists were opposed to the concept that *Vedas* are divine revelation. According to them it was composed by the sages. The Buddhists were also opposed to Vedic rituals. They believed on *Nairatma (*no soul) theory. Therefore Anuparam condemned the Buddhists as atheists, illogical, foolish and evil minded in his Dvaipayana hyumn.

With regards to the contents of the Satya Narayan Garud pillar inscription, D.R. Regmi remarked-"if Vyasa had not used his force of knowledge of the followers of *Sugata* (Buddha) who enticed the people by false arguements with evil designs, would have been successful by misleading the world. But he forced them out and maintained social order. Vyasa also restored the authority of Manu, Yama, Vrihaspati and Sukra apart from composing *Mahabharat,* the great book. It indicated the condemnation by neo orthodoxy *Sutras Pancharatras.*[110] See Appendix III.

Verardi writes-that the (Satyanarayana) inscription, which is undated, is usually assigned to the 6th century A.D.on the basis of identification of Anuparama, recorded in the last verse with his son Bhauma Gupta, the Chief Minister at the time of Ganadeva.[111] In the time of Ganadeva, Bhauma Gupta had taken the epithet of *Mahapratihara Mahasarvadandanayeka* and *Shree*. Bhauma Gupta had become very powerful after Ravi

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[110]. Verardi, f.n. No. 22, pp. 162-163. Verardi writes- The Garud pillar placed in the complex of Satyanarayana temple Hadigaon bears the longest and finest verse of Licchavi period with the exception of Manadeva's inscription of Changu. It is unique hymn in praise of Dvipayana, the mystical Brahman figure endowed with vast wisdom, who among a number of works, is also credited with Mahabharat.He is also known as (Veda) Vyas i.e.the sage who explains the Vedas, and significiently Vedic orthodoxyundrelines the whole text.

[111]. D.R. Regmi, *Medieval History of Nepal, Vol. III,* (Calcutta : Firma K.L Mukhopadyaya, 1966), pp. 71-72.

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Gupta. The status of Anuparama, the father of Bhauma Gupta is unknown.[112] Scholars mention that Buddhism had to face strong opposition of Vaishnavism. Satya Narayan temple complex inscription of Anuparam is referred to in this context. Shanker Man Rajbanshi writes Bhauma Gupta was son of Anuparma, belonged to the line of Gupta dynasty. They had migrated to Nepal. Anuparam married Abhiri Gomin who established *Chausathi Linga* at Pashupati known as *Anuperameshvara Shivalinga* in 518 A.D. (*Saka Samvat* 440). It shows that Anuparam belonged to the beginning of the sixth century A.D. because he was already dead in 518 A.D. Anuparam was the grand father of Jishnu Gupta. Shivadeva I had removed Bhauma Gupta with the help of Amshuvarma. During the reign of king Vamanadeva,

Anuparam was the staunch follower of *Vedic* religion. He denounced the Buddhists and supported the *Vedic* religion. However, all the Abhirs were not opposed to Buddhism. Mahendramati, who married Abhir Gomin followed Avalokiteshvara cult during the reign of king Ramdeva in 545-555 A.D. (*Samvat* 467-479). It is revealed from the inscription placed on the way to Lagan from Dharahara (south of *Gana Mahavihara*) as noted above. But it is clear that Licchavi period is marked by policy of toleration. Syncretism was the main feature of Licchavi period.

When Bhauma Gupta was in power in 573 A.D. (*Samvat* 495) Desha Varma's mother Desha Bhattaraka replaced the clay idols of *Matrikas* at *Shikubahi* located in between Vagmati and Manamati. It shows that *Shakti* cult was popular during the Licchavi period, before the the advent of Shivadeva I and Amshuvarma. Desha Varma was mentioned as *Dutaka* in the Khopasi inscription of Shivadeva and Amshuvarma. Desha Varma was opposed to Bhauma Gupta.[113]

### 3.6.5. Shivadeva's Policy towars the Buddhism

Quoting Wright edited *Vamsavali*, Bajracharya mentions that Shivadeva. I was initiated as *Bhikshu* and was initiated as Vajracharya after becoming *Bhiksu* for four days. He was conferred *Acharyabhishekh*. He built a *Vihara* and installed and image of Svayambhu *Caitya* and Sakya Simha Buddha. He built another *Vihara* for his *Guru Bhikshu*. Shivadeva I's (590-605 A.D.) inscription on the foothill of Vishnupaduka hill by the side

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[112]. *Ibid*, p. 184.

[113]. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, pp. 211-213.

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of Vishnumati mentions the prayer of Basudeva and Mahadeva. It indicates that attempts were made to bring about unity among the Godheads, i.e. unity between Vaishnavites and Shaivites in the reign of Shivadeva I. The image of Shankarnarayana of his reign also indicates the unity in the God's head.[114] During the reign of Shivadeva I, Buddhism, Shaivism, Vaishanavism and Shaktism were popular in Nepal. Buddhism came in equal status with Shaivism. The Swami Varta's inscription of Pashupati dated 565 A.D. (*Samvat* 487) indicates that attempts were made for the religious syncretism. The images of *Ardha Gaurishvara* (*Ardhanarishvara*), *Shankarnarayana*, in the time of Ganadeva and Bhauma Gupta testify the religious policy of the days.[115] Shivadeva I had followed the policy of toleration in religion. It was a solace to the Buddhists. His synretic policy is also demonstrated in the Vishnupaduka inscription. A *Vamsavali* mentions that Shivadeva I renunciated in favour of Amshuvarma after being *Bhikshu*. Shivadeva-I is also credited to have constructed Bauddhnath shrine.[116] In this context Hit Narayan Jha rightly comments that the Licchavi king Shivadeva I followed the policy of religious toleration.

### 3.6.6. Amshuvarma's Policy of Syncretism

Satya Mohan Joshi writes- "We find the signs like *Kalash* (auspicious pitcher) and cow along with calf in the coins of Amshuvarma which show that he was the devotee of Goddess Laxsmi.[117] In Nepal cow is worshiped as Laksmi and *Kalash* symbolizes power. Verardi is of the view that Amshuvarma (576-620 A.D.) was both Pashupata and defacto ruler. Pradhan places him in between (610-621 A.D.). While the legitimate Licchavi rulers resided in Managriha based on *Bhagavatakula* system, he built himself the *Kailashkut Bhavan*, the architype of which is Mount Kailash (Lord Shiva's abode.) He rose to power with the support of the Brahmanas of Pashupati. In his time, the Buddhists had innovative as well as syncretic movement as the common feature of Bhagavatism and

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114. *Ibid*, pp. 214-224. Bajracharya, f.n. No. 4. pp. 24-25; The account of the Buddhist chronicle seems imaginative because Pradhan writes the Vajrasattva (the imaginative Buddha's) concept developed by 700 A.D. Pradhan f.n. No. 3, p. 144.
115. *Ibid*, pp. 198-199.
116. Hit Narayan Jha, *The Licchavi of Vaisali*, (Varanashi, Chowkhamba : Sanskrit Series Office, 1970), p. 187. Jha writes that the Licchavi of Nepal in whose veins the warm blood of religious toleration of their ancestors of Vaisali allowed the efflorescence of various ideas with which the people of the country were acquainted.
117. Joshi, f.n. No. 77, p. 7.

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Shaivism. Amshuvarma (605- 621 A.D.) followed the policy of religious syncretism. It is testified by the Hadigoan inscription of Amshuvarma dated 608 A.D. (*Samvat* 32). The inscription mentions that Amshuvarma allocated 6 *Puranas* 2 *Panas* to Lord Pashupati Nath, Dolashikharaswami (Changu Narayana) *Gunvihara, Shree Manavihara, Shree Rajviihara, Madhyamvihara* and *Kharjurikavihara* each. In the same way he allocated *3 Puranas 1 Pana* each to other *Viharas* in general. The same amount (3 *Purana* and 1 *Pana*) was allocated to the deities like Rameshvara, Hansagrihadeva, Maneshvera, Sambhapur, deities located beyond Vagmati, Daramanesvara, Bhubhukikajalasayana, 2 *Puranas* 2 *Panas* were allocated to other deities of the temples Shree Bhattaraka (reigning king) got 6 *Puranas and* 2 *Panas.* The *Gosthi* (members of the trust) got 2 *Puranas* 2 *Panas*. Brahmanas and other persons were given 1 *Purana.*[118] This indicates that Amshuvarma treated Shaivite, Vaishanivite and Buddhist deities in equal footing. He gave equal grant to Shiva, Vishnu and the Buddha. It is remarked that in the Hindu kingdom Buddhism commanded equal respect. Thus Amshuvarma followed the policy of syncretism.

The Hadigoan and other inscriptions of Amshuvarma mention the epithet *Bhagavatapashupatibhattaraka Padanudhyata, Bappapadanugrihita.* Hit Narayan Jha gives religious views of Amshuvarma.[119] Vajrayana Buddhism was widely popular during the time of Amshuvarma. Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Buddhism, Shaktism were current in his reign. The Gokarna inscription inscribed on a stone which was used to make sandal wood paste showed the term ' *Jrayan 'bhuCaitya Bhattaraka* which are taken as the clear indication of the popularity of 'Vajrayana' and worship of 'Svayambhu *Caitya Bhattaraka'* during his reign.[120] Citing the *Gopalraja Vamsavali*, Bajracharya

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[118]. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26. pp, 320 -321.

[119]. Jha, f.n. No. 116, pp. 148-149, Jha says- "Although deeply devoted to the feet of Lord Shiva Amsuvarma was free from religious malice. No religious sect is ever found to have been intervened by him. On the contrary people were given complete freedom in the matter of religious views. The religious organisations were to manage uninteruptedly all endowments with the help of the committees or *Panchalis* or *Pancayats*. Thus the *Bhikshu Sangha* issued orders to its members and did the work of coordination of the varied activities of the monasteries.

[120]. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, pp. 370-37. Scholars ascribe the beginnig of Vajrayana Buddhism along with the starting of *Mantra* vehicle in Buddhism even before Lord Buddha. Probably it might have remained in rudimentary form at that time.In the 5th century *Tantrism* developed along with Mantrayana. In the time of Acharya Shantideva, Vajrayana was highly developed in India. *Acharya* Shantideva is also nick named as *Bhusuku* (Eater like glutten). Acharya Shantideva had composed many texts on *Tantra*. Among them the most famous *Tantra* is *Guhya Samaj Tantra Balibidhi*. It is a popular text among the Vajracharyas of Nepal. *Acharya* Shantideva was one of the eighty four *Siddhas* of Asian regions in general.

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mentions that Amshuvarma made *Rajvihara*.[121] Bhadra Ratna Vajracharya mentions Buddhism as the *Rajakiya Dharma* (State religion) during the reign of Amshuvarma.[122] Moreover, Shivadeva and Amshuvarma's Lele inscription refers grant given to the different *Gosthi* religious trusts and others which looked after religious and cultural activities.) [123]

The Pharping inscription mentions "*Om Svatanuvasushish karadidanairupa krita marthijanasyayena*" (*Bodhisattva* who donated his own body, property, head and hand for the welfare of the people). The extract shows Amshuvarma's attitude to Buddhism. It indicates clearly the ultruistic nature of the Buddha. The other word *Aryavas* indicates *Vihara* of Pharping. Amshuvarma made a stone spount for drinking water to the *Bhikshus* living with *Vihara* of Pharping.[124]

It shows patronage of the Licchavi king to Buddhim. The Chapa Tole inscription of Patan supposed to be the inscription of the time of Amshuvarma mentions the existence of *Bhikshuni Sangh* (organization of nuns). A donor named *Bhogini* Mrigini donated land for the restoration of *Gandhakuli* (a *Vihara* for nuns).[125] The kings and the people were also devoted to the Buddhism. We get the title of Mrigini as of *Paramopasika* (a staunch devotee) of the Buddha. She gave land endowment to a *Gandhakuti* (a particular *Vihara*). It consisted of 160 *Bhumi* (86 *manikas*).the endowment of the land was given for the repairment and maintenance of the *Vihara* of *Bhikhsuni Sangh*. They indicate that the monks and nuns practiced Buddhism in the Licchavi period and had good sources for their maintenance. The laities too donated most liberally to the *Bhukshu* and *Bhikshuni Sanghas* in addition to the patronage of the Lichchavi rulers to such organisations. It was a *Mahayana Bhikshuni Sangh*. We get reference of *Bhikshuni Sangh* at Mushum Bahal

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121. Bajracharya, f.n. No. 4, p. 20.

122. Bhadra Ratna Vajracharya," Buddha Dharma lai Samanata", (Equality to Buddhism), *Silver Jublee Issue*, (Lalitpur : 2000 A.D (2057 V.S). p. 60, Vajracharya writes- "It got financial support from the government. As a result of it *Manavihara, Rajvihara, Khajurikavihara, Chaturbhavasanvihara, Puspikavihara* were given grant by the government.

123. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, p. 284. The Lele inscription mentions - Ten *manika* to members of *Baditya Gosthi* (members who play musical instruments) eight *manika* to members of *Pradeepa Gosthi*, (members who illuminate the temple), seven *manika* to the members of *Dhoja Gosthi*, eight *manika* to *Pranali* gosthi (spout) again eight and seventeen *manika* to *DhojaGosthins*, Four *manika* to *Acharniya Gosthsi*. The allocation of these expences from the govement indicates that religious activities were most lively and supported by the government during the Licchavi period. Such provisions seem still in practice in Nepal.

124. *Ibid*, pp. 368-369.

125. *Ibid*. p. 382.

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Kathmandu belonging to this period.[126] Amshuvarma's reign is very important in the history of Buddhism in Nepal. At the top of Bungamati inscription sign of *Chakra* (discus) is inscribed. It is regarded as the wheel of Buddhist canon.[127]

The chronicle records Amshuvarma as a very strong limbed, restless and people feared his power. To his piety and learning Hiuen Tsang testifies it in a brief reference to Nepal with which the written history of the kingdom begins. [128] On the basis of the script of Svayambhu inscription inscribed on the ground of the temple of Pratappur, the inscription is identified as of the time of Amshuvarma. The inscription mentions the term *Sambuddha Jagatguru*. It records- "Entreat to *Sambuddha Jagatguru* Buddha. Whatever merit I get from it, let all sentient beings get Buddhahood. It also mentions land endowment for worshipping Buddha. It mentions a *Guthi* (trust) for the worship of the image of Buddha." [129]

Hiuen Tsang visited Lumbini, Kapilvastu, Ramagrama, after the death of Amshuvarma. He had heard of Amshuvarma's wealth of knowledge and the sagacity of his mind. His reputation was spread all over. Bajracharya writes - "Besides the local sources, the Chinese source said "In Nepal there were Buddhist monasteries and Deva temples touching each other. There were two thousand Buddhist ecclesiastics attached to the both vehicles and number of non Buddhist was ascertained. The kings of Nepal were Ksatriya Licchavis and they were eminent scholars who believed in Buddhism. A recent king whose name is Ang-shu-Fa-Ma (Ansuvarma) in Chinese "Kuang Chou" had composed a treatise on Etymology."[130]

### 3.6.7. Hiuen Tsang's Account

Hiuen Tsang has greatly appreciated Amshuvarma in his account. Hiuen Tsang had passed from Lumbini, Kapilvastu and Ramgram in 636 A D. In his account Amshu - Varma is mentioned as former King.[131] "The Valley is referred to also by Li-I-piao and

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126. *Ibid*, pp. 182-183 and 507.
127. Shakya, f.n. No. 49, p. 104, Vajracharya f.n. No. 26, p. 290.
128. Landon, f.n. No. 46, p. 23.
129. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, pp. 384-385.
130. Bajracharya, f.n. No. 4, p.59.
131. Samuel Beal (edt), *Travels of Hiuen Tsang*, (Calcutta : Sushil Gupta (India) Pvt. Ltd, 1958), pp. 319, Hiuen Tsang writes-Lately there was a king called Anchufamo (Amsuvarma) who was distinguished

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Wang Hiuen-tse too." The account shows that in 636 A.D., King Bhimarjunadeva was Buddhist and both sects of Buddhism were practiced in Nepal.

### 3.6.8. Propogation of Buddhism in Tibet

It is stated that Nepal is credited for enlightening Tibet by propagating Buddhism in Tibet. However Ramesh Raj Kunwar writes that a Tibetan king named Te-to-ri was the first who introduced Buddhism in Tibet. Two hundred years after To-to-ri.'s rule i.e. towards the 7th century Srong Tsan Gampo, the king of Yarlun dynasty unified Tibet and Buddhism got royal patronage. Reading and writing started in Tibet. Srong Tsan Gampo married Nepalis and Chinese princess. Akshobhya, Maitreya and Tara's images were brought to Tibet from Nepal.[132] It indicates the spread of Mahayana-Vajrayana Buddhism in Tibet. Keith Dowmen writes that in the seventh century Gnam-ri- strong -besam subdued some tribes in between Nepal and Tibet. He conquered large areas of land. His son and heir Srong-tsan-Gampo was born in Gyama (627-650 A.D.). During his reign the Tibetan cavalry gained victory over Yarlun region. The Bonpo kingdom of Shang-Shung with its capital near Mt.. Kailash was subdued. The northern tribes were defeated.[133] Levi places Srong Tsan Gampo in between 618- 650 A.D.[134] Hari Ram Joshi writes that Srong Tsan Gampo also defeated Chinese Emperor Tai-Tsung. Tibetan legends attribute him that he threatened Celestial Emperor's capital Chang-an. The Chinese princess Wentchen was married with him reluctantly in 641 A.D.[135] It is stated that Nepalis king in that situation thought of making alliance with Tibet, gave the princess in marriage to Srong-

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for his learning and inguinuity. He himself had composed a work on "sounds" (*Sabdavidya*), his esteemed learning and respected virtue and his reputation was spread everywhere.

132. Ramesh Raj Kunwar, "Tibet Ra Nepalma Baudha Dharma ko Utpati Ra Vikas" (Origin and Development of Buddhism in Nepal and Tibet), *Ancient Nepal*, No 85, (Kathmandu : 1984-85), p. 9, Cf. Biba Roy Burman, *Religion and Politics of Tibet*, (New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House), 107, p. 33 : Tiley Chodag, (trans) W Tailing,Tibet, The Land And The People, (Beijing : New World Press, (First Edition), 1988), p. 78. Chodag writes - "Buddhism first penetrated Tibet when Songtsa Gampo's anscestor Lhato Tetori Nyantsan was at the age of sixty, around the 5th century.

133. Keith Dowman, *The Power Places of Central Tibet, The Pilgrims Guide*, (London : Routledge and Kegan Ltd. First published, 1988), pp. 17.

134. S. Levi, "Nepal" *Ancient Nepal*, No. 61-64, (Kathmand : DOA, 1980-1981), p. 15. Levi writes- "Srong-btsan agam-po was to be the Clovis and the Charlemagne of Tibet. (He conquered vast areas of land in Tibet) The Chinese call him Tehi-tsoung-loungtsan, the Tibetans Srong-btsan-agam-po. The Tibetan chronicles agree among themselves in fixing his birth in 618, his accession 629, his death in 698; but the annals of T'ang on the faith of official documents record his death in the year 650. The ordinary exatitude of the Chinese historians is here again confirmed by the testimony of Itsing and by other proofs. Srong-btsan-Gampo passes for an incarnation of *Bodhisattva*.

135. Joshi, f.n. No. 2, p.112.

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tsan-Gampo. It has remained a controversial issue among the historians. Landon appreciates the beauty of Bhrikuti and her contribution for the propogation of Buddhism in Tibet.[136] S. Levi also mentions Bhrikuti as a very beautiful princess.[137] Min Bahadur Shakya writes that princess Bhrikuti Devi also known as "Belmoza" Khri-btsum canonized as the white Tara, a saviouress of Tibetan people was instrumental in civilizing the Tibetans. He writes that that both Nepalis and Chinese princesses had faith on Buddhism. They influenced the Tibetan Emperor by high ideals of Buddhism and its philosophy. They played vital roles in laying the foundation of Buddhism in Tibet. For that reason both the queens are worshipped as the incarnations of Goddess *Tara*. The Tibetan Emperor is considered to be the incarnation of *Avalokiteshvara*. The Tibetan scholar Thonmi Sambhota is considered to be an incarnation of Manjushree. *Manika'bum*, Tibetan texts rG*yal rabs gsal bai*, *Melong* and others, (chronicle of Tibet) mention the influence of the Chinese and Nepalis princess on Srong Tsan Gampo in converting him to Buddhism. Srong Tsan Gampo married Bhrikuti around 633/34 A.D. She brought with her precious images of Aksobhya, Buddha, sandal wood Tara, Maitreya and *Avalokiteshvara*. In the capacity as senior queen, she built Jokhang, Potala palace. Srong Tsan Gampo commissioned the translation of *Karanda Vyuha Sutra, 100 Precepts, Ratna Megha Sutra* and others into Tibetans. He married Chinese princess Wenchen in 641 A.D. According to these texts Bhrikuti was the daughter of Weisher Gocha which literally means Nepalis king. He may be either Amshuvarma or Udayadeva. Udayadeva was in exile from 621-641 A.D. The matrimonial relation with Tibet helped Narendradeva to regain power. Besides the Tibetan sources, we do not get local sources

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136. Landon, f.n. No. 46, p. 28. Landon writes- "The beauty of the princess Bribtsun, daughter of Amshuverman enthralled the stranger, and without any recorded opposition on the part of her father, he carried her off as his bride to his new capital Lhasa in 630. He brought away from Nepal more than he knew : for Brit-btsum helped, if we may believe the legend, by several images and a wonder working begging boul of lapislazuli that had once belonged to the master himself-introduced Buddhism into her husband's country- of which for the last thirteen hundred years it has been recognized home".

137. Levi, f.n. No 134, p. 16 Levi writes- "The princess whose hand he solicited to marriage was then sixteen years old; her complexion was pure, the lines of her faces announced a marvelous destiny, she was perfectly virtuous and very beautiful; the perfection of her whole person left nothing to desire; her mouth exhaled the perfume of the blue lotus; she dominated by her delicateness and her grace. Her name was Lha-goig (the princess) Britbtsun (Vrikuti) of Balbo (Nepal)". S.Levi mentions further - "The Tibetan had too pressing arguments at the services of his matrimonial diplomacy to fear a refusal. Amshuvarman welcomed his request and gave him his daughter. He had not the forecions stuborness of the Rajputs of Chitpr, so dear to Hindu legends and who preferred being buried in the ruins of their town rather than give one of the daughters of their caste to a foreingn prince.

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on Bhrikuti.[138] To sum up Levi's accounts further, the princess Wenchen also brought her images and her books of Buddhist piety. Shila Manju also had gone to Tibet with Bhrikuti. The images brought by Nepalis princess were enshrined in the Jho Khang Bahi (monastery) in Lhasa. *Acharya* Shila Manju became the teacher of Srong-Tsan-Gampo. He carried with him a considerable works with him relating to Buddhism and its philosophy.[139] Waddell mentions that "Nepalis princess was always given the first place and precedence over the Chinese wife". The Annals of Tang also mention the marriage of Srong-Tsan-Gampo with Bhrikuti and Wenchen in 639 and 641 A.D.[140] Vijay K.Manandhar writes- "the marriage was of great cultural importance to Tibet, for it introduced law, religion, art and architecture to Tibet, the land of (*Dharma*) religion. Tibetan tradition considers the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet to have begun with the visits of these two consorts to Srong Tsan Gampo." [141]

Srong-Tsan Gampo had sent Thonmi Sambhota to study script with *Pandit* Devavid Sinha (or Sinha Ghosa) in India. Sambhota returned to Tibet with several books and the so called Tibetan alphabet by means of which he reduced the Tibetan Language to writing and composed for this a grammer. Thonami Sambhota translated some basic Buddhist scriptures. Joshi mentions the name of the scholars employed by Srong Tsan Gampo.[142] Referring a very forceful legend, Hit Narayan Jha writes that Bhrikuti, whose father is named as Gocha, was a princess of Nepal who was married to Srong Tsan Gampo. Jha adds that while going to her husband's country, she carried with her the images of Aksobhya, Maitreya and Tara for whom temples were constructed in the heart of Lhasa. She is remembered and worshipped by the Tibetans as a Buddhist deity and is called *Harita Tara*. Jha writes that the story of Bhrikuti has led some scholars to believe that she was the daughter of Amshuvarma. But in reality she seems to have been the daughter of Udayadeva and sister of Narendradeva who in order to seek the help of

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138. Min Bahadur Shakya, *Nepalese Princess Brikutidevi*, (Delhi : Book Faith India, 1997), pp. 35-90. Shakya also refers it his paper entitled, "Buddhism in the Himalaya, Its Expansion and Present Day Aspects" presented on the occasion of Unesco's Integral Study of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogues, (Kathmandu : LDT and Netnatcom, September 21-30 1995 A.D.), pp. 7-8.

139. Joshi, f.n. No. 2, pp. 112-113.

140. Waddell, *Buddhism and Lamaism*, (Kathmandu : Educational Enterprises (Pvt) Ltd, Reprint 1978), p. 23.

141. Manandhar, f.n. No. 35, p. 31.

142. Joshi, f.n. No. 2, p. 113. Joshi mentions- "Srong-Tsan Gampo appointed scholars like Pandit Kumara from India, Shila Manju from Nepal, Tabuta & Ganuta from Kashmir, Madlav from China and a Tibetan scholar Thonmi and his disciple Dharmakosh to translate the treatises of Buddhism.

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powerful ruler, Srong Tsan Gampo, would have liked to establish the marital relations for such political motives are well known in history.[143] Jha highlights the importance of the marital relationship between Nepal and Tibet.[144] His assumption of the marriage of Bhrikuti with Srong Tsan Gampo after the time of Amshuvarma seems more realistic. In 621 A.D. Amshuvarma was dead as already mentioned in Tundikhel inscription. Jnanamani Nepal orally communicates- "when Udayadeva took asylum in Tibet, Bhrikuti was one of the member of his family. At that time she might have been married with Srong Tsan Gampo."

According to Pradhan, Bhrikuti's marriage with Srong Tsan Gampo took place in about 640 A.D. and she was the daughter of Udayadeva.[145] The controversial aspect of the history may be solved with the aid of Tibetan and Nepalis sources. *Lha-gling Khri-btsun* may be the daughter of Udayadeva. Name of Nepalis king is not catagorically mentioned. Bhrikuti's father's name in Tibetan term is Weisher Gocha. He may be Udayadeva or any other name. As a senior queen, Bhrikuti made Jokhang temple and two temples viz. *Skyer-chu-lha khang* of Paro and *Byams-pai Lha Khang* at Bumthang of Bhutan. She was supposed to have been assisted by Wenchen to construct these temples. While in exile in between 621-641 Udayadeva had matrimonial relation with Srong Tsan Gampo. The marriage took place in between 637-641 A.D. as per Tang Annals. This cemented Nepal's relation with Tibet. With the help of the Tibetan king and support of Nepalis people Narendradeva, son of Udayadeva regained his lost power. It is attested by Bhansar Chowk inscription of Patan Durbar dated 643 A.D. (*Sambat* 67). Thus Bhrikuti's status as the daughter of Udayadeva and sister of Narendradeva could be established in view of Nepal's relation with Tibet and the consequtive events that took place in Nepal during the time.

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143. Jha, f.n. No.116, p. 159.

144. *Ibid*, p. 159-160. Jha writes- "Had there been no such connection between the two dynasties of Nepal and Tibet the later would not have helped the former without forcing him (the former) to accept his complete overlordship and intereference. But the lack of such an attitude from the side of the Tibetan rulers and assuming the highest sounding title of *Parambhattaraka Mharajadhiraja* by Narendradeva distinctly suggest that there had been in reality that marriage intercourse".

145. Pradhan f.n. No. 3, p. 99.

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### 3.6.9. Jisnugupta and Vishnugupta's Policy towards Buddhism

Pashupati inscription of Jayadeva II dated 733 A.D. (*Samvat* 157) indicates that Vasantadeva was followed by Udayadeva.[146] After the death of Amshuvarma, Jishnugupta placed Dhruvadeva on the throne by removing Udayadeva as did his grand father Bhaumagupta. Jisnhnugupta enjoyed extraordinary power. Tang annals inform that Udayadeva was later dethroned by his younger brother.[147] The Guptas became the defacto rulers of the country. Not being satisfied with the royal title of *Pashupatibhattaraka Padanudhyata,* Jishnugupta showed his arrogance by calling his son Vishnugupta *Yuvaraj*.[148]

Citing Satya Mohan Joshi, it is mentioned that Jishnu Gupta's coin incised the image of bull just below the word *Jishnu Guptashya* on one side while on the other side is the image of *Vajra*. The bull is the vehicle of Lord Shiva and it is the symbol of religion too. *Vajra* is the symbol of Vajrayana. [149]

During the time of Bhimarjunadeva and Jishnu Gupta 633 A.D. Vajrayana was popular in Nepal. The term *Vajra* means destruction of ignorance and light that illuminates. Vajrayana aims at *Nirvana* (summum bonum) through *Bodhi Jnana* (enlightenment) by removing ignorance, defilements and worldly desire. By 700 A.D. people had belief that evils and natural calamities could be averted through desire, the exercise of *Yoga* (meditation) and recitation of *Mantra* by removing ignorance, defilements. It was mentioned that *Jnana* (intelligance) could be attained through *Mantrayana* from imaginary Buddha Vajrasatva. Buddhahood could be attained in this life. *Citta (*mind) is related with three *Dharma i.e. Citta* by *Yentra, Mandala*, *Vac* (speech) by *Mantra* and body by *Aasana* and *Mudra*. The practioners attained *Siddhis* by exorasion of the terrible Gods and Goddesses through spells, *Mandala* and *Mudra*. The *Tantric* ritual demanded frequent worship, sacrificial offerings to a supreme primordial Buddha, God and super human Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas*, together with their female energies, mostly demonical. *Vajra* is the symbol of *Bodhi Jnana* (entightenment) or *Sunyata Budhicitta* to

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146. Vajracharya, f.n. No 26, p. 548.
147. Jha, f.n. No. 116, p. 150.
148. *Ibid,* p. 151.
149. *Ibid,* p. 151.

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demonstrate great compassion, *Maha Sukha* (extreme happiness and realization of *Mahamudra*).[150]

### 3.6.10. Narendradeva (643- 679 A.D.) and Buddhism

In the history of Buddhism during the Licchavi period, king Narendradeva's reign is very important. The earliest inscription of Narendradeva is the Bhansarchowk (Patan Durbar) inscription dated 643 A.D. (*Samvat* 67). We have his inscriptions up to 679 A.D. (*Samvat* 103). He ruled for a long period of more than 36 years. To quote Hit Narayan Jha, Jisnu Gupta was consolidating his power aiming at final capture of the throne itself. Narendradeva had to remain hidden.and ultimately he went to Tibet.[151] G.Verardi calls Narendradeva as a Buddhist king.[152] However it is known that after the death of Amshuvarma, king Udayadeva had to take asylum in Tibet for his self-defence. Narendradeva had to spend his childhood in Tibet. He made his attempt to regain the lost power with the help of Tibet. The people of Yupagrama and *Dakshina* Koliyagram fully supported him in his attempt to regain power in Nepal. Thus, he could remove the dual government of Bhimarjunadeva and Vishnugupta by 641 A.D. (*Samvat* 65) to 643 A.D. (*Samvat* 67). Narendradeva's inscriptions are available from 643 A.D. (*Samvat* 67). The cultural relation cemented by Bhrikuti has great role to play in Nepal-Tibet relationship and its impact seemed visible in Nepalis polity. However, Hari Ram Joshi citing the Keshav Narayan Chowk inscription writes that Narendradeva had got people's support.in regaining power in Nepal. Therefore, Narendradeva granted different facilities to the people of *Yupagrama dranga* (city) and people of *Dakshina Koliyagrama* by granting local self government.[153]

Dhanavajra also supports this view. After the death of Amshuvarma, Udayadeva could not stand. Narendradeva, son of Udayadeva according to Pashupati inscription had to live in exile during his childhood. Being able and courageous person, he proved to be successful to regain his predecessor's claim over the throne of the kingdom of Nepal.

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150. Pradhan, f.n. No. 3, pp. 144-146: Austine Waddel, *Buddhism And Lamaism of Tibet*, (Kathmandu : Educational Enterprise (Pvt). Ltd., 1978 A.D.), p. 142.

151. Vajracharya, f.n. No, 26, p. 452, Jha , f.n, No. 114, p. 152.

152. Verardi, f.n. No. 22, p. 33. Verardi writes-Narendra had been placed by the Tibetans in 643 or 644 A.D. The impression we receive from the descriptions we have of him is of a Buddhist king attempting to reign over a "Hindu country". Verardi ads- The success of the Buddhists achieved in the 7th century Nepal at the level of court was due to the outside support from Tibet and China.

153. Joshi, f.n. No. 2, p. 405.

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Nepalis people both of *Yupagrama* and *Dakshina Koliyagrama* had fully supported him in his endeavour to regain his power. He also got help of Tibetan government in removing Bhimarjunadeva and Vishnu Gupta. Thus he ended the dual government up to 641 A.D. (*Samvat* 65). Hit Narayan Jha citing Tang annals credits Narendradeva for his deplomatic skill.[154]

The Chaysal Tole inscription of Narendra deva dated 671 A.D. (*Samvat* 95) shows that he ruled the country from *Bhadradhivas* palace. His eulogy is mentioned in the Anantalingeshvara inscription located to the south of Surya Vinayaka, Bhaktapur dated in between 656-665 A.D. (*Samvat* 80-89.)[155] This inscription describes him as modest, brave, courageous king, who possessed good conduct and power to rule. As Amshuvarma, he took the title of "*Pashupati Bhatarakapadanugrihita*" "*Bappapadanudhyata*".He made Shaivism as state religion and encouraged Buddhism and Vaishnavism also. His respect to Vaishnavism is evident from the Anantalingesvar inscription in which worship of *Lokapala Swami* is referred. *Lokapala Swami* is regarded as one of the four Narayanas of the Kathmandu Valley. Vaishnava deity is also known as *Lokapala Swami*.[156] The Lalitpur, Gairhidhara inscription gives account of the worship of *Vajreshvara Manadala* and gives direction to feed the Brahmans and the *Pashupatas*. This shows his liberal religious policy.[157] This inscription lays stress on *Jnanayoga* and *Karmayoga* in the guideline to the religious organizations. It shows that such ideas are getting importance in Shaivism and Buddhism. His Yagbahal inscription dated 679 A.D. (103 *Samvat*) mentions *Arya Bhikshu Sangh* and resources allocated to the *Sangh*. His Vajraghara inscription of Pashupati dated 679 A.D. (*Samvat* 103) mentions *Agrahara* (*Veertaland*) to Shivadeva *Vihara*. D.Wright edited Vamsavali gives account of a *Vihara*

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154. Jha, f.n. No.116, pp. 156-157. The Tang Annals furnish us with the information that he was given not only asylum but also valuable military help with which he was able to discomfort his foes and restore the throne, bringing thereby the final doom to his trecherous relatives, who were veritably serving as no more than the stooges of the nefarious Guptas from the political life of the country. Narendradeva revived the glory of the Licchavis. And thus he might be regarded as the saviour of the banner of the family. Faced with the unscrupulous enemies like the Guptas he had no other alternative than to seek help from out side. But, credit certainly goes to him for his diplomatic skill that he displayed in influencing the Tibetan potente to satisfy himself merely with the nominal annual tribute. Excepting this payment of the tribute, Narendradeva was apparently free deciding the destiny of his country and establishing intercourse with any country he liked. Although Tang Annals mentions the annual tribute, the contemporary Nepalese epigraphic evidences do not give any proof of that. It is only the Tang Annals claim without any historicity.

155. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, pp. 485-489.

156. *Ibid*, pp. 485-489.

157. *Ibid*, pp. 181-184.

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built by Narendradeva near Lumadhidevi. It is known as *Tirtha Vihara* /Tebahal. Bandhudatta placed Padmantaka Bhairva in *Tirtha Vihara*. It is stated that before the time of Narendradeva, Shashvat Vajra Vajracharya of *Mantra Siddhi Mahavihara* had established Vajradhara Mahankal at Tundikhel. Mahankal is regarded as the protector of *Vihara*. The Vajrayana Buddhist worship Mahakala who possesses all virtues of Vajrayana Buddhism. It indicates that Vajryana had become more popular during his reign.

### 3.6.11. Symbolism of Mahakala

To quotee Lama Ludru, Mahakala is a protector. The color of his body is dark blue symbolizing changeless *Dharmakaya*. His three eyes symbolize his clear comprehension of the three times and the manifistatins of the three bodies of Buddha. The crown of five skulls symbolizes the five poisons - anger, desire, ignorance, and jealousy and pride- transfered into five wisdoms. His six arms symbolize the completion of the six perfections, cutting of ego-attachement. The skull down filled with blood symbolizes the subjugation of evil ones. The rosary symbolizes his continuous activity for the benifit of beings. The *Damaru* (hand drum) symbolizes his power over the *Dakinis*. His trident symbolizes his power over the three spheres desire, form and formless. The lasso symbolizes his action of binding those who break their vows. His two feet symbolize means and wisdom. His left leg is straight and his right leg bent symbolize his accomplishment of benifit of self and others. The tiger skin, he wears symbolizes the purification of desire, the elepnent skin, and purification of pride; the snake, purification of anger. All other ornaments symbolize that he has the complete qualities of the Buddha.[158] Mahakala has Aksobhya Buddha in his crown. It is visible in the Mahakala image of Tundikhel. The Hindus worship the deity as *Mahankal* or *Sanideva*.

Citing *Vamsavalis* Sylvain Levi writes that the Brahmanic *Vamsavali* as well as the Buddhist *Vamsavali*, associate Narendradeva and Bandhudatta Acharya to the introduction of God Matsyendra Nath and both of them are in agreement regarding the date of this event, consigned in a memorical verse; the year 3623 of the *Kaliyuga* or 522

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158. Ven Lama Lodru, *Legend of Mahakala, Buddhist Himalaya*, Vol. IV No. 1 & 2, (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna institute of Buddhist Studies, 1992, p. 36.

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A.D.[159] "The Buddhist *Vamsavali* carries the whole expisode under the reign of Varadeva, son and successor of Narendradeva."[160] S.Levi mentions Narendradeva as devotee of Buddha. He says that this is apparent from the image of the Buddha which he wears as pendent.[161] *Gopalraja Vamsavali* mentions that Narendradeva ruled for thirty five years. Narendradeva and Bandhudatta Acharya established the chariot festival of *Bungamalokeshvara*.[162] Narendradeva is credited for bringing Matsyendra Nath to Nepal. The Buddhists deity is worshipped as *Padmapani Lokeshvara,* the rain God. Matsyendra Nath is also worshipped by Shaivites, Vaishnavites, Buddhists and Sun worshippers and it remains as a symbol of syncretism in Nepal. Matsyendra is regarded as the patron deity of Nepal at present. Its legend is very popular. This tradition of Matsyendra Nath is still continued in Nepal. Every year, His Majesty the king graces the occasion of *Bhoto Jatra* to show regards to the patron deity. The chariot festival of Matsyendra Nath is observed in Patan every year with pump and pleasure. The cult of Matsyendra began in the Licchavi period which shows syncretic religious belief during the Licchavi period.

Narendradeva thought of establishing diplomatic cultural relations with neighbouring countries where he found to have sent his own son with presents in 651 A.D.[163] Referring to the history of Tang Dynasty, Jha also mentions the route to Tibet from which the Chinese missions arrived.[164] Interaction of Nepal with China was through Tibet which is assumed to have been motivated by Buddhism. It is stated that Harsha Vardhana, the ruler of Thanesvara was also a devotee of Shiva. However he worshipped *Surya* (sun) and the Buddha. He organised Prayag Assembly in which Hiuen Tsang also participated. It is stated that in the Prayag Assembly gifts were given to ten thousand Buddhists. His elder brother, Rajya Vardhana was a Buddhist. He is referred as worshipping the Buddhas of the three realms. It indicates that Buddhism was flourishing in Nepal, India, Tibet and China in those days since the establishment of Nalanda University in the 5th

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159. S. Levi,"Nepal", *Ancient Nepal*, No. 61-64, (Kathmandu: DOA, 1980-1981, p. 23. Levi writes- "The introduction of Matsyendra Nath had perhaps been carried by a first reduction to the year 579 Caka which corresponds to 657 J.C. and 3758 of Kaliyuga".

160. *Ibid,* p. 24.

161. *Ibid,* p. 25.

162. Vajracharya and Malla, f.n. No. 7, p. 30.

163. Jha, f.n. No. 116, p.157.

164. *Ibid,* p. 157. Jha writes- Leading a mission to the court of Harsha Vardhana, Li-yi- Piao is said to have crossed the Kirroung Pass and reached Nepal in 643 A.D. Narendradeva received him. Another Chinese mission under the leadership of Wang Hiuen Tse passed through Deopatan in 646 A.D.

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century A.D. In the second half of the 7th century, Nalanda got prestige and authority. Itsing, who visited India between 672- 688 A.D gives information that Buddhism flourished and other religions existed side by side. Nepal lying between India and China was also on transit route. To quote Vijay K. Manandhar, King Narendradeva's envoy to the Chinese court is assumed to be Priyajiva.[165] After the death of Harsha Vardhana, when the Chinese Embassy was ill treated by Arjuna or Arunasva, Wang Hiuen Tse had to flee to Nepal. Nepal along with Tibet helped him in taking revenge. As a result of which Arjuna was defeated and sent to China as a prisoner. This is reference to an account of Wang Hiuen Tse. Wang Hiuen Tse returned to China in 648 A.D. The account reveals that the diplomatic relation of the time was cemented by the religious ideology such as belief in Buddhism. Writing about Narendradeva's leaning towards religion, Hit Narayan Jha writes that Narendradeva is found to have followed the old Licchavi traditions of toleration and respect for all Brahmanical and Buddhist deities. For the worship and maintenance of these deities, he donated liberally. Although dedicated deeply to the feet of Pashupatinatha and taking pride in himself for mentioning *Paramamahesvara*, he showed not the least reverence to the Buddha as is evident by the representation of the *Dharma Chakra* (Buddhist wheel) in some of his inscriptions. If the Buddhist legends are taken as true, his old age brought his recluse to a monastery.[166] Bajracharya mentions that king Narendradeva built a *Vihara* near Lomaridevi as mentioned above. He deputed his eldest son Padmadeva to become a *Vande* (*Bhikshu*) in Pingal *Vihara*. His second son, Ratnadeva was put under the guidance of Bandhudatta, a prominent Vajracharya residing in Tirtha *Vihara*. The third son Varadeva was proclaimed as the king. He built a separate *Vihara* at a distance of four miles to the east of the city known as *Alag-Bahala* where he lived. It is known as *Ak-Bahala* located at the southern end of Bhaktapur. He gave his old crown to his first daughter and a scripture, *Prajnaparamita* to his second daughter. During his reign, a minister was appointed to look after religion according to a mutilated inscription of Sankhu stated to be of the perood after Amshuvarma. The inscription also mentions the existence of *Maha Sanghika Bhikshu Sangh*.[167] The account of Wang Hiuen Tse testifies his reverence to Buddhism.

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165. Manandhar, f.n. No. 34, p. 50, Mahandhar cited *Usniya Dharini Sutra* is one of the bilingual inscriptions of the Sian museum inscribed in Kutila script of Sanskrit language. The Ms. gives the name of Nepalese envoy.
166. Jha, f.n.No.116, pp.161-163.
167. Bajracharya, f.n. No. 4, pp. 29-30.

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The account of Chinese envoy bears the testimony to the magnificence of the court of King Narendradeva.[168]

### 3.6.12. Shivadeva II and Buddhism

Narendradeva was followed by his son Shivadeva II (694- 705 A.D.) after 679 A.D. (*Samvat* 103) or before 685 A.D. (*Samvat* 109). The *Gopalraja vamsavali* also mentions Shivadeva after Narendradeva.[169] The Vamsavali mentions that Shivadeva II offered silver lotus to *Pashupati Bhattraka* and established *Nandisal Vihara* (Naksal *vihara*). He fed the *Bhikshus*. ("*Tena Pashupati Bhattarakaya Rajatapadman Nirmitam Nandisala Vihara Pratisthitam Bhikshu Bhojanasatrakritam*"). Pashupati inscription of 733 A.D. (*Samvat* 157) mentions Shivadeva II as son and successor of Narendradeva. In the history of Buddhism in Nepal, his reign is very important.[170] The Pashupati inscription presents a good model of syncretism. In it "Buddhakirti a Buddhist sings or praises Pashupati" and "Jayadeva who is a Shaivite salutes with respect *Avaloketeshvara* Shaivism and Buddhism mingle with each other to the point of blending". To sum up S. Levi's view, the community of Shivadeva *Vihara* gathers a new donation with the same clauses as in other chart; the particular interest of this document lies especially in the number of monasteries which it mentions in connection with the fixing of boundaries to conceded lands; the Manadeva *Vihara*, the *Kharjurikavihara*, the *Yupavihara*, the *Abhaya (Kavi?)-Vihara*, the *Guptavihara*, the *Rajavihara*, the *SriShi-civa Vihara*. Evidently the monasteries ended up by covering the greater portion of the Valley.[171] This remark shows that Buddhism reached its apex during the reign of Shivadeva II. The cluster of *Viharas*

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[168]. Jha, f.n. No. 116, p. 163. Account of Wang Hiuen Tse mentions- The king Nalingtip'e (deva) is covered with a network of strings of pearls, crystal, precious stones, coral and amber, has earings of gold with jade pendents and wears a Buddha carved from precious stone. He sits on a lion throne and within the hall flowers and perfumes are scattered. The ministers of state and courtiers all seat themselves on the ground, and several hundreds of armed soldiers are marshalled near as guards. Within the palace there is a tower of seven storeys roofed with copper tiles, the balustrades and thresholds, the pillars and beams all ornamented with precious stones. On each of the four corners of the tower there is a copper pipe which terminates below a gold dragon spout, and water from above flows down the pipes and pours out the mouths of the dragons like so many natural fountains.

[169]. Vajracharya and Malla, f.n. No. 7, p. 30.

[170]. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, pp. 548-556.

[171]. Levi, f.n. No. 134, p.27.

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indicated patronage of the king to Buddhism with land endowments. Hit Narayan Jha writes that Shivadeva completed in the latter part the unfinished work of his father.[172]

The Lagan Tole inscription of Shivadeva II mentions the word "*Bhotavisti*" 695 A.D. (*Samvat* 119). Vajracharya mentions that the term was used in the context of providing '*Visti*' to the government employees going to Tibet. Thus *Visti* involves the personnels or manual labour in the transaction of business (government activities). So the word indicated that the *Agrahara* had to give or bear expenses of five load carriers for tradesmen going to Tibet annually.[173] To sum up Rajendra Ram, these facilities extended to Nepal-Tibet trade and commerce encouraged Nepalis artists and craftsmen engaged in Buddhist art productions. Nepalis craftsmen could then get suitable market for the sale of commodities of their arts and crafts in the northern Buddhist countries beyond the Himalaya via Tibet. It immediately helped in the progress of Buddhist society constituted out of the Newar Buddhist community in getting direct benefit. It also won the liberal and sincere support of the Tibetans who were attracted by the Buddhist faith spreading fast in their country. In this way an unhindered exchange of commodities and sale of Nepalis goods in Tibet and vice-versa provided enough opportunities on religious level. In another way the Buddhist faith common in both sides that influenced several secular aspects of their daily life. The Buddhist monasteries supported by the laymen's society in Nepal prospered much and they grew richer. Nepalis Buddhists were encouraged to revive their religious relation with Tibet by visiting that country frequently. The word "*Bhotavistiheto Prativarsha Bharikayana Pancha Vyavasahigrihitavya*" are the evidences of Nepal's relation with Tibet increasing regularly. This facilitated in making Nepal a suitable meeting point between India and Tibet. Thus Shivadeva II helped in promoting Buddhism in his time. Shivadeva II was married with Vatsadevi, daughter of Bhoga Varma Maukhari. Pashupati inscription of Jayadeva II mentions that Vatsadevi was *Dauhitri* (Daughter's daughter) of Adityasen, the great king of Magadha. This matrimonial alliance between the Licchavi king of Nepal and Maukhari's of Kanauj

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[172]. Jha, f.n. No. 116, p. 166-167. Shivadeva freed the country from the vassalage of Tibet, which though nominal was a sort of blackspot on the glory of the family of the country. He stopped payment of the tribute. The Tibetans made attempts to capture some of the neighbouring areas of Nepalese territory in 703 A.D. The Nepalese foiled the attempts of the Tibetans. Again after two years i.e in 705 A.D, the Tibetans attacked Nepalese territory. This time they were not only defeated but also had to loose their king who was killed in the battlefield.

[173]. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, pp. 514-518.

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(India) enhanced the power of Shivadeva II in many ways. It established relation with Indian Buddhists prospering with the patronage of the king of Kanauj. It created strong well wishers of Shivadeva II in the royal house of Magadha and Kanauj in India. It was marked with the restoration of the Licchavi glory with the wide spread prosperity in political and cultural sphere.[174]

### 3.6.13. Vajra Bhairava

Vajra Bhairava was not only popular in the Kathmandu Valley. It was equally worshipped in Gorkha. The Balambu inscription of Shivadeva II mentions the term "*Nepal Bhukti*" as "*Nepal Mandala*" in the inscription of Jayadeva.II. In his reign Nepal emerged as prosperous state. The Gorkha Nath grotto inscription of Shivadeva II inscribes the term "*Vajra Bhairava Bhattaraka*". It shows that his reign was not limited to the Kathmandu Valley only. The inscription is dated 698 A.D (*Samvat* 122). T.R.Vaidya and Dhanavajra had published the inscription taking rollings from the original inscription, although it is in mutilated form. This word *Vajra Bhairava* used in the inscription indicates that Vajrayana Buddhism was popular in Gorkha, present Gandaki region of Nepal. In the upperkot of Gorkha there is a shrine of *Vajra Bhairava* where we do not find any image now. The ancient image of *Vajra Bhairava* is not in existence now at that place.[175]

Vajra Bhairava is one of the ten wrathful deities of direction in Vajrayana Buddhism. In most of the *Tantric* practices of Nepalis Vajrayana Buddhism, the offering and worship are made to the wrathful deities. Among many forms of Yamantaka, Vajra Bhairava is the most popular deity. Yamantaka Vajra Bhairava has eight heads. The principal head is that of a bull or a buffalo. He has 34 arms 16 feet to subdue Yama. Its legend is found in Tibet related to Bonpo priest, and protector Manjushree. In the legend, he is depicted to have subdued Yama and then he became a protector of *Dharma*. He is regarded as the emanation of *Bodhisattva* Manjushree. He is also referred as subdueing poisonous serpents and eliminating countless obstacles. He is usually depicted with his *Prajna*. The Vajracharya of Nepal is referred as worshipping the wrathful deities at the cemetry to

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[174]. Rajendra Ram, A History of Buddhism in Nepal 704-1396 A.D, (Patna : Jana Bharati Publication, 1997 A.D), p. 25.

[175]. T.R. Vaidya and Dhanavajra Vajracharya (edt), *Gorakhako Abhilekh Samgraha*, (Kathmandu : Nepal Adhyan Samsthana, T.U, 1972 A.D (2029 V.S), p. 11.

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clear away the obstacle for the practice of Cakrasamvara. They are invoked to support in the practices of the *Sadhanas* and gain realization of *Mahamudra. Although* Dhanavajra has referred to Vajra Bhairava of Gorkha as Mahakala, the concept of this wrathful deity seems to have its origin in Tibet. Vajra Bhairava is thus related with *Agama* sect (*Tantric* Buddhist creation). Shakya personnaly communicated to the researcher that Guru Bharo of Chobhar transmitted Ralocava, his Tibetan disciple, for the invocation of Vajra Bhairava. Tibetan Vajra Bhairava is depicted in Kapan monastery of Kathmandu. The Tibetan name of Vajra Bhairava is *Dorje Jerjhed.* Hubert Decleer, the Tibetologist and expert in Vajra Bhairava has made more exposition on Vajra Bhairava. It is thus clear that Vajra Bhairava, is one of the *Krodha Bhairavas,* (wrateful deities) presiding over the eastern direction. His wrathful form is Yamantaka.[176]

In the eighth century, Shivadeva II contributed to Buddhism by creating Buddhist Centres in Nepal. He constructed Shivadeva *Vihara*. Levi mentions that Shivadeva was a disciple of a *Bhikshu*. Shivadeva's *Vihara* is now known as Onkuli *Vihara*. Levi also mentions a legend which shows Shivadeva II as devout Buddhist. [177] The Pashupati inscription of Shivadeva II incised on a stone outside the southern enclosure of Pashupati temple dated 719 A.D. (*Samvat* 143). Bhagvan Lal Indraji records the grant of a village to *Arya Bhikshu Sangha* of Shivadeva *Vihara*. It records the location of Shivadeva *Vihara* near *Vidurika Vihara*. It indicates that *Vidurika Vihara* was already present before the foundation of Shivadeva *Vihara*. It indicates the popularity and progress of the *Vihara* during the Licchavi period.[178] The reign of Shivadeva II is important in the history of Buddhism in Nepal. It is mentioned in the Lagan Tole inscription dated 695 A.D (*Samvat* 119) that Shivadeva II was a Shavite but he was devoted to Buddhism. Hit Narayan Jha writes that Shivadeva II led a religious life. He was a great worshipper of Lord Shiva and made grants of land for maintenance and repairs of temples. There was *Gautamashram* and *Bharatashram* during his time,[179] It shows that hermits lived in the *Ashramas* during the time of the Licchavis. It also indicates his policy of religious toleration. After the

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176. Min Bahadur Shakya, *The Iconography of Nepalese Buddhism*, (Maitighar, Kathmandu : Handicraft Association of Nepal, 1999 A.D.), p. 54. The author also personally communicated some of the informations to this researcher.

177. Levi. f.n. No. 134, pp. 2-3. Levi mentions - "Shivadeva builds another convent known today under the name of Onkuli Bihar in Patan. One day while he gave himself up to meditation his skull brust and whilest the soul escaped through there and shot out a mysterious jewel enigmatic in form and size.

178. Ram, f.n. No. 171, p. 26.

179. Jha, f.n. No. 116, p.168.

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lapse of a few generations after Shivadeva II, Bajracharya mentions Varadeva ruled the country. K.P Jayaswal writes that Varadeva and Arimunda denoted the same person. 'Ari' was derived from 'Vara'. *Munda* means head. Mundita is a person who had shaved his head. Varadeva is said to have accepted Buddhism near the end of his life span and shaved his hair. He became *Bhikshu* that is why he is known as Arimundi.[180]

### 3.6.14. Jayadeva II

Jayadeva II (713-733 A.D.), although a Shaivite king, was tolerant to Buddhism. He was born from a well famed queen Vatsadevi. He was married with Rajyamati, daughter of king Harsadeva, of Bhagadatta dynasty. Jaya deva II was a firm ruler in 733 A.D (*Samvat* 157)[181] He was a great worshipper of Pashupatinath. He attained a large store of spiritual merit. Himself a great poet, Jayadeva II respected the scholars. He took interest in promoting the cause of education. Buddhakirti composed 34 verses for the inscription of Pashupati. Buddhakirti commanded respect in his court. Explaining the contents of Pashupati inscription Dhanavajra writes that Buddhakirti might be a great scholar probably a (Buddhist *Bhikshu*) related to Mahayana Buddhism. In the inscription he has written that he composed the verses due to the sympahy to the king. This version shows his greatness and his influence over the king. Scholars have compared him with the great poet like Kalidas. King Jayadeva II himself composed five verses. In the inscription Jayadeva II has dedicated the merit he earned to his mother. It indicates the spirit of Mahayana Buddhism. In the hymn, Mahadeva is praised in the context of a lotus. It reflects traditional thinking. As the Buddhist scholar graced the court of the king, it indicates religious toleration of the king. While describing the lotus Buddhakirti makes reference of Karunamaya Lokeshvara in such words as "*Padmakim Karunakarashyakarayo*" It exhibits equal respect to Lokeshvara in epigraphy of Pashupatinath. [182] It also indicates the religious syncretism during the rule of the Licchavis.

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180. Bajracharya, f.n.No.4, p. 19.

181. Jha, f.n. No.116, pp. 168-169. Citing Itihas Prakash Pt I, 159, Jha mentions-" *Shivadharmasastra* was completed by Raghavasima and is well preserved in Veera Library, Kathmandu, Shankerdeva II is found ruling over the country in 765 A.D. (*samvat* 189) In this regard Jha assumes that Shankerdeva may be the successor of Jayadeva II. Only on the basis of colophone Shankerdeva II may not be called successor of Jayadeva II"

182. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 26, p. 551.

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### 3.7.1 The Age of Preachers, Siddhas and Vajracharya Gurus

In the history of ancient period, the preachers, *Siddhas* and Vajracharya *Gurus* had great role to play in the development of Buddhism in Nepal as well as Tibet. So the history of Buddhism in ancient Nepal is marked as the interacting age of preachers, *Siddhas* and Vajracharya *Gurus*. Nepal served as the interaction centre of Buddhism in between India and Tibet. The Buddhist scholars of India equipped themselves in Nepal to have an introduction of Buddhism of Tibet. The Buddhists of Tibet too were facilitated to go to India for higher studies in Buddhism. Nalanda Vikramasila, Odantapuri and Jagadal Universities of Bihar were reputed centres of learning in Buddhism. The celebrated Buddhist scholars and Vajracharya *Gurus* Shantarakshita, Padmasambhava and Kamalasila were the great intellectuals of Nalanda University. Their works on Buddhism had great impact in Nepal, India and Tibet. The Vajracharyas, Buddhist scholars of Nepal greatly helped them and brought about enthusiasm among the Indian scholars by providing necessary information about Tibet while they were in Nepal. The scholars of India and Tibet both learnt from Nepalis scholars, the Vajracharyas before proceeding to fulfil their missions. In the Himalayan altitude they acclimatize themselves before preceding their journey to their respective destinies. In India, Nalanda University was founded by one of the Gupta Emperors. In the eight century, a Korean monk too visited Kapilvastu, Nepal. In the eight and ninth centuries, the *Siddhas* propagated their doctrine and facilitated the Buddhists to challenge the Brahmanical superstition. Sarahapada founded Sahajayana.

### 3.7.2. Shantarakshita

Shantarakshita (705-762 A.D.) was one of the greatest scholars that India had produced. Tibetan sources show him as a pioneer Buddhist monk scholar. He was born in a royal family of Sabour, a village of Vikaramapur *praganna* of Dhaka in present Bangaladesh. The detail account of his life is not known. His noted philosophical works are *Vada Nyayavriti Vipanditartha*, *Tattva Sangraha, Madhyamakalamkarakarika* (commentary). Rajendra Ram assumes that Shantarakshita laid the foundation of Svayambhu *Maha Caitya*. His version seems to be erroneous keeping in view of archaeological and epigraphical evidences available at Svayambhu area. Moreover, his logic is not convincing. He argues that Wang Hiuen Tse had not mentioned Svayambhu *Caitya*. The

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non availability in the account about Svayambhu *Caitya* in the contemporary Chinese envoy's accounts does not mean that Svayambhu *Caitya* was not there before the coming of Shantarakshita. So inference cannot be drawn that Svayambhu *Caitya* was made by Shantarakshita. But Shantarakshita and Padmasambhava are credited for establishing Samaye monastery and *Bhikshu Sangh* in Tibet. It is mentioned that Shantarakshita was killed by kick of a horse in Tibet in 762 A.D.[183] Min Bdr. Shakya writes that Shantarakshita went to Tibet in the year 743 A.D on the invitation of Tibetan king Thri-Song Duetshan. He remained in Lhasa for four months and preached the doctrine of *Dasashila* (ten precepts), *Ashtadasa Dhatu* and *Pratityasamutpad* (Dependent Origination). This led Bon followers to agitate against the Buddhists. He was compelled to leave Tibet. Having left Tibet, he came to Nepal to stay here for six years (743-749 A.D.) He propagated his *Vijnanavada* doctrine to Nepalis Buddhist scholars and laities. Due to the dominance of Bon religionist minister in Tibet, Shantarakshita recommended Padmasambhava to restore and reinstate Buddhism there. Shantarakshita spent the rest of his life in Tibet upto 762 A.D.[184]

### 3.7.3. Padmasambhava

Padmasambhava (717 to 775 A.D.) came to Nepal in course of his scheduled trip to Tibet in 743 A.D on the direction of Shantarakshita.[185] At the age of twenty six, he came to Nepal and at the age of thirty, he left for Tibet in 747 A.D. According to Alaka Chattopadhya, he stayed in Nepal for four years (743-747 A.D.) While in Nepal, Padmasambhava meditated in *Karabir Masan* (graveyard) at Sobha Bhagavati. Being expert in *Yogacara,* he had a feather of vulture on his cap known as *Urgyan* cap.[186] In Pharping, he performed *Sadhana* by *Vajrakila* (magic dragger) for subduing evil forces. He disseminated Vajrayana widely in the Kathmandu Valley. In his biography, it is mentioned that he took two Nepalis *Dakinis* or *Yogins* namely Kalasiddhi and Shakyadevi for his *Atiyoga Sadhana.*[187]

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183. Ram, f.n. No.174, pp. 33-38.
184. Shakya, f.n.No.15, p. 8.
185. Waddell, f.n. No. 140, p. 27.
186. Shakya, f.n. No. 49, p. 221.
187. Shakya, f.n. No. 15, p. 9.

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Rajendra Ram writes that Padmasambhava was expert in occult sciences and peerless in the field of Vajrayana *Tantra*. He trained proper help mates in Nepal as the special *Daknis* to be used in Tibet. In addition to his consort Mandarva, he took three *Dakinis*, from Nepal viz. a Tibetan *Dakini*, named Bkrashiskhyeden, domiciled in the Himalayan district (Mon) and two *Dakinis* of Nepalis origin as mentioned above.[188]

Shanglingma mentions that Padmasambhava meditated at Daman and Maruti of Khotang, Helambu, Thakkhola and Mustang and various other places. It is stated that he got perfection by meditation of Amitayus Buddha and attained *Vajra body* (immortality).[189] He is also referred to have meditated in the caves of India, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan. The impact of Padmasambhava in the Trans Himalayan region is apparent. Rajendra Ram mentions that the tolerant attitude of the Licchavi king Shivadeva II towards the Buddhists of India and Nepal was encouraging for Padmasambhava in propagating Buddhism in Nepal and Tibet.[190] It is stated that as a prince Padmasambhava used to beat *Damaru* (drum) that brings the sound of *Mahasukha* (great pleasure) with *Khatanga* (spear with skull), *Trishul* (Trident) in hands. He used to dance at the terrace of the palace to break his tie with the king Indrabodhi of ancient kingdom of Swat Valley in Pakistan. Later he realized Vajravarahi while meditating on the graveyard of the dry forest of Uddiyan. Scholars link a legend of mother, a poor poultry keeper of Bauddhanath. The legend narrates that Padmasambhava, Tibetan king Thri Song Duetshan and *Khenpo Bodhisattvas* were the step sons of mother Jhyajima in their earlier births. *Manimala* a work of Yeshe Chhogyal mentions that they built *Jyarung Khasyore* (Bauddhanath Stupa) for the merit of their mother. After that they were born as the sons of *Rakshasa*, saint and a Brahman. The son of the sage wished to be born as *Dharmaraj* in Tibet. The son of the Brahman was born at Sahor and became *Khenpo* (teacher). Padmasambhava was born in Uddayana. It is stated that Padmasambhava devised Lamaism to suit the requirements of Tibetan people. In the high altitude mountain of Nepal, people follow the creed devised by Padmasambhava. The creed is said to be the fine synthesis of old Bon religion and original Buddhism devised by Padmasambhava in Nepal.[191] For this Waddell

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188. Ram, f.n. No. 174, p.42.
189. Yeshe Chhogyal, Shamglingma, (Trans) Mukesh Lama, (Kathmandu : 2002 A.D.), p. 69.
190. Ram, f.n. No. 174, p. 42.
191. Chhogyal, f.n. No. 189, p.73.

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has also used the term *Lamaism*. However, Sridhar Rana says that it will be misdemeanour to call Tibetan Buddhism as Lamaism.

### 3.7.4. Kamalasila

Kamalasila (720-780 A.D.) went to Tibet after his flying visit to Nepal. At the age of 25 Kamalasila wrote commentary on *Tattvasangraha* of Shantaraksita. He became a great philosopher and logician. He was a disciple of Shantarakshita at Nalanda.[192] In his commentary *Tattvasangraha*, Kamalasila had referred to all the Buddhist philosophers before him with extensive quotations of their works. He also referred to different schools viz *Lokayatas*, Jains, *Sankhyas*, *Naiyayikas* and *Mimansakas*. He critically analysed the view of the opponents. So he was invited by the Tibetan king. Kamalasila on his way to Tibet visited Svayambhu and Baudhanath and interviewed with several Tibetan Lamas and *Bhikshus* in Nepal. He was warmly received by Nepalis Buddhist *Bhikshus* and laymen followers. He impressed Nepalis people with his brilliant scholarship of the latest Buddhist ideas. After a few months stay in Nepal he went to Tibet in 762 A.D. His stay in Nepal proved to be very useful. Before his visit to Tibet, he knew many secrets of Tibetological learnings in Nepal. It is also stated that he might have met Padmasambhava who dedicated his life to the propagation of Buddhism in Tibetan speaking areas of Nepal. .In those areas we find the image of Padmasambhava worshipped as the second Buddha. According to Tibetan historian, the philosophical debate leading to Kamalasila's victory was an important landmark in religious history of Tibet. It is mentioned that the victory of Kamalasila made him a martyr to his faith. Hva Shang hired four murderers in Tibet. They killed Kamalasila by squeezing his kidneys in 780 A.D.[193]

It is remarked that *Tattvasangraha* was very popular among Nepalis Buddhist scholars and philosophical thinkers. It is stated that the intellectual side of Nepalis Buddhism was strengthened by Shantarakshita and its traditional and spiritual side was reinforced by Padmasambhava. In Nepal and Tibet Shantarakshita was emulated as *Acharya Bodhisattva* and Padmasambhava as bodily apparition of supreme Buddha as

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[192]. Ram, f.n. No. 174, pp. 47-48.
[193]. *Ibid*, pp. 48-51.

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Amitabha.[194] The Indian Buddhist scholars thus contributed for the promotion of Buddhism in Nepal in the later half of the eight century.

### 3.7.5. From Tantra Mantra to Vajrayana

Pradhan writes that the preliminary or the early form of Mahayana appeared in 300 B.C. to 100 B.C. in *Andhak* and *Vaipulya sect.* Eugene Burnouf referred that the supernatural Buddhas like Vairochana, Amitabha and Avalokiteshvara were imagined in *Saddbarmapundarika.* The *Vaipulyavadin* composed short *Dharani* such as "*Om Mune Mune Mahamunesvaha*". In the second century, Nagarjuna propounded *Sunyavada. Manjushreemulakalpa* of second and third century A.D. was a text of *Mantrayana. Manjushreenamasangiti* made each letter symbolic in meaning and these were taken as symbolic *Mantra. Mantra, Dharani* and sex became past and parcel of *Vaipulyan Sutra* in the 1st century. *Mahayana* used worshipand devotion. Although black art was restricted in Mahayana, it accepted *Mantra* and *Tantra* for material *Siddhi* (attainment). *Bodhisattva* cult aimed at benifit of all instead of benifit of many. The scholars attached more importance for the development of *Tantra, Mantra* instead of wisdom and logic. Mysticism helped it. The *Madhyamika* philosophy became popular in the second, third and fourth centuries. In the fifth century *Yagacara* of *Vijnavada* became influential in Mahayana. In the fifth century *Guhyasamaja Tantra* also included *Tantra Mantra. Tattvasangraha* included the idea that Buddhism is helpful not only for other world but also useful for the welfare of saitient beings. *Sadhanamala* written in the age of *Siddhas* (750-1175 A.D.) included many *Mantras* referred as teachings of Lord Buddha. Mahayana passed several steps of Mantrayana and finally it developed Vajrayana. Vajrayana is the radical form of *Mantra-Tantrayana.* In the sixth century Vajrayana has its origin. King Saraha (768-809 A.D) developed it. Before this stage, Vajrayana passed through esoteric process like Mahayana. The analysis shows the different steps of development.[195]

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[194]. *Ibid*, p. 52.
[195]. Pradhan, f.n. No. 3, pp. 110-114. Pradhan has based thse versions on Baldev Upadhaya's *Buddhist* Philosophy, pp. 130, 104, 426-427.

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### 3.7.6. Revival of Hindu Culture under Shankaracharya

Reference of *Aadhya* Shankaracharya is available much earlier in the eight century A.D. According to Baldeva Upadhyaya, Shankaracharya flourished much earlier than 788 A.D. However, Rajendra Ram mentions that Shankarachaya was born in 786 A.D and died in 820 A.D.[196] Citing Rahual Sankrityayana, Rajendra Ram writes that Shankaracharya flourished one hundred years before Bachaspati Mishra who pleaded for the cause of Shankaracharya's philosophical ideas in North India. He further argues that Shantarakshita's *Tattvasangraha* deals with all philosophers and their works belonging to Buddhist and Brahmanical schools preceding his time but it does not mention about Shankaracharya.[197] According to him the question of the existence of Shankaracharya before Shantarakshita therefore does not arise. Mahesh Chandra Regmi says that the tradition of worshipping Pashupatinath by the Brahmins of south India was established by (*Aadhya*) first Shankaracharya who flourished in India around the beginning of the ninth century. [198] Citing Nanda Mandan Sanadhya, Govinda Tandan writes that Sanadhya has referred a palm leaf according to which (*Aadhya*) Shankaracharya had started the system of worshipping Pashupati by south Indian Brahmins.The palm leaf is said to have been preserved in Pashupati according to the priests and Bhandaris. However, Tandan refutes this version. He says that this is the version of *Bhasa Vamsavali*. G. Tandan adds- (*Aadhya*) Shankaracharya (788-820 A.D.) was the propagator of *Adveta* (nondualistic) principle and promoter of Shaiva sect who revived Hindu culture. When Buddhism dominated in India spreading atheism and non soul theory, he spread Shaivism based on *Vedic* religion. He was erudite scholar although his career was very short. He wrote (*Bhasya*) commentary on *Brahma Sutra* and *Shreemad Bhagavat Geeta*. He established his *Maths* (monasteries) in four different places of India. Many scholars take him belonging to the ninth century. With regard to his coming to Nepal and appointment of Brahmins of the south as priests of Pashupatnath, the account is not mentioned in *Shanker Vijaya or Shanker Digvijaya*. But some contemporary texts only mention it.

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196. Ram, f.n. No. 174, p. 64, cf. Baldeva Upadhyaya, Sri Shankaracharya (Hindi) Allahabad 1950, p. 64.
197. *Ibid*, p. 63.
198. Govinda Tandan, "Pashupatinath Mandirma Pujariko Vyavastha" (Arrangement of Priests in the Temple of Pashupatnath) (Kathmandu : *Pahupatikshetra*, Vol. II, Year 1, 1994), cf. Mahesh Chandra Regmi, *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal*, (Kathmandu : Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Second Edition), p. 710.

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Some say that the Shankaracharya *Math* located to the west of Pashupati temple was made by him. (It is also not true. It was made much later). Regarding D.Wright's version of Shankaracharya caming to Nepal during the reign of Vrisadeva, G Tandan rightly remarks that it does not tally with the time of Shankaracharya. Moreover it is stated that the episode of the defeat of Buddhists by him is also based on legends and tradition.[199] Nepalis tradition believes that Shankaracharya stopped destroying the Buddhists texts as he saw that Amar Simhacharya's *Amarkosh* includes the prayer of Lord Shiva. Slusser however writes that Shankarcharya allegedly re-established orthodox Brahmanism in the Kathmandu Valley and he attempted to extirpate the popular Buddhist Gods and Goddesses.[200] Opinion of the scholars differs on it.

Scholars say that the first Shankaracharya was born in 787 or 788 A.D. He was *Sanyasi* (ascetic) well versed in four *Vedas*. He learnt philosophy of *Advait Vedanta* (philosophy of monism) from his contemporary elderly scholar Govindacharya and attained all intellectual marvels at the age of twelve in 800 A.D. He became *Bhashyakara* (commentator) in 804 A.D.[201] Sankaracharya also established *Advaita Centre* of *Jyoti Math* (monastery). The last date of his life was spent at Kanchi Kama Kothi in 820 A.D. He launched *Padayatra* between 804 and 820 A.D. During the long period of 16 years, he served the cause of revival of Brahmanism on a practical level. [202] However L. Petech doubts the fact that he really visited Nepal. [203]

### 3.7.7. Contribution of the Siddhas and Preachers in the promotion of Buddhism.

The eighth century is regarded as the age of Siddhas and preachers. They spread Buddhism during that time. It is stated that among the 108 scholars who went to Tibet from India, the names of Nepalis scholars are also mentioned. In the names of Nepalis

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199. *Ibid*, pp. 19-21.
200. Slusser, f.n. No. 72, p. 337.
201. *Ibid*, p. 64.
202. *Ibid*, p. 64.
203. Luciano Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal (c.750-1430)*, (Rome: (ISMEO) Orionte, 1958, p. 181. Petech writes- A journey of Shankara to Nepal is accepted by all the modern chronicles, but one can hardly have any basis on real fact. Not even the account of the spiritual conquests (*Digvijaya*) takes him further north than Gauda (Bengal), *Srimad, Sankara Digvijaya* by Vidyaranya -XVI-161 (Anandi-rama edition Poona 1915 p. 596. My attention was drawn to this work by Professor Tucci.)

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scholars Laxmishree, Shanti Bhadra, Anantashree, Sanghashree, Punyamati, Bharo Mahapandita, Shreekirti were also notable. In the same way, Nepalis scholar Ratnakara was the main teacher (*Dwar Pandila*) of Nalanda University. Among the teachers of Nalanda University, Vagisvarakirti of Pharping was also renowned. Kanakshree was the (*Dwar Pandita*) door keeper of Vikramasila University. In the same period the most renowned scholar of Patan was Pandit Mahakaruna. Shakya Bhikshu. Mahapandita Gautamashree made Saptapur Maha Vihara. The main disciple of Gautamashree is said to have installed Dipankara Buddha in Padmahree Maha Vihara. His name was Chhyantashree Pandita. Jinashree had scribed Laksyavati Prajnaparamita in Ranjana script in Nilpatra in golden ink. In the same way Ananda Bhikshu of Kapilnagar copied Ashta Sahashrika Prajnaparamita preserved in Hiranyavarna Mahavihara. Thus the great Nepalis Buddhist scholars of the period contributed greatly to copying of the manuscripts.

Hye Cho was the first known Korean monk who visited Kapilvastu, Nepal. He came to India in 719 A.D. He visited many places including Kapilvastu, Nepal. He returned in 719 A.D. via Central Asia. His travel Record is "Wang O Chung Chuk KukJuo" in Korean and in English. "Travel Records of Five Heavenly Kingdoms" is superb. It is stated that his travel records are of immense value with historical importance to the countries of Central Asia including Nepal. He traveled to Saudi Arabia, Syria, Persia, Indonesia, India, Kapilvastu, Nepal, Soe Jong in Tibet, Central Asia, China and other places. When Hye Cho was in China, he was the disciple of Vajrabodhi, the preacher of Yoga Tantra founded by Nagarjuna. Vajrabodhi was a reputed Indian teacher, a Tripitaka master. He came to China (669-741 A.D.) Vajrabodhi and Hye cho translated the famous Mahayana Sutra into Chinese. While in India he spent some time in Nalanda University. He collected many manuscripts and also copied many *Sutras.Saddharmapundarika Sutra* was also included in his collection.[204]

Citing Buddha Prakash, Rajendra Ram mentions that the movement of the *Siddhas* brought about a vast synthesis. People of all castes, creeds, and professions joined it. It was the dawn of a new religious era. On the basis of *Dohakosa* edited and translated by

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[204]. Joshi, f.n. No.42, p. 36, Joshi writes- So immence was his impact in China that Chinese had stated that Hye Cho envraved the text of *Saddharma Pundarika Sutra* on the rocks of western lake in Hang Chou in China. We know from Chinese source materials that Hye Cho also translated *Buddha Hridaya Mudra* and *Sukhavat Vyuha Sutra.*

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Rahul Sankrityayana, it is asserted that Sarahapada of the first half of the 8th century A.D. was pioneer Buddhist *Siddharcharya* in Bengal. He was the student of Haribhadra, who was a disciple of Shantarakshita. Sarahapada's poetic expression in *Dohakosa* had emotional and intellectual thrust in the contemporary society. It presents the true picture of his time. Sarahapada is referred to as launching several attacks on the Brahmanical tradition and superstition. After Sariputra and Modgalayana, he was regarded as the first among the Indian religious thinkers who exposed the hollowness of scholastic sophistry and sickening discourses of Brahmanism on social customs and religious rituals. [205] However, the people living in the villages were put to confusion. He tried to make the common people free from the shackles of their narrow and sectarian religious views. He presented an alternative philosophy of his own and interpreted life, society, religion and philosophy etc. His *Dohakosa* included ideas of optimism and was directed against the philosophy of pessimism, incarnation theory, idea of self surrender before the Almighty. It is opined that the practice of Vajrayana Buddhism in Nepal gave birth to a new spiritual tradition known as *Caturratna.* It became the characteristic contribution to the Buddhist theology. It is referred that Sarahapada had coined *Caturratna* (*Guru*, the Buddha, *Dharma* and *Sangha*). Sarahapada was the contemporary of Padmasambhava, the pioneer monk scholar among the eighty four *Siddharcharyas*. Only in the eight century Sarahapada forwarded the theory of *Caturratna*. Sarahapada was an advocate of *Sahajayana*, a Buddhistic sect made easy. He simplified the tough philosophical term, religious interpretation and spiritual practice of Buddhism through the *Dohas* composed in *Apabhramsa*, the lingua franca of his contemporary eastern Indian society spread from modern Gujarat and western Punjab to Bengal.[206]

In Nepal and India, Sarahapada was given many eulogistic epithets for various roles in propagation of *Sahajayana* such as *Mahayogishvara, Srimahabramana Saraha, Dvitiya Buddha, Mahayogishvara Shreesaraha, Mahanbrahmana Saraha, Yogishvara shrmana Saraha, Acharya Saraha* etc. He came across the large number of Brahmanical scholars when he defeated them in discussions and established the intellectual potency of Sahajayana.[207] Sarahapada's career was very revolutionary. He criticized the sophisticated

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[205]. Ram, f.n. No. 174, p. 54.

[206]. *Ibid*, p. 56.

[207]. *Ibid.*

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Brahmanical scholarship and aristocratic manner of the Buddhist monks and nuns living in *Viharas*, *Maha Viharas* and Buddhist centres of learning. He married the daughter of a (*Sarakara*) arrow maker and learnt the art of arrow making. So he assumed the name Saraha. His disciple called him Sarakara. Citing Shashi Bhusan Das Gupta, Rajendra Ram shows the distinct attitude of Sahajayana unlike Vajrayana. [208] Sarahapada was the advocate of Sahajayana (Buddhist sect made easy). His cult is said to have survived for the next five centuries. He had remarkable position among the eighty four *Siddhas*. Citing S.B. Das Gupta, R.Ram mentions that the Indian Brahmanical scholars used Sanskrit language in the medium of scholarly expression during the period where as Sarahapada and later *Siddhacharyas* used *Apabhramsa*. They directed their ideological revolts against slavery and feudalism. They recognized *Prakrita* language and Sanskrit receded. It became the court language. They made their nuclues in Nepal from there, they moved to Tibet. They were involved in the task of cultural regeneration on new lines. A large numbers of manuscripts are discovered in Nepal and Tibet. *Dohas* and *Charyas* became the order of daily life among the Buddhists of Nepal. They became mass media. The *Charyapadas* are called *Charya* songs in Nepal i.e. *Caca* in local language. The *Siddhas* advocated the cause of religious liberalism within the Buddhistic fold. It has shaken the contemporary thinkers and their admirers at their head and heart. Mystic ideas of the *Dohas* and *Charyas* were presented through analogy.[209] The *Siddhacharyas* had lanched a revolt against the formalities of Brahminical and Buddhist sects of Nepal and India with special emphasis on Vajrayana on the philosophical plane. The *Siddharcharyas* came within the heritage of Mahayana Buddhist idea. It is stated that Sahajayana was opposed to laying postrate before wooden, earthern or stone idols. In practical life, they broke down the barriers of society through their fragment association with women of lower social order. Scholars say that survey and investigation show much of their heterodoxy and criticism of a thing of heritage. Their ideas were found infiltrated from older idea, emphasized by the vernacular poets. The *Siddhas* had given only new colour or tone. [210]

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[208]. *Ibid*, pp. 56-57. Dr. Shashi Bhusan Das Gupta writes the poets of *Sahajiya* school laid their whole emphasis against the formalities of life and religion and this made them distinct in their religious attitude from Vajrayanists or the general school of *Tantric* Buddhism.

[209]. *Ibid*, p. 59.

[210]. *Ibid*, p. 61.

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D.L Snellgrove reveals the activities of the *Siddhas* and says that the new elements introduced by the *Siddhas* had far reaching effects. [211]

S. Das Gupta's version is also worth considering in this context.[212] Although a scholar remarks that the *Siddhas* and preacheras brought about deviation and anomalies in Buddhism, the dynamism they brought in Buddhism cannot be overlooked. We see different sects' current during the Licchavi period. Scholars rightly remark that Nepal could not remain unaffected by the different sectarian movement like Vaishnavism, Shavism, Pashupatism and others which marked the period fom the beginning of the Christian era in India. [213] The historical development shows that Mahayana Buddhism was developed in the beginning of Christian era in India.or by the time of Nagarjuna in the second century A.D. However, scholars remark that Nepal practised Mahayana or *Buddhayana* or Bodhisttvayana or Agrayana from the time of Lord Buddha himself. Historical development of Buddhism makes it clear that Mahayana gathered momentum from the time of Kanishka. Italian ProfessorVerardi, points out that the archaeological evidences of Satya Narayan Temple complex of Hadigaon indicate Mahayana Buddhism entered Nepal with the coming of the Kushanas. He says that discovery of the coin of Kanishka left in a tank, constructed in the third century A.D and a Mathura fragment (a training weight) in the site indicate the presence of proto Kshatriya groups of *Bhagavata* affiliation as well as Saka Kushana in the Valley. The iconographic fragments, pottery found in the monument tank and hydrolic construction also testify to their presence from 0- 3rd century A.D.[214] On the basis of these artifacts it is obvious that Mahayana Buddhism of India had its impact on Nepal in the beginning of the Christian era. It is also pointed out that during the Gupta rule in India, *Bhagavata* lines came into existence. Its

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211. *Ibid*, p, 61 D.L Snellgrove in his introduction to *The Hevajra Tantra - A Critical Study* reveals the activities of the *Siddhas*. The new elements are introduced, the effect of which is far reaching, there is no denying, but there is no essential break in the development of the doctrine. One might even claim that these new elements far from issuing in degeneration, brought about rejuvenation, nourished in the hidden well springs of Indian religious life. It is not philosopher who gives life to religion but the man who succeeds in practicing it (*Yoga*) gives life. It (*Yoga*) is free from doubt as to oneness of the purpose, because of its absence of difficulty, because of its many methods and because it is adapted to keen sense. This *Mantra* teaching is the best.

212. *Ibid*, p. 61 S. Das Gupta says-"It is an offshoot of *Tantric* Buddhism. It embodies the heterodoxy of Buddhism in general mixed up with the spirit of *Tantrism*. In it aversion towards discursive and scholastic erudition and in its stress on the practical side of religion, we may find the spirit of *Tantra* and *Yoga*".

213. Jha, f.n. No. 116, p. 209.

214. Verardi, f.n. No. 22, p. 10.

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impact is also visible in Nepal. But it does not mean that Nepal made carbon copy of religions practised in India. The Buddhism in Nepal has its own characteristic features which are marked by special features such as Bodhisattvayana based on holy Buddhism. In course of time the concept of *Dhyani* Buddhas and their consorts appeared in the iconography of the Valley. The monolithic *Stupas* of Licchavi period do not include the images of *Dhyani* Buddhas. But the images of *Dhyani* Buddhas along with their *Shaktis* and *Bodhisattvas* appeared in the *Stupas* beginning from the third century A.D. The *Caitya* represented the mind aspect of the Buddha. Innumerable *Caityas* appeared in Nepal. These were worshipped and esoteric cult was developed. Buddhist philosophers like Nagarjuna, Vasubandhu came and preached Mahayana Buddhism in Nepal. Buddhist *Viharas* were developed as centres of moral preaching and learning in between the 2nd and the 5th century. Epigraphic accounts show that the celebrated kings like Vrisadeva, Manadeva, Amshuvarma, Shivadeva I and Shivadeva II established different *Viharas*. Many *Viharas* were established outside the town in the garden area such as *Puspika Vihara*. They were clustered in a specific area. The title of Shree given to Shivadeva *Vihara* indicates royal sanction given to the *Viharas*.

Licchavi period is also known as the golden age in the history of Buddhism in Nepal Buddhism was popular in the Kathmandu Valley. According to *Vamsavali,* the Kirata rulers and the people embraced Buddhism as early as sixth century B.C. The Shakyas and Koliyas during the life time of the Buddha and even afterwards spread Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley. It has to be testified by epigraphic evidences. Moreover, Buddhism was popularized and promoted by Ashoka's *Dhamma* mission under Kashyapa (236-236 B.C.). During the Licchavi period the local people being devout Buddhists, the Licchavi rulers supported them for their political stability.

The Licchavis had come to the Kathmandu Valley, first as refugees and then gradually captured power. As they had come from outside they needed public support so they followed Buddhism in spite of their affiliation with Bhagavatas and Shaivistes. Verardi has mentioned that the Buddhists too had to make compromise with non-Buddhists and accepted the concept of incarnation of Vishnu for their survival. *Vamsavali* mentions Buddha as incarnation of Vishnu or Shiva. Thus the Licchavi rulers strongly supported, promoted and patronized Buddhism and made endowment of (Virta land) for maintenance of *Bhikhsu & Bhikshuni Sangh.* Moreover people lavishly supported

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Buddhism by making rich endowments to *Bhikshu* and *Bhikshni Sangh.* The Chapa Tole inscription and the Musum Bahal inscription of Kathmandu and Chyamasimha inscription of Bhaktapur testify it.

*Arya Bhikshu Sangh* and *Bhikshuni Sangh* flourished duringLicchavi period. Besides this, the Licchavi kings became *Bhikshu* for life or only for some days. *Vamsavali* mentions Vrisadeva as Vajracharya who was conferred *Acaryabhisekh*, Padmadeva became *Bhikshu.* Vasantadeva is said to have embrased Buddhism. Buddhist *Vamsavali* refers Narendradeva as Buddhist living in the *Vihara* as *Bhikshu* in his old age. Shivadeve-II fed *Bhikshus* in the *Viharas.* He passed away while meditating in a *Vihara* at Patan.

In the same way, Vajra Bhairava was popular in Gorkha during the reign of Shivadeva.and Vajrayana was in vogue over there. Thus Buddhism appeared in all aspects during the Licchavi period. The Licchavi kings patronised and promoted it. The *Mahasanghika Bhikshu Sangh* became popular as *Arya Bhikshu Sangh. Tantric* Buddhism took the shape of Vajrayana Buddhism. Although it is stated that Vajrayana was developed in South India, it became popular in the North and it was in developed form from 600 to 1200 A.D.. It was very popular during the time of Amshuvarma. Endowments grants were given to the Buddhist *Viharas* both by the kings and rich laities.

During Licchavi period the *Bhikshus* no longer had to go on wandering hither and thither for alms. They had maintenance support from the laities. Buddhist text on *Dharma* such as *Saddharmapundarika* was regarded as holy. Images of Buddhist deities were made according to the classical texts. The Buddhuist icons are desribed in the treatise *Nispannayogavali.*

During the time of Anuparam the orthodox Brahmanas popularised *Bhagavata* sect based on *Vedic* texts and they were opposed to Buddhism. However the Buddhists evolved a mechanism of common elements for their survival. According to the account of Hiuen Tsang, Nepal practised both lesser and greater vehicles i.e. Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism in the seventh century. *Vamsavali* mentions the concept of *Avataravada* (concept of incarnation) and popularity of *Bhakti* cult which united the Buddhists and others in Nepal. The Hindus in order to safeguard themselves were referred as introducing the incarnation of Vishnu. Although Verardi indicates a split between the

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orthdox Brahmin of *Bhagavata* cult Shavites and Buddhists in the first half of the seventh century, [215] Nepal did not experience undesirable struggle between the followers of different sects. Religious harmony was charactereristc feature of Nepal Scholars indicate that Shankaracharya later on revived Hinduism at the cost of Buddhism in the 5th century at the time of *Aadhya* Shankarcharya. But historical evidences are silent on it except that imaginary legends on the arrival of *Aadhya* Shankaracharya existed. The legend of blue horn bull along with the story of Shankaracharya related with Vajrayana Buddhism was very popular in Nepal in the early medieval period. But it seems that it has no historical basis.

The patronage of Buddhism by the rulers was the characteristic feature of Nepal during the time of the Licchavis. Amshuvarma equally treated all sects' current during his time. This tradition was followed by his successors. It is evident from Jayadeva II's Pashupati inscription that Buddhakirti, a Buddhist scholar commanded great respect in his court and *Loka Nath* was also equally venerated in the Pashupati area. Scholars say that a Buddhist *Vihara* existed in Pashupati area. The archaeological remains of *Vihara*is still visible on the stone panel placed in the wall to the north of Vasuki temple of Pashupati complex. The stone panel depicts Buddhist *Dharma Charka*.

In ancient period, Buddhism had haydays in Nepal. Buddhist *Viharas* of that time still exist as archaeological remains. *Lokeshvara* cult was popular in Nepal. Buddhism was equally practiced both by the rulers and the ruled. Syncretism was the main feature of Nepalis Buddhim during ancient time. Levi mentions the sharp feature of syncretism in Nepal. [216]

One of the sharp features of the Mahayana Buddhism in the Licchavi period is that *Paccha Taras* became popular in the 5th century.The ways of *Tantra Mantra* became popular from the sixth centurey onwards. Vajrayana, Sahajayana were fully developed in

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215. Verardi f.n. No. 20. p. 27.

216. S. Levi, "*Nepal*", *Ancient Nepal*, No. 53-56, (Kathmandu : DOA, 1979-1980), p. 19. Levi writes- Bandhudatta while bringing Matsyendranath from Kamarupa Kamakya was about to enter the Valley.Bandhudatta politely dismissed with the gifts, the Gods of outside and summoned the divinities of Nepal. He organized a great procession. Four Bhairavas undertook to carry the God willingly captive in a phial; Brahma swept the street singing *Vedas*;Vishnu blew the conch, Mahadeva scattered about lusteral water, Indra held the parasol,Yama burnt insence,Varuna spread rain water, Kuvera riches; Agni splendour, Vayu carried the banner; Nairitya brushed obstacles aside, Isanas dispersed demons. Bandhudatta and Narendradeva alone saw this marvelous spectacle, the laymen only saw birds and beasts.

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the eight century A.D. The 84 *Siddhas* exerted greater influence in Nepalis society. Nepal served as the interacting centre of Buddhism for both the monks and preachers of India and Tibet from the 9th to the 12th centuries. The Vajracharyas played important role and facilitated for the growth of Buddhism not only in Nepal but also in this region.

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# CHAPTER IV

# History of Buddhism in the Early Medieval Period

## 4.1. Background

The history of Buddhism in the early medieval period is marked by the development of Vajrayana, Sahajayana and Kalachakrayana. The period continued as the age of Siddhacharyas (750- 1175 A.D.) Luciano Petech, the renowned orientalist historian of Italy, has taken the history of Nepal (C 750-1480) as the age of Thakuri and early Mallas. Scholars have taken the peropd from C.750-1200 A.D.), as the Thakuri Period. With regard to the sources of history of the period, Petech mentions that due to the lack of historical sources the period is taken as dark period in the history of Nepal. It also witnessed the flow of the Buddhist scholars from India which brought about many Buddhist manuscripts and enriched the *Viharas* of the Kathmandu Valley. It indicated the degeneration of monasticism although the Vaishya Thakuri rulers were keen in the construction of the *Viharas*.[1] Local scholars write that the transitional period upto the 12th century has breed enormous volumes of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts which are available in Nepal (in the National Archives, Asha Saphu Kuthi, Kaishar Library, T.U Library and individual possession) and abroad (India, Tibet, Japan, U.K, France, Germany, Russia, and U.S.A. They shed light on the Buddhist history of Nepal. [2]

We are discussing the history of Buddhism of this period after 880 A.D. Some scholars write 880 A.D.as the date of the foundation of new era i.e. end of Licchavi rule and restoration of Thakuri dynasty. Scholars like C. Bendall, Sylvain Levi and Luciano Petech have meticulously explored new sources of history of this period on the basis of colophons and other materials for the religious history of the period. Historians have

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1. Luciano Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal, (c. 750-1430)*, (Rome : Par II Medio ed Estreno (ISMEO) Orente, 1958), pp.1-9. Petech writes- The first group of *Vamsavali* includes Bendall's Vamsavali (V1, V2, V3). The second group includes Kirkpatrick's Vamsavali-VK (1793). On the basis of informations, he collected, he wrote *An Account of the kingdom of Nepaul*, London: 1811; The *Vamsavali* of later group included the Buddhist and Hindu *Vamsavalis*. The Buddhist *Vamsavali* was written about 1800 in Patan by a monk of Mahabodhi *Vihara* edited by D. Wright i.e. VW. The Hindu *Vamsavali* was written in 1824 by Siddhi Narayan of Deo Patan. The Ms. is written in length. Levi I, pp. 193-194. Petech further writes- After the second quarter of the 8th century, i.e. after the Pashupatinath *Prasasti* of Jayadeva, epigraphy: "numismatics and foreign sources abruptly stop and we are nearly completely in the dark about the subsequent history, down to about 1000 A.D."
2. Shanker Thapa and Indra Kumari Bajracharya, *Ratnakar Mahavihara, A Vajrayana Buddhist Monastery of Patan*, (Delhi : Adroit, Publishers, 2005 A.D.), p. 54.

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taken *Vamsavalis,* colophons, inscriptions and foreign documents as the sources of this period. In the absence of the reliable historical sources *Vamsavalis* written either by Brahmanas or the Vajracharyas, Hindu or Buddhists are taken as literary sources, the events of which need to be attested by epigraphic evidences. So *Vamsavalis* are divided into two groups- a) earlier one comprising works about 1400 A.D. b) *Vamsavalis* mainly compiled during the half of nineteenth century. Petech mentions the different *Vamsavalis* of later period as source material of History of Nepal.

Colophons of manuscripts (Mss.) are taken as copious and reliable source materials of that period. In the colophons the scribes add a brief statement mentioning the date of copying or writing writer's name of the reigning king, the place of writing, the name of the copyist, name of the sponsor of the work and other indications. Scholars have found such colophons in Durbar Library, now known as National Archives of Nepal and Tibetan monasteries which are found to be very much helpful in maintaining chronology of the period. With regard to the epigraphic evidence there is a large gap between the ancient and medieval period inscriptions. In the same way foreigners' accounts of the period are scanty. However, we have the account of Ming dynasty of China referring art history of Nepal. In addition to it, scholars have published some travel accounts such as the account of Tibetan monk Dharmasvami which is just like the accounts of Hiuen Tsang. Numismatic evidence is also not much available of this period.

## 4.2. Features of Buddhism in the Early Medieval Period

Mary Shepherd Slusser having explained the early medieval period of Nepal as transitional period reveals the distinguished features of the then Buddhism. She writes that the declining political condition of the Licchavis was not accompanied by corresponding decline of Buddhism in the early medieval period. Rather Buddhism appears to have reached to its zenith during the period. It is stated that Simhadeva (C. 1099- 1122) (according to Petech, C. -1110-1125) professed Buddhism. He abdicated to enter Buddhist monkhood and passed his days in a Buddhist *Vihara.*[3] Simhadeva took the title of "*Paramasugata*" (stunch follower of Buddha.) [4] Scholars write that the

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[3]. Mary Sepherd Slussler, *Nepal Mandala: A Cultural Study of Kathmandu Valley,* Vol. I, (New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 281.

[4] T.R. Vaidya,"Different Rulers and Dynasties of Nepal," *Itihas Prakash,* Kathmandu: Vol. 2, No.2, 2007 A.D.), p.38.

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transitional period marked the changes in the Buddhist *Sangha*. The *Viharas* were deprived of the royal patronage. Although the *Viharas* lost lost their secular power apparently their number increased. They came out as cultural forces. Scholars also mention that the Tibetan Drokmi came and studied Sanskrit in Nepal in the 11th century. *Guru* Bharo of Chobhar was the renowned scholar. In this period the early doctrine Theravada and Mahayana as well as iconographic traditions persisted. Vajrayana Buddhism had come fully into its own. It was the accepted doctrine of India and Nepal. It passed from Nepalis *Viharas* into those of Tibet. It was the time of the *Siddhas, Yogins*, and *Tantrics*. It is believed that they possessed supernatural powers through rigorous discipline and study. They acted as the teachers. The other distinct feature of the period was a vast outpouring of manuscripts from the hands of Nepalis monks. Most of the works of the period from the eleventh century are written in Sanskrit employing diverse scripts. Nepalis craftsmen created, carved cast icons and embellished them in the *Stupas* and *Viharas*. It is also stated that Nepalis art of the period is influenced by the Pala style. The Buddhist female divinities increasingly entered the scene in this period. The Buddhist pantheon comprised divinities with consorts and personified spells (*Dharanis*) and special creatures such as awe inspiring *Dakinis* and *Yoginis*. *Taras*, the saviouress and *Prajnaparamita*, Goddess of Transcendental wisdom, *Avalokiteshvara* and Manjushree *Bodhisattva* were included in it. From the eleventh century onwards manuscripts like *Ashtasahashrika Prajnaparmita* were copied endlessly in the *Viharas*. Vasundhara, the Goddess of good fortune, wealth and abundance, became popular both in iconic and textual forms. Thus it was a period of Nepalis creation. Copying of manuscript became the profession of the Buddhist. They thought thet it give them bread as well as merit. *Tara*, Saviouress appeared in benificent and maleficent form. She appeared in the iconography as a lotus bearing Goddess, the Goddess *Laksmi* or *Devi*. *Bodhisattvas* were worshipped in this period. *Avalokiteshvara*, the Luminous Lord of infinitive compassion, was most popular in this period. The deity is foremost deity in Nepalis Buddhism and is worshipped as *Padmapani Lokeshvara* (Lotus bearer), *Loka Nath* (Lord of the world), *Kurunamaya Avalokiteshvara*. The distinguishing feature of *Avalokiteshvara* is that the deity held crown symbolizing *Triratna* (the three jewels) of Buddhism i.e. *Buddhas-Dharma* and *Sangha*. It also became the distinguishing feature of Nepalis Buddhism. *Avalokiteshvara* is also identified with *Matsyendra Nath*. *Bodhisattva Vajrapani*, the

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Thunderbolt Bearer, and equivalent to *Indra* frequently anthropomorphized as *Vajrapurusa*. Like him, he bears symbolic *Vajra.* He is associated with the *Nagas*, who in Nepal, traditionally help to control the rain. *Avalokiteshvara* is also correlated with Shiva known as *Lokeshvara*, Lord of the world, who shares many attributes of *Bodhisattva* [5] Revati Ramanda Shrestha, quoting Babu Ram Acharya writes –"Towards the beginning of the 9th century when Buddhism was rapidly growing all the Licchavis constituted them in a caste. The *Kumahs* (pottery worker), washermen and other craftsmen from Bihar came to Nepal Mandala. By the end of the 9th century the Vaisha (Thakuris) came to Nepal Mandala.from Uttar Pradesh (U.P.). The Duns and the Dushads who came from U.P became *Chyamakhala.* Vaishya Thakuris defeated the Licchavis and ruled the country. They were deprived of the administrative functions and they were converted into *Jyapus* (farmers). The Licchavi inscriptions are mostly available in the locality of farmers.This made scholars to opine that the Licchavis were made farmers by the Vaishya Thakuris."[6]

In Jamala *Vihara* and Musum *Bahal*, *Maitreya* Buddha is worshipped. Slusser points out that no cult of real importance about *Maitreya* seems to have been developed in the Kathmandu Valley.[7] Slusser states that on the *Caturmukha Caitya,* Vajrapani occupies the left hand post and *Avalokiteshvara*, the right relative portion.The unavailability of sufficient contemporary epigraphic evidences of the early medieval period makes it difficult to trace the history of this period. However, the available contemporary manuscripts and epigraphic sources reveal the development of Buddhism in the reign of different Kings. The *Viharas* of Nepal, India and Tibet have preservation of manuscripts written in the period. Durbar Library of Kathmandu as mentioned above, Cambridge University Library, *Gumbas*, monasteries of Tibet etc have also the preservation of the

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5. Slusser, f.n. No. 3, p.281.She makes remarks- Patan at least, with its interlinking web of *Viharas*, had become essentially a Buddhist university center, not unlike celebrated ones of Bengal and Bihar. From Odantapuri, Nalanda, Jagadal, Vikramasila and other Indian Centres of Buddhist learning, knowledge and teachers strummed into Nepalese *Viharas*. Nepalese Buddhists went to Indian centres to study, and from them teachers such as Atisa and Ratnarakshita came to Nepal, the valley *Viharas*, no less than Indian ones were the centres to which the Tibetans gravitated for Buddhist instruction. p. 282.

6. Revati Ramananda Shrestha, *Newa*,( Lalitpur: Sahityaya Moo Lukha, 2001 A.D. p,44).p. 283

7. *Ibid,* p. 285. Slusser writes- "Each shrine is dominated by a large image of amature which depicts an enthroned Maitreya Buddha turning the wheel of law. The interior of the Musum Bahal Shrine simulates a rocky grotto, evidently an allusion to the *Tushita* heaven where Maitreya awaits the time to descend to earth and restore the "lost truths in all their purity." The image is undated but repairs effected in 1640 A.D. In the Lagan Tole *Caitya*, Rudra and Vishnu are installed facing towards the north and south.

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Mss. of the period. Rahula Sankrityayana had discovered many manuscripts (Mss.) of this period in *Gumbas* (monasteries) of Tibet.

Petech mentions that the ancient history of Nepal closes with the Pashupati inscription of Licchavi King, Jayadeva II dated 733 A.D. (*Samvat* 157) and Changu Narayan inscription of Shivadeva II dated 748 A.D. (*Samvat* 172). After that epigraphic evidences are lacking for about two and half centuries. [8] According to D.R.Regmi the beginning of new era is the indication of the change of ruling dynasty in Nepal. In 879 A.D. the old dynasty of Nepal was replaced by a new dynasty which started new era.[9] It is stated that no evidence is available which proves Raghavadeva, the founder of a new era, belonged to other dynasty. There is no evidence that he conquered old dynasty. The account of new era is also related with the legend of Sankhadhar Sakhwal. The account of *Vamsavali* relating to it is also doubted by the scholars.[10]

### 4.2.1. Raghavadeva the First King of Thakuri Dynasty

Raghavadeva (C. 879-911A.D.), the first Thakuri king of Thakuri dynasty, is referred to have founded *Pasupati-bhattaraka Samvatsara* i.e. in Kartik 879 *Nepal Samvat* and reigned for 43 years 6 months. Then Gunakamadeva (C.942-1008) is referred to as a fairly vigorous personality during the early medieval period. [11] Scholars write that the tradition of copying Buddhist texs started in Nepal ever since the beginning of Nepal era in 879 A.D. Vajrayana Buddhism was popular in Tibet in the 9th centuryA.D.and experts of the Newar scholars in *Tantric* practices brought them closer to Nepal. [12]

Colophons of the early medieval period show that the new era was used during that time. Babu Ram Acharya writes that during the 500 years of the reign of Vaishya Thakuris, many *Viharas* of Patan were constructed and Buddhism was much developed. The Tibetans coming from Tibet ordained the *Gurungs*, Sherpas and Murmis. The *Viharas* of Patan served as educational centres where Buddhist philosophy was explained. They have

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8. Petech, f.n. No. 1, pp. 25-26.
9. Jnanamani Nepal, *Nepalko Purva Madhyakalko Itihas* (History of Nepal During Early Medieval Period), (Kirtipur : Research centre for Nepal and Asian Studies,1997 A.D. (2054 V.S.), p.11.
10. *Ibid*, pp. 11, 12.
11. Petech, f.n. No. 1, p. 30.
12. Shanker Thapa, *Newar Buddhism, History, Scholarship, And Literature*, (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd., 2005 A.D.), p. 52.

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become the cultural centres of Nepal.[13] Acharya further writes that the Vaishya Thakuris called themselves as belonging to the solar race. In the 11th century, Nanyadeva of Karnata dynasty followed *Sanatana Dharma* (traditional Hindu religion). Under its influence the Vaishya Thakuris also followed traditional Hindu religion. When Nanyadeva was ruling in Simroangarh, the Vaishya Thakuris were ruling in central Nepal.[14]

### 4.2.2. Gunakamadeva

K.P. Malla refers to Gunakamadeva of early medieval period from (C.984-990 A.D) (N.S. 104-110) as Gunakamadeva II after Gunakamadeva I of Licchavi period. Gunakamadeva III reigned from (C1185-1195A.D.)(305-315(16)N.S.).[15] Gunakamadeva II is mentioned as the king of Vaishya Thakuri dynasty. He made *Padmacakra Vihara.*[16] Rajendra Ram writes that Gunakamadeva's (942-1008 A.D.) reign may be marked as the period of revival of Buddhism and decay of Nath sects in Nepal. Revival of Buddhism was possible under the patronage of the royal families and Buddhist monks. [17] L. Petech writes that Gunakamadeva was a fairly vigorous personality during the early medieval period. [18] S. Levi mentions that two manuscripts of 1008 A.D. (N.S. 128) and 1015 A.D. (N.S. 135) came from the monastery of *Hlam Vihara. Gun Vihara* and *Halam Vihara* are derived from the non-Sanskrit words which indicate the antiquity of the *Vihara.* In 1008 A.D. (*Samvat* 128) there was dual rule of Nirvayadeva and Rudradeva. The miniatures that adorn the manuscripts of the period show high degree of skill of Nepalis painters.[19]

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13. Babu Ram Acharya, "Newa, Newa Bhaya wa Sanskriti" (Newar, Newar Language and Culture) (Lalitpur : *Sahityaya Moo Lukha* (Main Gate of Literature), (Trans) Svayambhu Lal Shrestha, 1995 A.D.), p.13.
14. *Ibid*, p. 13.
15. Kamal P. Malla," Pachali Bhairav Yek Anushilan," (A study of Pachali Bhairava), (trans) from "*Purvaja Lumanka*" (Rememebering the Ancestors) (an article published in Nepal Bhasa), (Kathmandu : *An Introduction to Kathmandu Metropolitan City, Ward no 12*, 2053 V.S. 1996 A.D., p. 39.Cf. The colophon of *Vajrayana Pratisthaloka* Ms. 1994 A.D. (NS 315) shows Gunakamadeva as successor of Indradeva or Somesvaradeva.
16. Daniel Wright, *History of Nepal* (Reprint), (New Delhi : Asian Educational Services, 1993), p. 154. Also see Petech. f.n. No. 1, p. 41.
17. Rajendra Ram, *History of Buddhism in Nepal*, (Patna : Jana Bharati Prakashan, 1977), p. 86.
18. Petech, f.n. No. 1, pp. 35-36. We have two colophons entitled *Ashtasahasrikaprajnaparanita*, Cambridge University Library, Add.1643 and Add. 2191.1. The first Ms. mentions *Halamvihara* and 1008 A.D. The second Ms.includes the date 1015 A.D.The name of the *Halamvihara* is nonSanskrit (Kirata? Newari?); the monastery cannot be located.
19. Sylvain Levi, "*Nepal*", (Kathmandu : *Ancient Nepal*, DOA, No 65-74, 1983), pp. 37.

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### 4.2.3. Lakshmikamadeva

The next notable king during the early medieval period from Buddhist point of view was Laksmikamadeva (C.1020-1041 A.D.). In 1039 A.D. (N.S. 159) Bhojadeva's son Laksmikamadeva was the sole ruler who built Lakshmikama *Vihara* called *Katko Vihara.* It is mentioned that Siddhinarasimha, the Malla king of Patan destroyed the *Vihara* for extension of Patan Durbar in the middle of the 17th century and to rebuild it in another site. Vijayakamadeva's reign is marked by Ms. *Karanda Vyuha.* Petech writes that Laksmikamadeva was probably the successor of Gunakamadeva in the latter's half of the kingdom.

### 4.2.4. Jayakamadeva

Jayakamadeva (C.1041-1061 A.D.), mentioned in a later chronicle, who enjoyed half of the kingdom of Patan, was also called Jayadeva. *Vamsavali* compiled by Bendall mentions him as Vijayadeva. Petech mentions that Laksmikamadeva appointed him as junior king of Patan.[20] Referring to a colophon of *Samyek Lhon Vihara* dated 1015 A.D. (135 N.S.), it is mentioned that during the joint rule of Bhojdeva, Rudradeva and Laksmikamadeva, a donor made an image of Dipankara Buddha and constructed *Samyek Vihara.* The donor employed the scribes in copying *Ashtasahashrika Prajnaparamita.* During the festival Sujana Bhadra Baudhacharya gave discources on the holy test. Dipankara Buddha was worshipped as the Samyekdya.[21] Bhaskaradeva (C.1043-1050 A.D.) after the death of Jayakamadeva was selected by the Thakuris of Nayakot as his successor. Bhaskaradeva had no son. Petech mentions that Bhaskaradeva was recognized as the king by people of Padmacakra *Vihara* from old capital of Gunakamadeva i.e. Bhadgaon. Two manuscripts of his reign are available.[22] In Pradymnakamadeva's reign

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20. Petech, f.n. No.1, pp. 8,40. Petech mentions three colophons of his reign. These are Ms. *Bhavavtisvedamayathalabdha Tantraraja* preserved in Durbar Library dated 1024 A.D, ms. *Lalitavistara* preserved in Asiatic Society of Bengal,,dated 1036 A.D,.ms.*Saddharmapundarika* preserved in Cambridge University Library dated 1039 A.D.

21. Hem Raj Shakya, *Samyek Mahadana Guthi*, (Trust on Samyek festival), (Kathmandu : Jagat Tuladhar, 1980 A.D. (1100 N.S.), p. 16. The epigraphic account indicates the popularity of *Samyek* festival during the early medieval period.

22. *Ibid,* p. 41-42. Petech mentions two Mss extant in his reign are *Catuspithanibandha*, preserved in Durbar Library dated 1045A.D. and *Visudharma* dated 1047 A.D. Bhaskaradeva is also referred as Bhaskaravarma who is credited for creating a Trust for the worship of Buddhist deities of Pingal *Vihara* of Deopatan, Also see "Nepal Deshko Itihas," (History of the country Nepal, Chronicle

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(C. 1061- 067) three manuscripts were copied. [23] During the time Vamadeva (C.1082-1085), Harshadeva (C.1082/5-1098), Shivadeva III (C.1098-1126), Simhadeva, (C.1110-1125), Indradeva (C.1124-1136), Manadeva III (C.1136-1140), Narendradeva (C.1140-1147), Anandadeva, (C.1147-1167), Rudradeva (C.1167-1175), Amritadeva (C.1175-1178) Somesvaradeva (C. 1178-1182), many manuscripts were copied. They comprise colophons which are helpful in drawing the outline of the development of Buddhist literature in the early medieval period.[24] Gunakamadeva II (C.1184-1198 A.D.), Lakmikamadeva II (C.11-1198 A.D.), Vijayakamadeva (C. 1191- 1200 A.D) were the rulers of Thakuri dynasty.

Indra Mali quoting Babu Ram Acharya mentions 32 feudatories of Kantipur. He says that there were Vaishya Thakuri feudatories in each locality such as Kwa Bahal, Okubahal, Thabahil, Tyuda Bahal, Thahiti, Mulabahal, Ikubahal, Dhwakabahal and Bhimsensthan. The desdcendants of the Vaishya Thakuries are still living in Thabahil, Thakuchowk of Thahiti, Ichhen of Tyauda and Bhimsensthan.[25]

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published by DOA), *Ancient Nepal*, No 16, 1971, pp. 2-4. It includes a legend which mentions that Pingal *Vihara* collapsed. The deities of the *Vihara* were covered by clay, bricks and debris. A farmer on the way to his field traced it. The *Bandya Bhikshus* of Devapatan, Chabahil dug out the deities from the debris. The deities were installed in Hemavarma *Vihara* of Patan.

23. *Ibid*, pp. 43-44. *Pancharaksa* preserved in Durbar Library dated 1063A.D. mentions the name of the king, the venue of writing the Ms as Manadeva *Mahavihara*. The script writer was Ramindradeva. Two other Mss. of his reign are two texts of *Saddharmapundarika* preserved in Cambridge University Library dated 1065 and 1066 A.D.

24. *Ibid*, pp.47-70, Petech mentions the name of Mss., which include several informations regarding the name of the reigning kings, name of the scribes, place and date of writing etc. During the reign of Vamadeva, *Saddharma Pundarika*, dated 1084 A.D. preserved in Leningrad Public Library was written. During the reign of Harshadeva Ms. *Saddharmapundarika* dated 1093 A.D. preserved in Cambridge University Library, Ms. *Stasahashrikaprajnaparamita* panjika dated 1092/93,A.D preserved in Sa-skya monastery and Ms. *Tattvasadbhavatantra* dated 1097 preserved in Durbar Libaray were written during the reign of Simhadeva. *Vasundharadharini* dated 1123 preserved in Cambridge University Library was written.Ms. *Naksatrajataka* dated 1128 A.D preserved in India Office Library London, was written in the reign of Indradeva. Mss. *Pancaraksa* dated 1138 A.D.and *Ashtasahashrika Prajnaparamita* dated 1139 were written in the reign of Manadeva. Mss. *Pancaraksa* dated 1140 A.D *Mitapadapanjika* written in *Dakshina Vihara*,Patan, dated 1141 A.D. and *Namasangiti*, preserved in Saskya monastery ,Tibet dated 1143 A.D were written in the reign of Narendradeva.Mss *Sarvaprakaranasangraha*, preserved in Kaisher Library dated 1147 A.D. *Ashtasahashrika Prjanaparamita* preserved in Asiatic Society, dated 1148 A.D,.*Pancaraksa*, preserved in Cambridge University Library dated 1158 A.D, *Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita* dated 1164,1165,1166 A.D., *Gandavyuha* dated 1166 A.D were written in the reign of Anandadeva. Mss *Kalottaratantra, Dharmasamuccaya, Pingalamata* and *Bhagavatah Prajnaparamitayah Ratnagunasancayagatha* were written in between 1168- 1174 A.D.

25. Indra Mali," Pachali Bhairavako Barhabarshe Nritya", (Twelve years Dance of Pachali Bhairava), (Kathmandu : *Intriduction of KMC, ward No. 12*, 1996 A,D.), p. 49 cf. Baburam Acharya, 1956.

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### 4.3.1 Interaction of Renowned Buddhist Scholars of Nepal, India and Tibet

It is stated that the fugitive Buddhist scholars from Nalanda, Vikramashila, Jagadal and Oadantapuri Universities of India took asylum in Nepal when Muslims destroyed those institutes. The *Acharyas* and *Tantrits* like Buddhashree, Ratnakirti, Kanakashree, Vairochana came to Nepal and there was interaction among the scholars from Utkal to Nalanda, Vikramasila, Nepal, Tibet and vice versa. [26] S. Levi says that Ratnakirti, Vairochana and Kanakashree were Nepali Buddhist scholars. Vagishvarakirti was the renowned Buddhist scholar of Nepal. Citing Tibetan historian, he writes that Vagishvarakirti, the *Tantrist* of Pharping was renowned in his time. Pharping was the centre of *Tantrism. Kubjika sect in* 1092 A.D. (212 N.S.), *Kubjika Dakshinkali, Gorakha Nath Paduka, Vajrayogini*, *Jhankesvari*, and *Tantric* devotion were popular during that time. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries many manuscripts were copied in the *Viharas* of Nepal. [27] During the second half of the tenth century and first half of eleventh century some important Buddhist scholarly monks and laymen visited Nepal to further enrich their knowledge on Buddhism in the light of new changes in it. Eminent Buddhist scholars of Nepal also were equally active in maintaining the past religious, social status and intellectual integrity of Buddhism. Nepal remained a pious custodian of this cultural heritage. Rajendra Ram aptly writes that in all probabilities Nepalis Buddhists were busy in strengthening the internal vitality of their sects on the basis of Siddhacharya's activities in eastern India, Nepal and Tibet. He mentions that the year 940 A.D. is held as a landmark in the history of Buddhism in Nepal. It marked the revival of Buddhism under the patronage of Nepalis rulers. However, Slusser shows the trend of diminishing trend of the royal patronage. Ram writes that during the period of revitalization of Buddhism in Nepal (940-1040 A.D.) a phase of syncretism was passing through. It is stated that the Buddhists of Nepal adopted a policy of socio-religious isolation from the main currents of ideological tension set by Nath sect and its ambitious advocates and fanatic adherents.

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[26]. Haris Chandra Prusty, *Buddhists Remains In Cuttak District*, (Orrisa: Unpunlished Ph.D. Thesis submitted in Utkal University, Bhuvanesvara, 1997 A.D.), pp. 100-105.

[27]. Malla, f.n. No. 15, p.37. *Lalita Bhairava Tantra* was copied in the reign of Shivadeva and Nagarjunadeva. S.Levi writes - There exist three manuscripts. One of them is *Dharmapatrika* dated 1068 A.D. (N.S. 189) The other one is *Ashtasahasrika* dated 1071 A.D. (N.S. 191). The third one *is Prajnakara's commentary* dated 1078 A.D (N.S. 198).

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It is attested by Sanskrit and Tibetan contemporary sources. Nepal became the Centre of interaction among the Buddhists of India and Tibet. [28]

The history of Buddhism in Nepal is closely associated with the *Nath* sects. Gorakha Nath was the disciple of Matsyendra Nath. Matsyendra Nath is regarded as the patron deity of Nepal. The deity is worshipped as *Padmapani Lokeshvara*. The deity is popular as bestowal of rain and also believed as the one who brings prosperity in Nepalis society. The deity is respected by all the Hindus and Buddhists. Matsyendra Nath is associated with *Bodhisattva* cult of Nepal. Among the 108 *Lokeshvaras* worshipped in Nepal, Matsyendra Nath is regarded as the supreme legendry deity. Matsyendra Nath is taken as the *Guru* of Gorakha Nath. According to the accounts Matsyendra Nath, *Adi* Nath, Mina Nath and Gorakha Nath are closely allied. They were all venerated in Nepal during ancient time. The account of Mina Nath occurs in the reign of Amshuvarma and Matsyendra Nath is referred as the deity brought by Bandhudatta Acharya and King Narendradeva from Kamarupa Kamakhya. The legend of Matsyendra Nath is very popular in Nepal. On the top of the chariot of Matsyendra Nath a miniature Svayambhu *Stupa* is embellished. In the same way, Gorakha Nath is highly respected in Nepal. Gorakha Nath is also respected as the incarnation of Lord Shiva. Some scholars are of the opinion that inclusion of *Siddhas* of Nath Sect and *Hathayoga* have distorted the teachings of Lord Buddha. However, it may be noted that no one can avest the currants of development that have taken place in the contemporary society. The feature of the early medieval period marked the trends toward syncretism and holy Buddhism and they aimed at mental purification. Besides this, Nepal served as the Centre of interaction between Buddhists of the North and South. Nepalis Buddhists served as the agents of change between them. Nepal produced many Buddhist scholars during that time.

### 4.3.2 Leela Vajra

Leelavajra (741 A.D.) was one of the *Siddhas* among eighty four *Siddhas*. The Vajracharyas have *Acharya Guthi* on the day of *Falgun Krishna Ashtami* (dark eight day of March) every year. Vakavajra, disciple of Bandhudatta, who established Mahakala of

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[28]. Ram, f.n. No. 17, pp. 86, 89. Ram writes - "Passing away of Gorakha Nath and his disciples from the religious scene of Nepal was a fortunate chance for the Nepalese Buddhists in dealing with rival sects. They (the Nepalese Buddhists) came in contact with new development in the field of Buddhist scholarship as practised in north Indian centres like Kasmir."

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Tundikhel and Bhadrakali, Suratvajra (1410 A.D.) who is said to have crossed Brahmaputra River of Tibet reciting *Jayavanchhali Carya*, Leelavajra, who composed *Carya* songs were included among the four pillars of *Guru* Vajracharyas. They were renowned in Nepal. Vakavajra is also referred to have started Mhapuja (Self worship). *Acharya Guthi* is said to have been started in memoray of the four *Guru* Vajracharyas including Leelavajra. He was initiated in *Namasangiti* (Text relating to *Panca* Buddhas and Vajrasattva as the protecting deities). He was also one of the teachers of Vikramasila and Nalanda University. He was born in Sankhu (Sankhapur) in Manichuda hill, which is mentioned in *Manishaila Mahavadana.* He made Sikhomu *Vihara* of Kathmandu. He is also referred as building Kasthamandap. He wrote commentary on *Guhya Samaja Tantra Nidana Gurupadesh Vakhyanm.* He was influenced by his *Guru* (turor) Laksmikara who is also referred as propounding Sahajayana. He composed *Guhyasamajasahajasadhanam* or *Sahajaguhyasamajasadhanam.* During his time, the *Guru-Chela* (teacher-student) tradition was in vogue. It is stated that the main theme of *Guhya Samaja Tantra* consists of *Namasangiti.* Besides the commentaries on *Namasangiti* and *Krishnayamari Tantra* and *Ashta Bhairava Betala Sadhana, Dakinipanjara, Panca Dakini Sadhan* and other texts, he composed *Sahaja Sunya Samaja* and *Vikalapururohita Charyagitika* etc.[29]

### 4.3.3 Jogichakra Worship

*Jogichakra* was worshipped in Nepal in the early medieval period with great devotion for peace and prosperity of all sentient beings. The *Jogis* are fed on the occasion of the *Jogichakra Puja.* Animal sacrifice is also offered in that *Puja.* On the fifth and seventh day of the death of a person the Newars make propitiation to the crow wishing solace of the *Pretatma* (deceased spirit of the dead) both in the Hindu and the Buddhist community. *Jogichakra Puja* is performed for the eternal peace of the dead by the Newar community. It is also performed for the welfare of all the sentient beings. At present *Jogicharka Puja* has become the common ritual in the mourning rites of the deceased person in Hindu and Buddhist communities in Nepal. In the chariot festival, when the chariot of *Seto* (white) Matshyendra Nath reaches Ason Tole, Kathmandu, *Jogichakra Puja* is performed every year on the *9th of Chaitra Sukla* (in the month of March) by the

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[29]. Yajnamanapati Vajracharya, *Leelavajra Nepaya Prachin Vajracharya* (Leelawvajra the ancient Vjracharya of Nepal) Mushum Bahal, (Kathmandu : 2006 A.D. (1126 N.S.), pp. 1-2, 65-79.

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*Kanaphatta Yogis* (ascetics who have pirced their ear). [30] It presents a scenario of splendid blend of culture in Nepal. Jogi Chakra worship seems more Hindu ritual than Buddhist. It was popular in Hinduized Bhaktapur. However, Buddhist laymen too observe this ritual to pacify the spirits. It shows superstition had taken place in Buddist society in the medieval Nepal.

Ram writes that Matsyendra Nath was the son of Minapa, a contemporary of Pala ruler, Devapala (810-850 A.D.) of Bengal. [31] Matsyendra Nath's account is mentioned by him in the first half of the ninth century. Rahula Sankrityayana mentions that the period of eighty-four *Siddhas* in between (750-1125 A.D.). However it is also mentioned that Gorkha Nath's time starts one century after the beginning of this period. Therefore, Gorakha Nath's date is assigned to the second half of ninth century A.D. Hajari Prasad Dwivedi in his thesis "*Nathasampradaya*" (Hindi) gives the account of Nath sect. In it, Gorakha Nath has been referred as co-worker of his *Guru* Matsyendra Nath. Ram states that several manuscripts like *Mahakaulajnana Vinirnaya, Kamakhya Guhaya Tantra* etc preserved in the *Bir Pustakalaya* (Bir Library) are the works of Matsyendra Nath or Machchhagnapada who flourished during ninth century A.D. Mohan Singh also argues authentically that Gorakha Nath belonged to the ninth and the tenth centuries A.D. The cult of *Avalokiteshvara* Matsyendra Nath seems to have been introduced in Nepal during the second half of seventh century. G.W.Briggs is of the view that Gorakha Nath was the predecessor of Shankaracharya (781-820 A.D.). But Ram mentions that Gorakha Nath flourished in the middle of the ninth century A.D. Gorakha Nath is referred as influential and of magnanimous personality who launched greatest religious movement of *Yoga Marga*.[32] Referring the development of Buddhist Sanskrit literature in ancient time Shanker Thapa mentions that the famous Vajracharya *Pandits* such as Hunkaravajra, Svasvatvajra, Ratnavajra, Leelavajra and Manjuvajra wrote various texts other than *caca or carya* songs. Hunkaravajra of Mantrasiddhi Maha *Vihara* wrote *Vajraheruka Sadhana, ,Sarva Buddha Samayoga, Vajrayogini Visuddhi Strotra,* Sasvatvajra of Sabal *Bahal* composed *Sadhana Pujavidhi, caca,* Vakavajra of Mantra Siddhi *Mahavirara* wrote

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30. Lila Bhaka Munakarmi, "Jogi Chakra" *Ancient Nepal,* DOA, No.115, (Kathmandu : 1990 A.D.), p. 27.

31. Ram, f.n. No. 17, p. 77, cf, Rahul Sankrityayana, "*Puratattva Nibandhavali*" (Hindi) (Allahabad, Second Edition 1958), p. 120, Majumdar (Edt) *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 59. He puts the date of Devpala as 810-850 A.D.

32. *Ibid,* pp. 77-79, cf. *Gorakhanath and Medieval Hindu Mysticism*, (Lahore : 1937).

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*Cakrasamvara Tattvabhangasangraha, Kalachakra Supratisthithopayikavidhi, Vajravarahi Samshipta Strota* and Ratnavajra Jhvabaha wrote *Sunyavaja Tantra, Shree Heruka Sadhana Akshyasadhana, Sahajsiddhi.*[33]

With the development mythical *Bodhisattvas* in the Buddhist pantheon of Nepal, many artists developed their art designs favourite to the demands of the people in land and out land even beyond the Himalayas. The same artists made images of Hindu and Buddhist deities. The images of *Bodhisattvas* made in Nepal were embedded with the divine characteristics of Brahmanical Gods. The Buddhist images of art in Nepal were lost in personal likes and dislike of Nepalis Buddhists, although the art models of *Bodhisattvas* were based on the prescribed prayers and methods of worship mentioned in Mahayana texts, relaxation of this type in Nepalis Buddhism gave birth to 'Neo-Buddhism' which incorporated many non-Buddhist cults.It is stated that Nepalis Buddhism suffered because of the presence of Neo-Buddhists in its organization. It is also stated that the neo Buddhists hampered the prestige of Nepalis Buddhists. The rising tide of Brahmanism made them formidable forces for the future existence. This was the state of religious life in Nepal when Gorakha Nath entered the country. Gorkha Nath was Buddhist earlier and later he joined Nath sect. The personality and achievements of Gorakha Nath were magnetite and effective. It revolutionized the thinking and working of religious life in Nepal. Gorakha Nath appeared in India before *Bhakti* movement and he was seen in Nepal as revolutionary predecessor of Siddhacharyas. He revolutionized the whole socio-religious order of Brahmanical society. When Matsyendra Nath presented his *Yogini* cult, *Shaktism* was flourishing well from eight to the tenth century A.D. Matsyendra Nath held the position of national divinity of Nepal. The four shrines of Matsyendra Nath namely Rato Matsyendra Nath (Red Matsyendra Nath) of Lalitpur, Arya Avalokiteshvara, Seto Matsyendra Nath (white Matsyendra Nath) of Kantipur, Nala Matsyendra Nath and *Adi* Nath (Chobhara Matsyendra Nath) of Kantipur are referred as the holy shrines of Matsyendra Nath. The Gorakha Nath shrines are there in Pashupati Mrigasthali, Kasthamandap and Gorkha. Gorakha Nath is considered as the incarnation of Shiva. Gorakha Nath has kaleidoscopic roles in religious cults.[34] Among the eighty four

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33. Thapa, F.N. No. 12, p.36.

34. Ram, f.n. No. 17, pp. 77-91 H.P Davadi writes –"Gorakha Nath regulated the chakras with the help of self realization and Shaiva traditions. He purged anti-Brahmanical and non - Brahmanical

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*Siddhas*, some of them had come to Nepal. They included Gorkha Nath and Matsyendra Nath in their cult. In the 9th century A.D., some among the eighty four *Siddhas*, such as *Siddha* Jalandhar Nath (46th), Charapati (59th) and Kanahapa (17th) had created a separate sect known as Nath sect. When *Bhakti* movement was taking momentum and Shankaracharya was propogating Shaivism in the early medieval period in India, Gorakha Nath had launched a great religious movement known as *Yogamarga*. Among the eighty four *Siddhas,* Gorakha Nath belonged to the Mahi Nath sect. His *Guru* Matsyendra Nath was the son of 8th *Siddha*, Minapa. Thus Minapa and Gorakha Nath are included in the list of eighty four *Siddhas*. Matsyendra Nath is not included in this (Mahi Nath) sect. It is also assumed that Gorakha Nath belonged to the Nath sect different from eighty four *Siddhas*. It is stated that Minapa (Mina Nath) and Matsyendra Nath were the fishermen of Kamarupa, Assam. Both of them had become *Siddhas*. Matsyendra Nath had spread *Yoga* culture, inclined towards Shakti worship in Shavism. From the 8th to 10th centuries the worship of Shiva along with Shakti was popular. Matsyendra Nath had spread *Kaulachara* sect in Nepal. [35] It is mentioned that Gorakha Nath was a Buddhist monk named *Ramanu Vajra* in the beginning. When he became a Nath *Yogi*, he was called a heretic by Nepalis Buddhist. Like Matshyendra Nath, he was originally a *Tantric* Buddhist but later became Shaivite *Yogi*.[36] This shows syncretism.

### 4.3.4. Hathayoga of Gorakha Nath and its Practice

*Yogini Kaul Sadhana* or Kaul sect was in vogue in Nepal during the 8th and 9th centuries. It was directed against *Varnashram* system. During that period the higher middle class people or feudal lords or *Samantas* were lost in persuits of pleasure practicing *Panchamakaras*. They were practicing *Yogini Kaul Sadhana* and involved in sensual pleasure. In the wake of Muslim invasion, they became weak. In the mean time *Siddha* Jalandhar Nath and Matsyendra Nath were also practising *Yogini Kaul sect.* It is stated that the sect is directed to go beyond sensual pleasure by practicing sensual pleasure itself i.e. to stand upon the ground one must align the ground itself. *Siddha* Matsyendra Nath

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*Sadhanamarga* in such a way that its orthodox forms remained untainted and it's crude, useless and superstitions ones became futile."

35. Bhuwan Lal Pradhan, *Nepalma Buddhism,* (Buddhism in Nepal) (Kathmandu : Royal Nepal Academy, 1968, A.D. (2045 V.S.), p. 35.

36. Ram, f.n. No. 17, p 81. Cf. H.P. Shastri (intro) *Modern Buddhism and Its Followers in Orrisa, p. 9.* R.M. Nath, The background of Assamese Culture, Shillong: 1948, p. 46, N.K. Sahu, Buddhism in Orrisa, Utkal University, Cuttack : 1958, p. 174.

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was passing a life of a fisherman being involved in sensual pleasure with Nirmala, a daughter of a fisherman. *Siddha* Jalandhar Nath was attracted by the beauty of Mayanavati, the queen of Bengal. Matsyendra had reached to Kamarupa, Kamakhya and was involved in the *Rasachakra* of Lalita. In order to check the degeneration of society *Siddha* Gorakha Nath opposed the practice of *Yogini Kaul Sadhana*. The twelve Gorakha Nath sects and seventy four (*Akhada*) monasteries destroyed the (*Sadhana*) austere practice of *Yogini Kaul Sadhana*. Gorakha Nath relieved his *Guru* Matsyendra Nath from being lost in *Kaul* sect. The Nath sects had their sweeping operation from Hinalaja *Tirtha* (place of pilgrimage) to Nepal and freed Matshyandra Nath from the clutches of *Rasachakra* of *Yogini* Lalita. Vajrayana Buddhism also resorted to such practice. It is stated that Gorakha Nath also relieved the people from the influence of *Vamachari* (left sect). The Nath shrines then became the centre of *Yoga* (meditation) and *Bhakti* (devotion).[37] He adopted local dialects as media for his preaching. Gorakha Nath's sermon on *Hathayoga* was not different from old traditions. [38] He practiced a form of *Yoga* much inferior to that taught by the Buddha or Patanjali who considered the concentration of mind a definite point of process to attain salvation. But Gorakha Nath tried to restrict the internal wind leading it from *Muladhara* (below the abdomen) to the forehead and to attain *Siddhi* in this world instead of salvation. Gorakha Nath assimilated the rites and tenets from various sources. His *Sabadi*, composed in local dialects, gave secondary position to Sanskrit. In it, he maintained his rebellious spiritual image adhering to unorthodox cult. It is stated that he advocated the principle of rapprochament between Hindus and Muslims. H.P. Dwivedi writes that he passed from Buddhism to Shaivism to please the contemporary rulers of Nepal for the cause of his cult. He emphasized *Yogic* practices and supported the laity in contacts with the *Yogi*. [39] The followers of Nath sect were facilitated by *Rasa Siddhas* (chemical school). The *Rasa Siddhas* were hebologists who served the society with the knowledge of cures of diseases. Gorakha Nath presented a separate treatise on drinking with food, drink and medicinal plants. Their past association with Buddhist organization made them acquainted with them. *Bhaishajya*, as

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37. Baburam Singh Thapa, *Akhanda Nepal* (Integrated Nepal) [A collections of articles published in different journals] Tanahun: Vishnudevi Thapa, 2062 V.S, (1905 A.D, pp.101-103; *Madhu Parka*, 2057 V.S, (2000 A.D), H.P.Dwivedi says that Gorakha Nath classified the famous *Sadhanas* of *Kayayoga* on the basis of *Saivapratyabhijnana* philosophy.
38. *Ibid*, p. 81.
39. Ram, f.n. No. 17, p. 92, cf, H.P Dawadi, *Madhyayugina Dharmasadhana*, (Hindi) (Allahabad : 1969), pp. 74-75.

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mentioned in *Pratimoksa (Bhikshu Vibhanga and Bhikshuni Vibhanga)* the *Mahavagga the Bheisajjakhandaka of Vinaya Pitaka.* Gorakha Nath rendered a great service to the downtrodden section having no material means of caring diseases in Nepalis society. He advocated that only those parts of *Rasayana School* which were directly concerned with healing measures for physical ailments were borrowed freely from the early Buddhist texts of herbal treatment for his *Rasayana* School. He based his ideas on Shaiva *Tantras* and supplied a suitable *Tantric* school known as *Hathayoga.* In intellectual and philosophical fields, he surpassed the role played by Shankaracharya. Shankaracharya was a self-complacent thinker in uniting the Brahmanical class through Sanskrit. He was class conscious. He failed to make a mass appeal to the *Vedanta* or monotheism in Nepal. On the other hand, Gorakha Nath, through his avid scholarship, sound experience of long travel, *Sabadi* composed in local dilects, sublime *Yogic* ideals could bind human beings on thread i.e. *Yoga.* He exploited the philosophical wealth of Nepalis Buddhism and several preceding religious cults of Nepal. He had a great socio-religious role in Nepal. Vajrayana Buddhism of Lamas of Tibet has greatly united the region of Nepal and China. It was cultivating a vast area of religious sentiments because of its comprehensiveness. It has combined all *Tantric* tenets of Buddhim. It is a mixture of priestly Shaivite mysticism, the elements of Bonism with the thin varnish of Mahayana Buddhism. "The bronze and ivory sculptures of Nepal worked out during 800 to 1200 A.D. reflect Lamaist characteristics.[40] It is mentioned that Gorakha Nath could not convert the Lama Buddhist to his sect. However, he prevented its further growth. His *Rasayana* School, *Sabadi* and *Hathayoga* stood parallel against *Bhaisajya* (medicinal Buddha) school. The *Goraksha Samhita* shows it. His *Sabadi* was more popular among the people of grass root level. Although Gorakha Nath had played revolutionary role in Nepal no definite epigraphic account of Gorakha Nath's activity could be presented. Ram hypothetically writes that Gorakha Nath came to Nepal in 850 A.D. He spent twenty years in examining socio-religious conditions of Nepal.[41] He is referred as doing proselytising activity in 870 A.D. up to 900 A.D. He was active regarding his religious establishment in Nepal. It is assumped that he might have spent the last few years of his life in India. It is also guessed

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40. Ram, f.n. No. 17, p. 84.

41. *Ibid,* p. 80. Ram seems to have based this statement on the basis of Gorakha Nath's legend of twenty years meditation controlling nine Nagas of Nepal. The draught so caused is relieved with the arrival of Matsyendra Nath from Assam as per the legend.

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that Gorakha Nath might not have been able to present a well devised standard of ideological revolt as the *Siddhacharyas* could present. It is stated that he was restless because of class feeling. He advocated an ideal of classless society which is evident from his assimilative doctrine of *Hathayoga*.[42] He criticized the scholars addicted to cramming holy texts as parrots practice in repeating words without having knowledge of their meaning. He exhorted not to argue with scholars because their scholastic conceit was a type of foolishness to impart real knowledge. He also stated not to fight with king because he had no will power for controvert with a *Sadhaka*.[43]

Ram has written that passing away of Gorakha Nath in 900 A.D. from the religious scene of Nepal was highly disadvantageous to the prospect of Nath sect in Nepal. The revival of Matsyendra *Yatra* during the reign of Gunakamadeva (942-1008 A.D.) was an occasional episode with the people's co-operation. Reappearance of *Rasayana* school, sexo-yogic practice under the garb of the worship of *Shakti*, discontinuance of the original *Hattayoga* of Gorakha Nath, decline in simple and unsophisticated ways of living are the reasons of the decline of Nath sect. For chronological convenience the period before the accession of Gunakamadeva to the throne of Kathmandu is referred as the decay of Nath sect in Nepal.[44] S. Levi writes- Matsyendra Nath appears as *Siddha* who is mentioned as coming from India. Yet his name is not figured in the Brahmanic or Buddhistic pantheon of India; but it is met with the tradition of a mystic sect where he even shines in the first rank. The *Buddha Purana*, in which the Brahmans of Nepal had attempted to appropriate themselves with the popular legends of the local Buddhism preserved Matsyendra Nath but ranked him second to Gorkha Nath.[45] It seems that many of the *Yogis* are deified in Nepal for their valuable contributions. Mythological account mentions that the *Avalokiteshvara* of mount Kopatola was Matsyendra Nath. He is also regarded as the teacher of Gorakha Nath. He is called *Avalokiteshvara* or *Lokeshvara*. Legends mention that *Lokeshvara* had transferred himself into a *Matsya* (fish) to hear the doctrines of mystic union taught at one time by primordial Buddha (*Adi* Buddha) to Lord Shiva. The

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42. *Ibid*, p. 85. cf, Rangeya Raghava, "*Gorakhanatha Aur Unaka Yoga*," (Hindi), (Delhi: Atmaram and Sons, 1963,) pp. 152-156, It is stated that the *Hathayaga* doctrine included a large number of dessidents from the sects of *Kapalikas, Shaktas, Kaulas, Lokayatas Suras, Ganapatas, Chinacharas.*
43. *Ibid*, p. 83.
44. *Ibid*, pp. 80-86.
45. Levi, "Nepal", *Ancient Nepal*, No. 53-56 (Kathmandu: DOA, 1980), p. 22. Levi quotes- The manuscript, 233 and 234 entitled *Hathyoga - Pradipik* which is *referred as* a key on Matsyendra Nath cult. He cites Wilson, works. edited by Rost," Essays on the religion of the Hindus", 1962, Vol.I, p.214; II p.30. Levi further ads- Wilson is led to believe that Matsyendra Nath has introduced the Shivite *Yoga* into Nepal and he has realized the union of the sectarian of the *Yoga* with Buddhism.

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latter narrated the story to his divine spouse Parvati on the beach of the ocean. The legend shows syncretism of Hinduism and Buddhism. Several legends relate Matsyendra Nath with Lord Shiva. Matsyendra Nath is venerated by the people of all sects such as Buddhists, Shaivites, Vaishnavites, Sun worshippers and others. It remains as a super model of syncretism. Bandhudatta is credited for composing *Karunastakastrotra* of *Avalokiteshvara*. Narendradeva also had composed such S*trotra* (hymn) in Sanskrit. [46] J.K. Locke mentions that Bunga-dyo, Matsyendra Nath was first used in a Sanskrit poem by Kanu Sharma (1652 A.D.) and in *Matsyendrapadastakam*. A *Thyasaphu* of the time of Shreenivas Malla and inscription of Vishnu temple (1748), Ta-Baha temple (1673) and Bungamati (1675) refer to Matsyendra Nath. Newari accounts contained in the *Avadana* stories and published works of Asakaji Vajracharya speak of Matsyendra Nath only when they relate the story of how *Avalokiteshvara* became Matsyendra Nath. All the other stories speak only of Bungadyo: and *Avalokiteshvara* Karunamaya. Locke assumes that the festival of Bungama *Lokeshvara* was inaugurated by the Licchavi king Narendradeva (c 644-680 A.D.) as the *Gopalaraja Vamsavali* states. It is possible that the cult began with the Buddhist monk who settled in Bungamati and propogated the cult of *Avalokiteshvara* to foster the devotion of the Buddhist laity. The cult of Bungadyo was entirely a Buddhist one from its inception down to the present time. Bungamati of Patan would have been an ideal place to build a *Vihara* in an age when the monks were celibate. They preferred to build their *Vihara* outside the city. Though the cult surrounding the deity at present is Vajrayana, it was probably a standard Mahayana cult at its inception.[47]

Nath *Yogis* maintain celibacy at the time of piercing their ear. They put on (*Kundala)* rings of different objects. It is also stated that the Muslim sages are known as *Peers*. When the Muslim intensified the act of suppression, the Hindus and Sikhs used the word *Peer* to those who were converted to Muslims. They were also called *Peers*. They were

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46. *Ibid*, p. 18-20. S. Levi mentions these legends. One legend states-that Gorakha Nath, the carrier of the baggage of his master was not received warmly by Narendradeva when the former came to Nepal. He got angry and captured all the clouds and imprisoned them under his seat in one of the packages. For twelve years he kept them under his seat, without wishing to stand up. Fortunately Matsyendra Nath happened to pass close by. Gorakha Nath could not help but stand up as a sign of respect. The clouds escaped and rain fell immediately. One other legend states that once Lord Shiva was excited by seeing Vishnu in the form of *Mohini* (a beautiful lady). At her sight, his semen fell. It was eaten by a fish. Out of that Matsyendra Nath was born out the portion of semen which fell into the cow dung. Gorakha Nath had his birth. So both the deities are regarded as incarnation of Lord Shiva. Both of them became *Siddha* and had spiritual origin. The legend indicates Shivite origin of Matsyendra Nath and Gorakha Nath.

47. J.K. Locke, *Karunamaya*, (Kathmandu : Sahayogi Prakashan,1980 A.D.), pp. 327-329.

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given Hindu shield by providing this title. However, they were hated by both the Hindus and Muslims. The Muslim treated them as non-Muslims and the Hindus took them as converts. As a result of it Ballava Sen, the king of Bengal treated them as untouchables.[48] It is also stated that the *Nath* religionists had prestige and they were taken as superior. Later on they practised *Varnashram Dharma* and became corrupt. They took alcohol. They being attracted to Muslim religion were made *Kanaphatta Yogis*. They were treated as untouchables. The Nath religionists also dined at the house of untouchables and did not observe caste system in the beginning. [49] The *Kanaphatta Yogis* have settled in Pashupati Mrigasthali. When *Jogicharka* is worshipped the *Kanaphatta Yogis* perform *Puja*. They being permitted to take intoxicating drink were hated by the Hindus and Muslims. The Nath sect follows the rules of Lord Shiva in Nepal. The God of Nath religionists is Pashupati Nath. Adi Nath is regarded as the main *Siddha* in corporal form. Therefore *Adi* Natha is also taken as incarnation of Shankar. The *Nath* are called *Nathka Avadhutas*. They follow *Siddhamarga* (the way of *Siddhas*) and *Yogamarga* (the way of *Yoga*). It being meditative sect is known as *Yoga* sect. They are also known as *Gorakhapanthis*. The word Nath consisted of two letters, "Na+Th" in Devnagari."Na" means primordial and "Th" means founder.The word. "Na" also is interpreted as *Nath Brahma* and "Th" signifies elimination of ignorance. The Naths are regarded as learned *Yogis*, conscious and not ignorant. The Nath followers identify themselves as Shanker. In Nath sect Lord Shiva is taken as *Kanaphatta Yogi* (sage who has pierced ear). They go on pilgrimage to different great shrines and the remaining time they spend in Himalayan caves. They keep on long hair from head to foot. Among the five elements they recognize *Tej*, *Vayu* and *Akash* (light, air and sky) only three elements. According to *Siddha* tradition Adi Nath is primordial. Matsyendra Nath and Jalandhar Nath were his disciples. Gorakha Nath, Rewa Nath, Mina Nath and Charput Nath were disciples of Matshyendra Nath. Karanipa (Kanipa) and Gopi Chandra were disciples of Jalandhara Nath. *Hatha Yoga Pradipika* is the ancient treatise of Nath sect. It includes thirty one *Siddhas* of Nath

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48. Raja Ram Subedi, "*Siddha Mina Nath*",*Ancient Nepal*, No. 120,(Kathmandu : DOA, 1990), p. 14, cf. Nagendra Nath Upadyaya, *Natha Aur Santa Sahitya*, (Benares: Varanashi University Publication, 1965) p. 57.

49. *Ibid*, pp. 14-15.

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sect. Virupapshya is also included among the Nath *Siddhas*. Mina Nath has the highest place among the Nath *Siddhas*.[50]

According to *Tantric* sect, the twelve *Siddhas* are notable. One scholar has stated that Mina Nath is the superior *Siddha* among the *Siddhas* in Vajrayana tradition. Gorakha Nath comes only after Mina Nath.[51] The Nath tradition gives important status to *Acharya* Matsyendra Nath after *Adi* Nath. Matsyendra Nath is treaded as the *Guru*. The works of *Siddha* Matsyendra Nath is preserved in the National Archives of Nepal. On the basis of script and language, these works are supposed to be of the ninth century A.D. [52] Hara Prasad Shastri writes that the other name of Matsyendra Nath is *Machhigna, Machhaghana.* He belonged to *Siddha Majhi* (*Siddha* fisherman) caste. He has also written that the sage who destroyed the complicated net like birth and death and opened the way to salvation known as *Matsyendra* or *Machhagana*. Several legends are there relating of Matsyendra Nath. The treatise preserved in the National Archives entitled '*Nityaanhikatilakam'* mentions twenty five *Kaula Siddhas*. The treatise includes the account of Matsyendra Nath and Mina Nath. In the philosophy of '*Akhil Bharatiya Nath Darshan*', three *Gurus* (teachers) are mentioned. They are Adi Nath (Mahadeva), Matsyendra Nath (Vishnu, Bhaskar) and the last one is Gorakha Nath. Here Mina Nath is not mentioned. Matsyendra Nath and Gorakha Nath are regarded as supernatural *Siddhas* in Nepal.[53] In the biography of *Siddha* Dhiraj Nath, Adi Nath is compared with moon among the nine planets and is deemed beautiful and peaceful *Siddha*. In the same way his disciple Mina Nath is supposed to have possessed the same traits.[54] *Siddha* Matsyendra Nath propagated four kinds of *Yoga* sect. These are 1) Gorakha Nath, 2) Pagala or Arajanagar (Rawal), 3) Mina Nath Sivator, 4) Parakshya Nath. On these four sects the last two belonged to Jaina sects.[55] It shows Mina Nath as the pioneer of new sect of Matshyendra Nath. He is also connected with Jaina sect. It is also stated that Mina Nath is also deified as *Yamaraj* (God of Death). The literal meaning of Mina and Matsyendra is

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50. Subedi, f.n. No. 48, pp. 14-15.
51. *Ibid*, p. 15 cf. Hajari Prasad Dwivedi, *Nath Sampradaya*, (Illahabad: Hindusthani Academy, 1950), p. 27.
52. *Ibid*, p. 38.
53. *Ibid*, p. 44.
54. *Ibid*, p. 44, Cf. Yogi Narahari Nath, *Devamala Vamsavali*, (Kathmandu: Yogi Kshipranath 2013 V.S. (1956 AD), p. 27.
55. *Ibid*, p. 18.

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the same. Therefore, scholars take both the *Siddhas* as one. However legend mentions that Mina Nath was addicted to sensual pleasure. He is also said to have conspired against Gorakha Nath. Mina Nath had his son named Mina Ram when he was addicted to sensual pleasure. Gorakha Nath escaped from the conspiracy. Later on Mina Nath became a great *Siddha*. Mina Ram had many disciples in India, Pakistan and Afganistan. Many Muslims also followed *Yoga* sect. Thus, these saints are deified.[56] Nath sect is thus more related to Hinduism although it belongs to Mahayana in the beginning and Vajrayana later on. Matsyendra Nath appears as supreme Buddhist deity in Nepal.

History of the early medieval period reveals the emergence of many sub sects in the Hindu religious sects i.e. Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Shaktism and Buddhism, inter sub-sects of Hinduism and Hinduism versus Buddhism, later the compromises and coordination among them caused the development of syncretism. Scientific and unbias assessment and analysis will reveal the truth. The *Jogichakra* exits as the legacy of the *Siddhas* of the Nath sect in Nepal. A scholar of Bhaktapur has vividly given account of *Jogichakra* worship in Bhaktapur. [57]

It is pointed out that the impact of *Nath* sect became apparent in the early medieval period. Changes took place in the monastic life of the Buddhists of Nepal under the guidance of Vajracharyas. Ram mentions that "A new cult originated, practised and developed in Nepal and Tibet known as Kalachakrayana. Prusty has written that Kalachakrayana originated, developed and had spread far and wide from Orissa.[58]. Buddhist approach to cosmology and cosmogony became popular in Nepal. A large number of Buddhist texts were composed during this period under the patronage of

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56. *Ibid*, p. 21

57. Leela Bhakta Munakarmi, "Jogichakra", *Ancient Nepal*, No. 115 (Kathmandu : DOA, 1990), pp. 25-31. Munakarmi writes- The *Yogis* of Nath sect are given feast on the occasion of *Jogicharka* worship. In this worship birds and animals such as duck, cock, goat and buffaloes are sacrificed. There too seventeen earthen jars are filled with local beer or wine (alcohol) or dust of beaten rice in tantric way. These jars are put over the ground laying straw. *Garud Puran* also mentions about the rite of *Jogicharka* worship regarding ritual of Vajrayana Buddhism, Writing about Vajrayana of Tibet A.Waddell writes - "Such was the distorted form of Buddhism introduced into Tibet about 640 A.D. and during the three or four succeeding centuries Indian Buddhism became still more debased. It's mysticism became a silly mummery of unmeaning jargon and "magic circles" dignified by the title of *Mantrayana* or the "spell vehicle" and this so called "esoteric" but probably "the exoteric" cult was given a respectable antiquity by alleging that its real founder was Nagarjuna. In the tenth century A.D. the *Tantric* phase developed in India, Kashmir and Nepal, into the monstrous and poly demonist doctrine, the *Kalacakra*, with its demoinal Buddhas, which incorporated *Mantrayana* practices and called itself the Vajrayana or (The Thunderbolt Vehicle) and its followers were named Vajracharyas.

58. Prusty, f.n. No. 26, p. 96.

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Newar traders. *Tantric* texts and sects became popular in Nepalis society. It is stated that the down trodden section of Nepalis society had access in religious congregation with the advent of Gorkha Nath sect. The Brahman and Sudra dine together under Gorakha Nath sect. This process was started in the Buddhist *Viharas*. Rise of middle class in Nepalis society, facilitated in popularization of Buddhism with fresh experiences and social relations. They had new exposure by visiting India and Tibet. Major Brahmanical social barriers perished with the rise and development of Buddhist *Tantras* during this period. Colophons of several *Tantric* works such as Buddhist manuscripts copied in the tenth to twelfth centuries furnish information about the religious kings and give information on socio-religious changes of this period. The entire Buddhist population participated in the chariot festival of *Seto* Matsyendra Nath starting from the eight *Chaitrabadi* and closed on the *Vaisakh Sudi.* However, it cannot be ignored that Buddhism got its wide scope during this period. Ram further writes that new social and economic values were introduced in the tenth century. It brought about new philosophical and intellectual changes. It witnessed Buddhist *Tantric* revival at monastic level. It was the feature of Buddhism during the early medieval period in Nepal.[59] In the tenth century, the centre of Chobhar was renowned as Suryasana *Vihara*. The chariot festival of Adi Nath took place in Nepal since ancient time. In the same way the antiquity of *Seto* (white) Matsyendra Nath is said to have been related with Kanakmuni Buddha whose sect is believed to be popular before the advent of Shakyamuni Buddha. Locke describes in detail about the *Sangha* of *Seto* (white) Matsyendra Nath. To sum up his views, the *Sangha* of Shakyas and Vajracharyas is related with *Seto* Matsyendra Nath. Originally there were four *Kulas* (families), two Shakyas and two Vajracharyas. They have a common family deity (*Digudyo)* Matsyendra Nath. Today there are eighteen families in the *Sangha* with 145 and 150 initiated members. Six families are Vajracharyas and twelve are Shakyas. The governing body of the *Sangha* consists of one representative of each of the eighteen families. The present *Thakali* (elder) is a Shakya and both the *Naiko* and *Swaya* are Vajracharyas. The members of the *Sangha* serve by turns as *Dyo-pala*s (priests) for a

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[59]. Rama, f.n. No.17, p. 89. Ram writes- "The images of Matsyendra Nath are characterised as four different incarnations. After the passing away of Gorakha Nath, Rato Matsyendra Nath was converted into Padmapani Lokeshvara, Seto Matsyendra Nath into Aryavalokiteshvara, Nala Matshyendra Nath into Samanta Bhadra, Chobhara Matsyendra Nath into Shristikanta Lokeshvara in this period into Buddhist pantheon". In view of the popularity of these sites related with Boddhisattvas since ancient time, the remarks of Ram need consideration.

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period of one lunar month. The *Vihara* known as *Jana Baha* / Maccendra *Bahal* by non-Newars has two *Kwapadya* i.e. image of Amitabha and Aksobhya.[60] Scholara observe that the *Siddhas* brought about distortions and anomalies in the original teachings of the Buddha and Vajrayana is instrumental in it. However, we cannot ignore the value of religiosity deep rooted in Nepal. It aims at purity in *Kaya*, *Vaka* and *Citta* (mind, body and speech).

### 4.3.5 Vajrayana Buddhism Tinged with Hinduism

The Svayambhu inscription of about twelfth century gives account of *Saddharma Caitya* renovated by Maitrichandra. It propagated the great *Brahmajnana* "*Maha Brahmajnana*" for "*Prajnopaya*" wisdom and skillful means. *Brahmajnana* means as the divine source of the universe. It is taken as pure spiritualism. It is stated that Vajrayana Buddhism tinged with Hinduism was popular in the twelfth century. Explaining the inscription Hari Ram Joshi says that the fundamental elements of Hinduism had infiltrated in Buddhism in those days. It is indicated by the use of the word as *Brahmajnana*. Howeve, it was against the basic non- soul concept. Joshi adds that the inscription of Guita *Vihara* of Lalitpur also indicates that Guita *Vihara* was the centre of learning during the period where learned scholars congregated. [61] Charles Bell says that during the eleventh century many Buddhist schools flourished in Nepal. From the eleventh to thirteenth centuries eminent Buddhist scholars made their name in Nalanda, Vikramasila, Jagadal and Odontapuri. After Muslim conquest in India in the thirteenth century, Buddhism nearly disappeared there. Most of the Indian Buddhist scholars either came to Nepal or went to Bhutan or Sikkim or other areas for safety. Nepalis Buddhist scholars came in contact with the Buddhist scholars of India and Tibet and had opportunity of frequent introduction with them. The renowned Nepalis Buddhist scholars residing in Nalanda, Vikramasila, Jagadal and Odantapuri returned and established schools of learning in Nepal. The Tibetans are attributed to have propogated against caste system. [62]. In *Madhur Sutta* of *Majjhima Nikaya*, the Buddha preaches that all castes are equal before Dharma

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60. Locke, f.n. No. 47, pp.169-175.

61. Hari Ram Joshi, "*Madhyakalin Abhilekh*", (Medieval Inscription, Ancient Nepal, Nos. 53 -56, (Kathmandu : DOA, 1979 -1980), p. 16.

62. Harischandra Lal Singh, *Buddhism in Nepal (A Brief Historical Introduction)*, (Lalitpur : Satish Singh, 1990), pp. 18, 31. cf. Charles Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press Oriental Books Corporation, Reprint, 1966.)

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(Law). The Brahmans, Kshetriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras are equally qualified for being *Shravanas*. They are subject to punishment if they are involved in sin or criminal activities. In the same way if they perform charitable activities, they are entitled to merit and by doing this they go to heaven. [63] In the ninth century when the Buddhist *Viharas* were growing it is referred to that the Buddhists constituted in a casteless society.

The other notable Nepali Buddhist scholars were *Guru* Bharopa (Vajra Bhairu Acharya) of Suryasan *Vihara* of Chobhar and *Vihara* of Pham-thinpa. The Tibetan accounts give the names of eminent Nepalis Buddhist scholars and preachers. They were Dharmamati, Duskhorpa, Tham-chun-pa, Bhadanta, Bodhi Bhadra, Mahakaruna Dza hum, Shantibhadra, Indraruchi besides Kanakashree and Phamthinpa. Ram mentions that Advaya Vajra was Nepali scholar. All the reputed Buddhist scholars of Nepal in the $10^{th}$ and $11^{th}$ centuries were highly qualified and well known scholars of this region. In Nepal their houses were somewhat like schools of teachings of Buddhist doctrines. They were in constant touch with Indian as well as Tibetan Buddhist monks and scholars. They exchanged their views with them. They were busy in teaching not only at home but also in Tibet. Some of them visited Tibet. To cite G.N. Roerich, Mahakuruna had gone to Tibet in the invitation of his disciple Rwa-Lat so ba V Dorje grags to preach Buddhism. The Buddhist monks of Tibet and China visited Nepal to get Buddhist education in Nepal and India. In the same way the Buddhist monk Shreejnana Atisa Dipankara (982-1054 A.D.) went to Tibet. Moreover, the Buddhist pilgrims and Tibetan Buddhist mendicants visited Nepal in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Their accounts throw light on the development of Buddhism during that period.[64]

### 4.3.6 Visits of the Tibetan Buddhists to Nepal (978-1026 A.D.)

G.N. Roerich mentions some of the *Tantric* precepts in Tibet such as gtsan and m Na'ris had become defiled due to the wrong practice. Meditation on the ultimate reality was abandoned. Many coarse practice like sexual practices, ritual sacrifice, under the influence of Bon religionists appeared in Tibet. The kings of m Na'ris observed this. As Bon religion was influential, no one could object it openly. So they invited the learned

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63. Dunda Bahadur Vajracharya, edand trans.*The Majjhima Nikaya* (Second Book of *Sutta Pitaka),Lalitpur:* Pavitra Bdr. Vajracharya and others, 2001 A.D. pp.529-532.

64. Ram, f.n. No. 17, p. 9. cf. G.N. Roerich, The Blue Annals Part I, p. 380. It is stated that the Buddhist Scholars of Nepal, Inida and Tibet had free flow of informations during the 9th to the 12th centuries. Many renowned Vajrachayas emerged during that time. Buddhism flourished.

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scholars and monks to remove these idealogical obstacles in Tibetan Buddhism. Roerich further mentions that Brogmi and other Buddhist monks were sent to Nepal and India to continue study on Buddhism.[65]. Kamal P. Malla mentions that the Tibetan Buddhists and pilgrims used to pay visit to the renowned *Tantrists* of Pharping, Vagesvarakirti. [66] Brogmi and his companion learnt Sanskrit in Nepal from Nepali scholar Shanti Bhadra for one year. Shanti Bhadra was the disciple of Shantipa of Vikramsila monastery. Shantipa was the nickname of Ratnakarashanti, incharge of eastern gate of Vikramsila monastery. Brogmi and his company then went to India and studied under the spiritual guidance of Ratnakarashanti or Shantipa who composed *Sadhana* to worship *Vajratara* and *Trilokya*, a form of Heruka. Ratnakarashanti was the contemporary of Dipankara Shreejnana Atisa, Advayavajra, Naropa, Prajnakaramati, Vagisvarakirti, Ratnavajra and Jnanashree. After eight years study in Vikramasila, Brogmi and his company studied Vajrayana *Tantras* under the spiritual guidance of Prajna Indraruchi. Brogmi was initiated into the mysteries of Hevajra from one of the pupils of the great *Siddha* named Virupa of Magadha, the contemporary of Devapala (810-850 A.D.). He learnt *Tantra* for three years. In 1043 A.D., he reached Tibet. In 1073 A.D. he established Sa-Skya monastery in Tibet. It is stated that Brogmi was involved in the translation of *Hevajra Tantra Nama*. On his way back home Brogmi stayed in Nepal from 1030 - 1043 A.D.

Another Tibetan Buddhist monk named Marpa-Do-pa studied in Nepal under a Brahman scholar, Krishnapada. Krishnapada was the disciple of Nepali scholar Dza-hum. Milarapa was also the disciple of Marpa-Lho-brang-pa. Roerich writes that Marpa-do-pa learnt Sanskrit from a local Tibetan scholar before proceeding to Nepal. He met Marpa-Lho-brang-pa in Nepal, who was returning to Tibet from India. Marpa-do-pa presented one golden zo to Marpa -Lho-brang who refused it but advised to learn Buddhist doctrine from four disciples of Naropa (978-1026 A.D.). Marpa-do-pa met Narapa in Tirhut and presented one golden zo to him. In Magadha he met disciples of Narapa named Kanakshree, Prajnaraksita, Bodhibhadra and Pramudavajra. From them Marpa-do-pa obtained initiation in *Chakrasamvara Tantra*. After accomplishment of his mission in India, Marpa-do-pa came back to Nepal. Marpa-do-pa got himself acquainted on the Naropa system from Nepali Vajracharyas named Vagishvara and Kanakshree, brother of

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[65]. *Ibid*, p. 91.

[66]. Malla, f.n. No.15, p. 40.

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Phamthimpa and Vajrapani, a disciple of Maitripa in Nepal. Besides Buddhist learning he also studied other discipline with the help of Sumatikirti. He translated many works on the *Charka Samvar Tantra*. After he reached Tibet, he formed a school of Buddhist philosophy after his own name and method of learning.[67] It is believed that Tibetan *Guru* Marpa had his *Dekha* (initiation) in Ratnakara *Mahavihara* (*Hakha Baha)* located near *Ga Baha,* Patan. He lived there for three years. In this *Vihara,* there is the tradition of living Goddess, Kumari. It is also known as *Layeku Vihara.* The *Maha Vihara Sangha* has only Vajracharya members whereas other *Vihara Sanghas* in Patan have both Shakyas and Vajracharyas as members. The *Sangha* members became *Dyopala* at the shrine of *Kwapadya* in turn from the eldest to the youngest. The *Sangha* has a committee of ten elders who are called *Aju*. The eldest *Aju* is called *Chakreshvara.* He plays an important role during *Barechhuyegu* (initiation) and *Acaluyegu* ceremonies.The *Ajus* meet once a month on full moon day for *Tantric Puja* (*Agampuja*) and on the tenth day of the dark half of each month for a ritual feast. This *Vihara* has a single *Bhojan Guthi (Sandey Puja), Acharya Guthi, Sana Guthi,* (trust for funeral procession), *Vicha Guthi* (trust for taking care of the mourning members of the family of the dead). Various other rituals are also observed at this *Vihara* from time to time.[68]

After Marpa-do-pa, the next Tibetan Buddhist scholar who visited Nepal was Rwa-lotsa-ba-rdorje. He was a great interpreter working in Tibet. In Nepal, he spent most of his time with famous Nepali Buddhist scholar Mahakaruna, who was the expert Buddhist philosopher in the system of Naropa. Rwa studied under his spiritual guidance. From the accounts of Tibetan Buddhists, we come to know about the highly qualified Buddhist scholars of Nepal. They were Phamthinpa, Dharmamati, Dus Khorpa, Than-chun-ba, Bodhibahadra, Sunyashree Vagishvara, Vajrapani, Maitripa (Avayavajra), Krishnapada, Dza-hum, Shantibhadra, Indraruchi. Their houses looked like teaching centrers in Nepal. At the invitation of Rwa, Mahakaruna visited Tibet to preach Buddhism and its tenets. He got occasional presents from his disciples of Tibet even when he came back from Tibet. Soon after the fall of the Tang dynasty (946-976 A.D.), a mission of Chinese Buddhist priests under the leadership of Kinya visited Nepal. In 940 A.D., Kinye came to India via Gandhara, Gilgit Valley from his home in Kansu North West of China. He took his return

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67. Ram, f.n. No. 28, p. 93.
68. Thapa and Vajracharya, f.n. No. 2, p. 12.

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journey via Nepal. He is supposed to have visited Lumbini, the birthplace of Lord Buddha. There he came to contact with several sects of Buddhism in his time before he returned to China. [69]

### 4.3.7 Advayavajra's (978-1033 A.D.) Contributions for the Promotion of Buddhism

Rahul Sankrityayana has described the life and career of Advayavajra. His family name was Damodar. He was born in a Brahman family. His father's name was Nanukananda and that of his mother was Shavitri. At the age of eighteen, Damodar had come to contact with Buddhist monk scholars. He studied Buddhist scriptures. He went to meet Naropa at Vikramasila monastery. Under him he studied logical treatises of Dingnaga and Dharmakirti and Madhayamika philosophy of Nagarjuna. He studied *Virakara Vyavastha* of Vijnanavada under *Mahasiddha* Ratnakarashanti.[70] At the age of twenty seven, he became *Bhikshu*. He was given the name Maitrigupta (loving one) in his erudition of five fields of learning. He learned much the philosophy of logic and *Tantra*. He was ordained by Ratnakarashanti. He also studied under Tirtha Cintamani, an eminent scholar and teacher of Ratnakarashanti. Under him he studied" Mind cnly Philosophy" for one year. He was also initiated into *Samvara*, *Hevajra* and so on. His *Tantric* name was Vajrasagar.[71]

At Vrikramasila *Mahavihara,* he desired to be *Siddha*. So he recited *Mantra Pancakrama Tarapadhati.* He understood the importance of *Doha* and *Carya* songs. He came to know about Buddhist *Siddha* monk scholar Sarahapada and *Siddha* Sabaresvara of the Mountains of Manabhanga and Cittavisrama of Orrisa (India). Then, he went to Dhyanyakataka at Guntur district in Andra Pradesh at the age of thirty one years. He visited the mountains of Manabhanga and Cittavisrama and recited *Tarasadhana*. He practised fasting, offered ten *Mandalas* every day and meditated at the shrine. Ultimately he got the vision of *Bhattaraka Siddha Sarahapada* in person who ordained him as *Sadhaka* in *Tantricism.* It was at this stage, Maitrigupta was named Advayavajra. He heard sermons on *Panchakarma* and *Chaturmudra* for twelve days. Advayavajra had

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69. *Ibid,* p. 99.

70. Min Bahadur Shakya, "Life and Teachings of Nepalese Siddha Advayavajra", *Buddhist Himalaya,* Vol. V, No. I & II, (Lalitpur : 1973), p.1.

71. *Ibid,* p. 3.

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inherent confusion and misunderstanding in *Tantras*. Therefore, he was asked to meditate over the female Buddhist deity Vajrayogini. He was dispassionate to the problems of the Buddhist *Tantric* practices following the instruction of *Guru* Sarahapada, Advayavajra persued a career of writing and teaching. He composed some works at Shreeparvat. *Guru* Marpa of Tibet was his disciple. He gave complete *Abhisehk* to Marpa and gave secret name *Vajracitta*. He gave him oral instruction and transmission of *Mahamudra*, *Aryamanjushreenamasangiti* and *Dohas* along with their explanation. He transmitted *Mahayana Uttara Tantra Shastra and Dharmadharmata Vibhanga*. He passed away at the age of seventy five. The four great disciples of Maitripa (Advayavajra) were Sahajvajra, Sunyatasamadhi, Ramapala and Vajrapani. Advayavajra wrote Buddhist works such as *Avodha Bodhaka, Gurumaitrigitika* and *Caturmudropadesaka*. He was in close touch with wandering Buddhist mendicants, the *Siddhacharyas*. He wrote twenty one short works with various aspects of Buddhism.[72]

One of the disciples of Maitripa (Advayavajra) wrote commentary on *Tattvadasaka* and *Sthitisamucaya*. He was Sahajvajra. The *Tattvadasaka* (ten verses on reality) only survives in Tibetan translation. It is a chief source of *Mahamudra* (profound meditation system). The *Tattva-dasaka* was written by *Mahasiddha* Maitripa (Advayavajra). The text is the Manuel of instruction in the path to awakening. It describes the nature of reality from ultimate point of view. It describes the Mahayana philosophy. Its teaching may not be complete without *Guru's* oral instruction. It is stated that late Mahayana philosophy is the blend of *Madhyamika* and *Yogacara* or mind only (*cittamatra*) school. In terms of spiritual practice, the keynote of the school is "integration" referring to the integration of *Madhyamika* with *Yogacara*, which means wisdom calm with insight etc. It makes reference of spiritual practice, *Yoga*, by which view of reality is obtained. [73]

### 4.3.8. Guru Bharo (Vajra Bhairu Acharya)

*Guru* Bharopa was the founder of Adi Nath *Vihara* known as Suryasan *Vihara* of Chobhar. Hubert Decleer has published the account of *Guru* Bharopa, as a short sacred biography. Vajrakirti, *Guru* Bharopa's disciple gives detail accounts of the.events with the *Guru*. The biography consists of three hundred pages. It is ascribed to Jnana Simha

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72. *Ibid*, p. 5. cf. *The Blue Annals*.

73. Mark Tatz (Trans.) "The Tattvadasaka," (Lalitpur : *Buddhist Himalaya*, Vol. V, No.1 & 2, 1993), pp. 12-13, The translator says that the Tibetan Translation of ten verses is derived from two manuscripts.

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known as "*The Melodious Drumsound*". Jnana Simha was the spiritual grandson of Vajrakirti, the disciple of *Guru* Bharo. Jnana Simha also came from Rwa. Vajrakirti was a *yogin,* translator from Rwa. Vajrakirti born in 1016 A.D. was a rival of Marpa. H. Decleer says that Vajrayana transmission from *Guru* Bharo, the Vajracharya of Patan Chobhar is also known from other accounts. [74] It is stated that Vajrakirti in his early career was extremely out spoken and obstinate. His father led him to meditation. From twelfth to fourteenth year, he practised the divine approximation of *Heruka*. But he did not have direct vision of the deity's face due to many obscurations. One night when he was asleep, he saw four girls who commanded him to Dipankara Shree *Guru* of Nepal for profound instructions. After that, he woke up and experienced an excellent meditative stabilization and decided to meet his *Guru* to obtain supreme *Siddhi* (feat) from *Guru* Bharopa also known as Vajra Bhairu Acharya of Nepal. With that view, he approached to his parents. Thinking positively about the prophecy of sky walking *Dakinis,* his father let him go to Nepal. He came to Nepal with twenty nine ounces of gold given by his parents, his four brothers, his neighbours and country men.[75]

The sacred biography mentions Vajrakirti came to (*Yarung*) Patan in 1030 A.D. The biography describes the natural beauty of the Valley and gives account of Suryasan *Vihara* of Chobhar. *Guru* Bharo lived in a thatched house. He made *Sadhana* of Vajravarahi on the basis of *Tantra* under the instruction of *Guru* Bharopa and offered a *Ganacakra* feast with three ounces of gold. He realized *Yogin* and received teaching on *Dharma*. The biography narrates a story that once he met a *Tirthika* (heretic) named Purna, the black while he was circumbulating Svayambhu shrine. Purna wanted to make Vajrakirti as his disciple but Vajrakirti denied being his disciple. Then Purna cast a (magical dagger) an arrow on Vajrakirti and told that he would die in seven days. Vajrakirti narrated all the episodes to *Guru* Bharopa. The latter gave his disciple the profound instructions of throwing back the black art. It is stated that Mahayana Buddhism does not believe on balck art. Then Vajrakirti practiced *Ushnish Mantra* under the instruction of *Guru* Bharopa in which he became successful. Purna, the black magician came to know it and he is said to have commited suicide. Vajrakirti states that the Valley possessed innumerable sacred images and monuments dedicated to the body, speech and

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74. Hubert Decleer, "Bajracharya Transmission in XI Century", *Buddhist Himalaya,* (Lalitpur : Vol VI, No.1 & 2, 1994-95), p.1.

75. *Ibid,* p. 3.

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mind of the rare and precious ones. The Valley is the residence of *Pandits* and *Mahasiddhas* and place of awe-inspiring *Khechari* and it is the continent of *Dakinis.* After that *Guru* Bharo told him to go back as he had completed all the instructions he needed and he would practice them at home. The biography gives another account. According to it, Vajrakirti was going back home. When he reached to a bazar some body pulled him from behind. He saw a beautiful lady whose body was entirely covered with gold and turquoise. She told him to complete the instructions before he goes back to Tibet. Vajrakirti once more returned to the house of his *Guru.*[76] Vajrakirti noticed that *Guru* Bharo used to go to a dense forest and go off from there. One night when his *Guru* was going to the forest as usual Vajrakirti followed him from distance. In the mid of the forest, there was a cave containing a spring. The *Guru* entered the cave. Inside the cave there was a scroll painting of Shree Vajra Bhairava. A set of five offerings were laid out in front of it. The *Guru's* body was naked. He had put on the garland of bone. He recited *Mantra.* Vajrakirti saw him. His joy knew no bound. He prostrated before the *Guru.* The *Guru* seeing his unshakable faith agreed to give him secret *Mantra* and told him to keep patience for enduring hardships. Then he became invisible. The biography mentions that Vajrakirti, under the instruction of *Guru* Bharo performed *Vajrakila* practice in close meditation retreat at *Asura* rock cave as well as (Yanglesho) Pharping. There, he realized the *Yamantaka.*[77] Hem Raj Shakya also writes – "*Pandit* Hrang Lochawa was the disciple of Vajra Bhairu Acharya of Suryasana *Vihara.* He learnt *Hevajra Mandala.* In the same way he got instructions relating to Sahashrabhuja *Lokeshvara* from Chandra Kanta *Bhikshuni,* devotee of Adi Nath Lokeshvara. [78]

### 4.3.9. Shree Atisha Dipankara's Visit to Nepal on the Way to Tibet (982-1054 A.D.)

Towards the first half of the eleventh century, it is stated that the Vajracharyas of Nepal played great role in adjusting Buddhist ideas in the context of trade bound Buddhist

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[76]. *Ibid,* p. 34.

[77]. *Ibid,* p. 8, The Charka Tirtha Cave (Gupha) was explored in 1986 led by experienced Spelon ker Ian Barker. The assignment was carried by his four students under the auspices of the school of International Training for world learning. The target was the elucidation of certain data here examined from the Drum sound.

[78]. Hem Raj Shakya, *Shree Swayambhu Mahacaitya, (*Kathmandu: Swayambhu Vikas Mandal, 1976 A.D.. 1098 N.S), p. 191-106.

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society. Dipankara Shreejnana Atisha (1041 A.D.) visited Nepal in course of his journey to Tibet during that period. Dipankara Shreejnana Atisha was born in the royal family of Savour, which is suburb of modern Bhagalpur (ancient Bhangala). Dipankara's family name was Chandragarsha. His father's name was Kalyanshree and his mother's name was Shree Prabhavati Shreeprabha. He emerged as one during the time of eighty four *Siddhas*. In 994 A.D., he got initiation from *Acharya* Bodhi Bhadra, due to his inner spiritual urge. After having education from Bodhibhadra Dipankara went to *Avadhutipada*. He remained there in 1000 A.D. During the period of his stay there, he practiced hard *Tantric* feats of *Ganacakra* in association of *Dakinis* of Uddiyana. There he heared many *Vajra* songs. Then he went to Vikramasila. There he accepted Naropa as his *Guru*, who was the incharge of northern gate of Vikramasila University. Finally he went to Vajrasana and stayed at Moti *Vihara*. Shilarakshita initiated him as a Buddhist *Bhikshu*. In Vajrasana, he stayed up to 1013 A.D. At that time, he was well versed in *Shastras* (literature of knowledge), *Tripitakas* and several Buddhist *Tantras*. At the age of thirty one, he became master of several subjects concerned with Buddhology. [79] Atisha is the honorific Sanskrit title of Dipankara Shreejnana which means "outstanding". It is stated that after the persecution of Buddhism by Landerma in Tibet, the Ningmapa sect suffered heavily. The Buddhist monks under the garb of *Tantric* Masters began to practice sexo-yogic rituals. They followed only the literal meaning of the *Tantras*. They ceased to follow the rules of *Vinaya* and practice meditation under the name of the *Tantras*. Seing the deteriorating condition of Buddhism, the Tibetan king Bodhiprabha invited Dipankara Shreejnana Atisha of Vikramasila University for the sake of reforming Buddhism. In 1041 A.D., Dipankara Shreejanana Atisha came to the Kathmandu Valley with a party of twenty eight attendants. They brought numerous Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts. Atisha composed a very important Buddhist text called *Carya Sangraha Pradeepa* for the benefit of Nepalis Buddhists. [80]

Atisha Dipankara was invited to Tibet by the Council of Learned. Under the leadership of Nag-tso called Shilavajra, five persons were sent to India to escort Dipankara. The party took large quantities of gold for journey expense and a bar of gold weighing sixteen

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79. Ram, f.n. No.17, pp. 105-106.

80. Min Bdr. Shakya, *Buddhism in the Himalaya, Its Expansion and the present day Aspects*, Paper presented on the occasion of seminar Unesco's Integrated Study of Silk Roads of Dialogue LDT Netnatcom, Buddhist Route Expedition Nepal, Sept. 21-30,1995.

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ounces for presenting to Dipankara.When the party was preceding through Indo- Nepal boarder, a gang of robber's persued them. However, they escaped from the conspiracy of these robbers and reached Vikramsila.[81] Different accounts throw light on Atisha Dipankara's visit to Nepal and Tibet. On his way to Tibet in Nepalis Terai, he had encountered with eighteen naked ascetics, followers of *Kapilputra* after leaving Mitra *Vihara*. He stayed in Buddhist monastery of Simroungarh, where fifteen *Acharyas* or *Tirthikas* received him. Just previous to Atisha's arrival to the Kathmandu Valley, a young pretty arrogant boy approached Atisha with an invitation letter written on a leaf of *Tadapatra* from Kushalamati, the king of Li country, on his visit to Svayambhu shrine. [82] Hem Raj Shakya writes that Atisha stayed one year in Nepal before going to Tibet in 1041 A.D. He ordained one prince in Nepal. At that time Nag-tso Lochava who came to Nepal to escort Atisha, was very much impressed with the way of dining by the *Bhikshus* at Tham *Vihara*. .He has also mentioned a Buddhist scholar named Shanti Bhadra who had translated Buddhist texts in Tibet. [83] While going to Tibet, Atisha's belongings were packed in sixty loads to be carried on by thirty horses. They included Buddhist scriptures and manuscripts for Atisha's personal use. Earlier, he had *Satsangha* (religious discussion) in Simroungarh with *Tirthikas* (heretics). Atisha was well versed in almost all the philosophical ideas of the day. He is said to have solved all the questions raised by *Tirthikas*. In a fit of exuberance and ecstasy, they presented an umbrella to him as a mark of respect for his learning. The *Tirthikas* consisted of brahmanical followers like Shaivas, Vaishnavas and Kapilas etc. It is also mentioned that one of Nepalis rulers had a bad eye over the beautiful sandal wood table meant for Tibet. The king sent some robbers to intercept Atisha on his way from Simroangrah to the Kathmandu Valley. The robbers were deeply impressed by the great saint and his hypnotic power. They could do nothing and returned with changed heart. The king is not identified. It is assumed that the king may be heretic ruler of some unimportant clan. [84] The Dromten Itinerary mentions that a grand reception was organized at Svayambhu in honour of Dipankara Atisha by the delegates from western Tibet. In the reception a messenger of Hla-tsun, the monk ruler of

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81. Ram, f.n. No.17, p. 107.
82. Hubert Decleer, "Atisha's Arrival in Nepal", (Lalitpur : *Buddhist Himalaya*, Vol. No. 1 & 2, 1997), pp. 1-2.
83. Shakya, f.n. No. 78, p. 122.
84. Ram, f.n. No.17, pp. 110-11.

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Tibet had also arrived. The reception was attended by Maharaja Bhumi Singh, the king of Bhutan. It was also attended by Virya Simha, Virya Chandra from Tibetan side and Atisha's younger brother Shreegarbha from India. It is also mentioned that Dipankara Atisha was deeply impressed by the enchanting beauty of Svayambhu *Mahacaitya*.[85]

Ram writes that Atisha Dipankara presented an elephant named '*Dristha Aushadhi*' to the king of Nepal and on his request the king constructed a Tham *Vihara* and permitted his son to be ordained as (*Bhikshu*) monk pupil of Atisha. Atisha also instructed the king not to utilize the elephant in carrying arms or weapons and use it for peaceful purposes only. For example, sacred objects, scriptures, symbols and images might be carried on it. The prince was the first man initiated as pupil of Atisha before his departure to Tibet. The name of the prince was Padmabhadra. Atisha is also mentioned as the *Guru* who laid the foundation of Vikramasila *Mahavvihara* at Thabahil Kathmandu. He also laid foundation of five *Stupas* known as *Panchmani.* These *Stupas* are located to the north west of Kathmandu on the way to Kerung.[86] Ram further writes-Atisha deposited provisions for supporting many Buddhist monks who were living in Thabahil. A Tibetan monk scholar Dharmasvami (A.D. 1197-1264) referred Tham *Vihara* as "*First Vihara*" or "*Upper Vihara*". Rama adds-"In that *Vihara* there was a *Stupa* on which every evening light appeared. That light was observed by Atisha who had inquired about it. An old womam explained that it must be the coloured dust after the erection of *Mandala* by Buddha Kashyapa. Atisha then erected a temple to worship it." [87]

The eleventh century is taken as the inauguration of a Buddhist period known as the period of Kalachakrayana. Kalachakrayana, a mystic and esoteric cult also known as thorough going *Tantric* sect is said to have been founded by Dipankara Atisha.[88] Opinion of the scholars differs on it as mentioned above. In Nepal Dipankara Atisha convened Buddhist meetings and organized Buddhist *Viharas*. He wrote '*Carya Sangraha Pradipa*' for the cause of Nepalis Buddhist ideas. He described the *Caryas of Prajnaparamita* before Nepalis Buddhists. [89].Atisha also wrote a letter of goodwill and religious virtues to

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85. Hubert Decleer, "Death of the Translator Virya Simha", *Buddhist Himalaya*, Vol. IX No. 1 & 2, Lalitpur, p. 12-15.
86. Ram, f.n. No.17, pp. 114-115.
87. *Ibid,* p. 115.
88. *Ibid,* p. 116, cf, A. Chattopadhyaya, p. 321.
89. *Ibid,* p. 116.

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the Pala king of Bengal named Nayapala (1038-1053 A.D.). It is known as "*Vimala-ratna-lekha-nama*". It was sent to Pala king on the occasion of his coronation ceremony held in 1041 A.D. It contains religious and moral precepts. It does not include important events that occurred during his stay in Nepal. A. Chattopadhyaya writes–"Dipankara provided well ordered routine life to the Buddhists of Nepal with due emphasis on the use of time. He explained the methods and purpose of meditation. He described the special meditation posture called *Saptapuja* (seven fold worship). He showed the importance of recognized and classical teachings of Mahayana. [90]

To cite H. Kern, the four philosophical systems of Nepalis Buddhism developed during the time. These systems are *Svabhavika, Aishvarika, Karmika and Yetnika*. There was no systematic attempt to systematize Buddhist philosophy. It is stated that during the stay of Atisha in Nepal the four systems of Nepalis Buddhist philosophy were developed. The proces of synthesis of Brahmanical and Buddhist religion had already begun from the eight century A.D. The works of Shankacharya and Gorakha Nath had adversely affected the philosophy and religion of Buddhism in Nepal before the advent of Atisha. [91] *Part II of Dromton Itinerary* describes a sad incident of one of the members of the party of Atisha's journey. Viryasimha of Gya clan became a victim of a *Tantrist*. The *Sacred Biography* mentions that a *Tantric* killed Atisha's favourite Tibetan disciple and interpreter through the effect of the evil charm. Atisha was personally very shocked by the sad incident. *The Dromton Itinarary* also refers three classes of beings i.e. *Avalokiteshvara*, Manjushree and Vajrapani and three classes of emanations as sacred icons i.e. the *Seto* (white) Matshyendra Nath, the *Rato* (red) Matshyendra Nath and the *Aryawati Sangpo* of Kerung.

At the end of 1041 A.D., it is stated that Nepalis king gave a happy send off to Dipankara Atisha leaving Nepal for Tibet. [92] The Tibetan king received him on the other side of Nepal-Tibet border. Dipankara Atisha was honoured in Tibet as the highest priest. He was given the honorific title of *Jovo-je* (supreme Lord).[93]

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90. *Ibid*, p. 117.
91. *Ibid* : p.117. cf. H. Kern, *Manuel of Indian Buddhism*, (Strassburg) 1896. p. 134.
92. *Ibid*, p. 118 cf, Rahula Sankrityayana, *Atitase Vartaman*, (From Past to Present), Hindi, p. 35
93. *Ibid*, p. 118.

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Min Bahadur Shakya writes that Nepal had growing tendency of Vajrayana among laities. Atisha seemed to have transmitted ordination and *Bodhisattva* vows to Nepalis disciples. It is stated that he paved the way for the growth of *Bodhisattva* tradition among Vajrayana Buddhists of Nepal. [94]

It is remarked that the tradition of Buddhist pilgrimage to Nepal continued after the death of Dipankara Atisha. It is evident from the visit of many Tibetan Buddhists to Nepal in between 1054-1140 A.D. Besides that their travel accounts reflect social, religious and material conditions of the time.

## 4.3.10. The Tibetan Buddhist's visit to Nepal (1038-1123)

### 4.3.10.1. Milarepa

Milarepa was among the Tibetan Buddhists who visited Nepal. He was born in Kya-vian-tsa in the province of Gung-thang in Tibet. [95] It is stated that his birth place is situated on the Tibet-Nepal border; a few miles east of Kerong pass on the side of Nepal. According to A. Waddell, he was born in 1038 A.D.[96] However G.N. Roerich, H. Hoffmann and E. Zurcaher opine that he was born in 1040 A.D. W.Y Evans-Wentz puts the date as 1052 A.D. Thus there is controversy over his date of birth. Milarapa was born in a wealthy family. When he was seven years old his father died. His uncle and aunt usurped his belongings and property. Being offended, his mother sent him to learn black art and become Lama. He went to U at Yarlun where he became a disciple of a learned black art teacher named Skyo-mo-krum. After learning black art from him, he is said to have destroyed the standing crops of the common people and destroyed the house of his uncle with the help of hail storms by reciting evil *Tantras*, necromancy and demonical feats. [97] This made Milarapa repent later on. He had guilty conscience and became restless. It aroused inquisitiveness for the acquisition of noble ideas and constructive Buddhist *Tantras*. He went to Magon and then to Ch'os la egang. He became a disciple of *Lama* Marpa (1012-1097 A.D.), the Tibetan Buddhist scholar. [98] He had obtained direct *Tantric*

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94. Shakya, f.n. No. 70, pp. 1-2. Intro, *Atisha and His Teachings*, MIEM, 1996.
95. Ram, f.n. No. 17, p. 121.
96. Austin Waddell, *Buddhism and Lamaism in Tibet*, (Kathmandu: Educational Enterprise (Pvt Ltd), 1978), p. 15.
97. Ram, f.n. No. 17, p. 122.
98. Waddell, f.n. No. 96, p. 5.

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initiations from Naropa, Maitripa and Kukkuripa. [99] The rare gift of mind of Marpa had attracted Milarapa. So he went to his house and narrated his past career truthfully. Marpa became angry and refused to accept him as his disciple. He also warned him to keep the black art scriptures away from the sacred books and holy relics that Marpa possessed that time. [100] Milarapa was put to very hard tests in course of undergoing the spiritual training under the guidance of Marpa. He was put under severe probation and penance lasting for six years.[101] Some tasks seemed endless. Marpa still withheld his instructions. Milarapa lost all hopes and decided to commit suicide. With the favour of Marpa's wife, Milarepa took Naropa's six bone ornaments and Padmariga- rosary and gave relics to Lama Ngogpa. In return, he gave him instruction and meditation of Gron-Idan-pugpa. Then Marpa recalled and initiated him into the mystries of the magic circles and gave him esoteric name d'pat Sespa and subjected him to severe ascetic exercises.

Meanwhile Marpa went to India and met Narapa. He returned to Tibet. Milarapa returned home. He found his mother died. He dwelt in a cave nearby. His uncle and aunt assaulted him on his begging excursions. Though he possessed the power of destroying them, he preferred to be free from them.[102] Marpa gave many justifications for tormenting Milarapa. Marpa advised him to obtain nine texts of Buddhism, taught to Milarapa. These texts are considered as the basis of Mahayana Buddhism in Nepal. Under the guidance of Narapa, Maitripa and Kukkuripa in India, Milarapa got himself acquainted with Buddhism of India and Nepal. Thus during his time, the nine texts *(Nava Sutra Sangraha)* of Mahayana Buddhism was popular in this region which remained as a unifying force. Rechung, the biographer-cum-disciple of Milarapa, had visited India via Nepal for treatment of leprosy. Rechung's *Biography of Milarapa* and his accounts about Nepal are attested by the *Blue Annals Part I and II*. Rechung has clearly described about Buddhism practiced in Nepal. He mentions that a *Bhikshuni* of Nepal was the disciple of Tiphupa, the *Guru* of Rechung. He saw many *Bhikshus* and *Bhikshunis* busy in sermonizing and propagation of *Dharma* during that time. The *Bodhisattva* doctrine was very popular in Nepal in his time. On his return from India after getting relief, Rechung

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[99]. Ram, f.n. No. 17, p. 123.

[100] *Ibid*, p. 123 cf. W.Y. Evans Wentz, *Biography of Milarepa*, (London : 1921), p. 91 and H. Hoffmann, *The religions of Tibet*, p. 151.

[101]. *Ibid*, p. 123.

[102]. Waddell, f.n. No. 96, p. 66.

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had seen his *Guru* Milarapa meditating in the clear light cave of Ron. The visit of Milarapa to Bhaktapur is corroborated by *'Milarapa's Gur Bum'* - one thousand songs. Milarapa's name and fame being popular during that time, the king of Bhaktapur sent some religious offerings to Milarapa and invited him to visit Bhaktapur. At that time, it is mentioned that Harsadeva (1082-1098 A.D.) Shivadeva (1098-1126 A.D.) Simhadeva (1110-1126 A.D.) were in the realm of affairs in Nepal.[103] It is also stated that Milarapa had turned down the invitation of the king of Bhaktapur. However the depth of his spiritual power and attainment was profoundly felt by the people of Nepal. Milarapa's later life is referred as selfless. He was of sacrificing character. At the time of his death, he declared that no relics or *Stupas* or any symbol should be made over his cremation point. He wished that a flag of *Dharmavijaya* be placed on that point.[104]

Milarapa's biographer mentions that Milarapa died in the cave of La-ci-cu-gar, Mount Everest.[105] A. Waddell writes that Milarepa led hermit's life or life of wandering ascetic among the monasteries of Tibet. His 100,000 songs contain Tibetan colouring and are popular among the Tibetans.[106] He was the most popular Kar-gyu-pa saint. Kar-gyu-pa sect was established in Tibet in the later half of the eleventh century. This sect is directly inspired by metaphysical Buddha, Vajradhara. Its distinctive features are hermit's practices, meditation in cave and other retired places. Its inspiration was attributed by their saint Tilo directly to *Adi* Buddha Vajradhara. Its mode of mystic insight is named *Mahamudra* or "the Great Attitude" also called middle path. Its *Tantra* is *Shanker-bouda-sum*. Its tutelary deity is *Samvara*. Marpa (1010 A.D.) and Milarapa were its founders. [107]

It is stated that Nepal remained as vanguard of Mahayana Buddhism in the eleventh century. During that period Buddhists from other countries visited Nepal for acquisition of higher learning. During that period r-Nog Lo-chen po (1059-1109 A.D.), Ma-geig (1062-1150 A.D.), Khou-phu-ba (1069-1144 A.D.) visited Nepal.

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[103]. Ram, f.n. No. 17, 128.
[104]. *Ibid*, p. 127.
[105]. Waddell, f.n. No. 96, p .67.
[106]. *Ibid*, p. 67.
[107]. *Ibid*, pp. 61-66.

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### 4.3.10.2. r-Nog Lo-chen po.

r-Nog Lo-chen po was an eminent Buddhist *Bhikshu* who visited Nepal to learn *Tantric* Buddhism under Atulyavajra, Varendraruchi and others. He had left Tibet in 1076 A.D. He translated two works i.e. *Pramanavartikalankara* and *Pramanalankara*. He stayed in Kashmir for seventeen years and returned to Tibet in 1093 A.D. He was greatly influenced by Atulyavajra and Varendraruchi. Their experience and learning made him revise his previous works in Kashmir and Tibet. He was very influenced by Nepalis scholars. [108]

### 4.3.10.3. Ma-geig

Ma-geig (1062-1050A.D.) started her Buddhist education from 1079-1084 A.D. She was the disciple of the *Tantric* teacher r-Ma. She remained with her husband from 1076 to 1079A.D. In 1093 A.D., she was attacked by a dangerous veneral disease. Up to 1096, she remained in suffering condition. She came under influence of the worst Tibetan *Tantric* Buddhists who made her body inclined to sexo-yogic practice. Her trip to Nepal is said to have surpassed all her previous activities. After her trip to Nepal, she became disease free and gained much reputation. She stayed in Nepal for three months. Her learning in the company of Nepalis Buddhist scholars in 1096 A.D. was mature and deep. She was a Tibetan Buddhist jewel in the society of Tibetan woman. [109]

### 4.3.10.4. Khon-phu-ba

Khon-phu-ba (1069-1144 A.D.) was the younger brother of Ma-geig. In 1095 A.D., he came to Nepal. He got an opportunity to learn the interpretation of *Kalachakra* from Vagisvarakirti. From Vagisvarakirti Khonphuba heard the recitation of *Yogaratnamalanama*, *Hevajrapanjika* .He got initiation from him and learned *Samvaracakra* (Samvara cycle) and system of Naropa. He stayed in Nepal for a short period. It is stated that Buddhist researches were done in Nepal under the active guidance of *Siddhacharyas* and eminent Buddhist monk scholars of India. They visited Nepal from time to time. Thus Nepal existed as the centre of Buddhist learning between India and

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[108]. Ram, f.n. No. 17, p. 128 cf Roerich, p. 325.

[109]. *Ibid*, pp. 130-132.

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Tibet. Khon-phu-ba stopped over in Nepal to get background knowledge of the traditions and religious conditions of India. He performed *Vajrayogini Tantra Sadhana* in Nepal. [110]

### 4.3.10.5. Lla-vje

Lla-vje (1123-1182A.D.): Khon-phu-ba's son Lla-vje, also known as incarnation of *Dharmapa* was a man of integrity. In 1139 he left Tibet for Nepal. In 1140 A.D., he reached Nepal. He had carried the funeral urns of his mothers and maternal uncle to Nepal. His teacher Jayasena performed the consecration rites through his persuasion. Lla-rje acquired a good knowledge of Buddhist *Tantra* in Nepal. Ram writes that Lha-rje had visions of four wonderful spectacles in Nepal. These are 1) Existence of *Tantric* Buddhist Society 2) *Pancha Makaras* popularly used in Buddhist festivals. Girls freely participated in such rites 3) The Buddhist *Tantrics* checked the movement of the army 4) The Buddhists had victory over the power of military. It is also mentioned that the Buddhist monk-scholars and *Bhikshus* demonstrated their *Tantric* feats according to the Buddhist methods. All sections of society were attracted on these activities.[111]

### 4.3.10.6. Zig-po

The other Tibetan who visited Nepal was Zig- po (1125-1195 A.D.). He was born in 1125 A.D. He was the student of Lha-rje. He thought of going to his native place to hold the ceremony known as divas to hold the ceremony of his coming of age. He made journey to Nepal to collect things required for ceremony such as parasol, conch and offering utensils. At the age of sixteen, he came to Nepal in 1041 A.D. It is stated that Zig-po could reach the highest of the spiritual realisation and *Yogic* perfection after his visit to Nepal. Based on the *Yogic* practice precepts observed by him in Nepal, he could establish his own school of Buddhism in Tibet. It indicates that Nepalis Buddhist had achieved *Yogic* perfection in that period. [112]

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[110]. *Ibid*, pp. 132-134.
[111]. *Ibid, pp. 135-136*
[112]. *Ibid*, pp. 137-138.

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Hem Raj Shakya writes – "Indian Pandit Vana Ratna came to Nepal and got education from *Pandit* Shilsagar. He visited Yarlung and then to Svayambhu Shantapur from there he went to Tibet on the invitation of Tibetan king. In Tibet, he translated Buddhist scriptures in Tibetan language. After his return from Tibet he died in Nepal. Thus the period witnessed the development of *Tantric* Buddhism in Nepal.[113]

**4.3.10.7. Dharmasvamin**

The Tibetan pilgrim Dharmasvamin's (1197-1264 A.D.) biography gives valuable account of Buddhism of Nepal, India and Tibet during the first half of the thirteenth century. It is graphic and first hand information of that period. The accounts mentioned in the biography are reliable like that of Chinese travellers Hiuen Tsang, Fahiyen and Itsing. These being the eye witness accounts, reveal the characteristics of the age. The accounts categorically describe the atrocities brought by Muslim invasion in Bihar and Bengal, and destruction of the great Buddhist Universities there. Dharmasvamin was the Tibetan Buddhist monk who came to Nepal and stayed for eight years (1226-1234 A.D.). Dharmasvamin is the name in Sanskrit rendered from original Tibetan term Chosglo-tsa-ba by Prof. A.S. Altekar. Alterkar says that the term Dharmasvamin is used for the sake of convenience. Chags-lo-tsa-ba or Dharmasvamin, born in 1197 A.D. passed his early youth with his uncle d-Gra-bcon who initiated him into Sanskrit studies. After his uncle's death, he made his journey to Nepal and Tibet. Before his visit to Nepal, he spent ten years in gTsan visiting famous scholars. About 1226 A.D, Dharmasvamin proceeded to Nepal and spent eight full years. In the beginning, he stayed at the inn keeper's house in Nepal. He then visited *Guru* Ratnarakshita at Svayambhu *Caitya* (*Phags-pa-sin-kun*). He offered a well made bell (*Gurughanta*) to *Guru*. It is stated that the *Guru* Ratnarakshita had about three hundred bells received as offerings when Dharmasvamin had presented the bell. It shows the popularity of the *Guru* among the Tibetans. To begin with Dharmasvamin acted as interpreter when six Tibetans were initiated by the *Guru*. He also got initiation from the *Guru*. To cite Roerich, there was a monastery at Svayambhu *Mahacaitya*. *Guru* Ratnarakshita was preparing a site for consecration ceremony after erection of several holy images. From *Maha Pandita* Ravindradeva, Dharmasvamin obtained many religious instructions such as *Guhya Samaja* and *Vajravalinamamandala*

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[113]. Shakya, f.n. No. 78, p. 191.

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*Sadhana*. Ravindradeva was endowed with fore knowledge. From him, he learnt *Sutralankara Kalpasangraha*. Ravindradeva had no faith in *Tantric* aspect of Buddhism. Dharmasvamin studied *Pitakas* under the Buddhist scholars of Nepal. He also got mastery over the interpretation of the doctrine of *Chakra Samvara*. Dharmasvamin mentioned that Lord Atisha (1040-1041 A.D.) had erected a temple to worship the *Mandala* of Buddha Kashyapa. It is known as *Dharmadhatu Vagishvara* of Than *Vihara*. Atisha had created a charitable fund for feeding the children of the poor and invalid persons at Tham *Vihara*. But it was discontinued when Dharmasvamin visited the *Vihara*. Dharmasvamin did not stay in *Than Vihara* but he resided at Svayambhu monastery.[114] Dharmasvamin has written an account of the festival of Matsyandra Nath in Patan. Accordingly the priest incharge of the deity were "*Tantrists* called *Panju*." A small circle of initiated *Tantrists* perform bathing ceremony of the deity, in which the general people are the spectators. The annual festival of Bungamati according to Dharmasvamin is the most important feature of the cult. Locke refers that we have no description of the festival before Dharmasvamin's account in the thirteen century. According to the Dharmasvamin's account, two most important events of the festival of Matsyendra Nath are the bathing and the taking of the deity around the city. The earliest reference of the annual festival refers a procession (*Jatra*). Dharmasvamin writes that the image is taken out of the temple and the king and wealthy populace invite the image to their homes where they make offerings. The image is given bath with curd, milk, raw sugars, honey and sugar. Though he does not mention a *Ratha,* it is not excluded by his description. Dharmasvamin's account places the festival in the middle autumn month.[115]When *Dharmasvamin* visited Nepal, Abhaya Malla (1216-1255 A.D.) was ruling. Abhayamalla had written a work on *Amriteshvara Puja.* [116] At that time Ram Simha (1227-1285 A.D.) was king of Simroangarh. He was the third successor of Nanyadeva. Dharmasvamin gives the detail account of Simroangarh as a fortified city with eleven large gates surrounded by twenty one ditches filled with water and rows of trees.[117]

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[114]. G.N. Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvamin, A Tibetan Monk Pilgrim*, (Patna : K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959 (Intro), pp. X and 54.

[115]. Locke, f.n. No. 47, pp. 329 - 330.

[116]. Roerich, f.n. No. 114, p. 89.

[117]. *Ibid*, pp. XIII-XIV.

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After his eight years' stay in Nepal, Dharmasvamin went to India.in 1234 A.D. He stayed in India up to 1236 A.D.[118] On his way back from India, he fell ill at Simroangarh. He rented a quarter from a monk. His fever grew worse. The monk asked him to go to cremation ground. He felt greatly afflicted by the thought of dying there. The owner of the house stole the extraordinary manuscript, he possessed. At that time a *Tantrist* of his home town saved him. After his recovery from illness, he was walking with difficulty. He was invited by the King of Simroangarh. He lived there for some days. He was asked to be *Guru* of Karnata king Rama Simha. But Dharmasvaminn did not like to stay there as *Guru* of non-Buddhist. The king honoured him with numerous requisites. When he reached Nepal from Simroangarh, the wealthy people call '*Bharos or Varistha* respected him by presenting five ounces of gold by which he was able to prepare numerous copies of sacred books and images.[119]. On his way to Tibet, Dhamasvamin stayed at Yan-Dog monastery situated at Nepal - Tibet border for five years. His *Guru* Ravindra had advised him to stay there for four or five years. At Yan-Dog monastery, he was given keys of eighty monasteries and a golden vase. There he received *Panchvimsatisahasika* Ms. written in gold, *Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita* and about one hundred and fifty valumes of *Sutras* written in ink. Again on another occasion, he received two hundred volumes of books. Yan-Dog was the birthplace of Nag-Tsho, the well known interpreter of Atisha. The area was a Buddhist Cultural Centre. He sent an original copy of commentary of *Namasangiti* to Shakya *Pandit* from Yan-Dog as requested by the latter. In Tibet, he composed a commentary on the first chapter of *Pradipodyotana*. He also preached *Mahachittotpada* rite. At the beginning of his sermon, he used to recite *Manjughosastuti* (*Strotra to Guru*). At Sakya monastery in Tibet, he bestowed initiation on the elder monks headed by *Maha Guru* Sarpa. At the age of sixty seven in 1264 A.D., he passed away. [120]

Thus Dharmasvamin was a great Mahayana scholar. His legendary personality inspires the Buddhists of Nepal, Tibet and India. He made a strong tie of intellect among the Buddhists of this region. His fame as venerable monk and scholar had spread far and wide including Mongolia. His activities remind all the features of Buddhism current

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[118]. *Ibid*, p. 58.
[119]. *Ibid*, p. 101.
[120]. *Ibid*, pp. 111-112.

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during first half of the thirteenth century. The texts reveal all holy texts of Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism unlike Shravakayana. He vividly describes the chariot festival of Rato Matshyendra Nath in Patan where he saw people showering flowers from each and every house of Patan. His accounts are very important in the history of Buddhism in Nepal.

### 4.4.1 Shankaracharya's Digvijaya Yatra (Victory Tour) and its impact on Buddhism of Nepal

It is stated that *Nigama* and *Agama* sects are practiced in Nepal. *Nigama* sect is related with *Vedic* rites and rituals whereas *Agama* sect with *Tantric* rituals. It is stated that *Vamachar* is related with *Tantric* rituals. It was widely popular in Nepal in the early medieval period. The Sahajayanists, *Vamamargi Tantrists* used *Panchamakar, Mamsa, Matsya, Madira, Mudra and Maithun* (flesh, fish, alcohol, posture and sex) in rituals. In the mode of worship of Pashupati, it is stated that such *Tantric* influence was there during that time. [121] As regards the coming of Shankaracharya and his religious discussion with the Buddhists of Nepal, Jnanamani.Nepal writes that no evidence is available relating to *Aadhya* (first) Shankaracharya's visit to Nepal during *Aadhya* Shankaracharya's time in the 9th century. Only *Yogi* Dandi Swami's tradition in Nepal in the 12th century is testified by evidences. Reference of Shankaracharya coming from Kashi is available in 1102 A.D. (222 N.S.). The inscription of the time refers that Shankaracharya of Khallin shrine located on the bank of Ganga called *Agnimath* and his disciples came to Nepal. He ordained princes Anandadeva, Basantadeva, Somesvaradeva and Yesho Malla. Out of the money he earned, he renovated two Shiva temples at Kashi.[122] Citing the accounts of

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[121]. Jnanamani Nepal, *Pashupatinathko Darshan Sparsan Poojan Sambandhama Samkishya* (Review relating to homage, touching and worshipping of Pashupatinath), (Kathmandu : Mahesh Raj Pant, 1986 A.D (2043 V.S)., p. 18 In f.n. Nepal mentions - The worship of Pashupati in the form of *Shreeyantra* and *Shree Charka* (Bhairava Chakra?) is the mode of *Tantric* worship. Alcohol is not used in the worship of the main image of Pashupati but bufallows and goats are sacrificed to Kirtimukh Bhairava (by tying *Pashuka*- sacred thread on the phallus of Pashupatinath to Kirtimukh Bhairava shrine located to *Ishankon* of the temple complex). The impact of *Vamamargi* is still visible. It is said that in *Tantric* worship *Nyas* (force) *Mudra* (posture) *Yantra Chakra* have great importance. It is mentioned in *Nityashodashikarnava Tantra, 1/31-46.*

[122]. *Ibid*, p. 9. It is clear that the date of the inscription of National Museum is read by Dhanavajra as 1142 A.D (N.S.262., 1199 V.S.) (Contribution to Nepalese Studies 8 Bha,1 No, 217) Nepal writes that Shankaracharya of Khallin lived at Kashi and Prayag. They had come to Nepal for two times. When Shankaracharya came to Nepal for the first time, he spread Shaivism. Out of the money he earned as

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*Mahavatthu*, it is mentioned that Shankaracharya came to Nepal destroying many *Caityas* and images of Buddha. He lived in Bhaktapur for seven years, destroyed many *Viharas* and installed the image of Dattatraya, his *Guru*. In Nepal, he destroyed the Buddhist scriptures. The Buddhists had to hide the scriptures in the cave of Nagarjuna. While Shankaracharya was destroying *Amar Kosh*, written by Amar Simhacharya, he changed his mind. After destroying ten chapters, he came across a hymn in the eleventh chapter. It runs like this- "*Shambhureesha Pashupati Shivashuli Maheshvarai, Ishvarah Sarvaishanh Shankar Chandrasekhara*". As he came across the hymn of Lord Shiva, he stopped the act of destroying the work. [123] However a *Vamsavali*, published by DOA mentions a legend that a Brahman named Nandi established *Shanteshvara* at Nakshal in order to pacify the curse of the *Satis* of 700 Brahmins who were killed by 1000 *Bandyas* or *Banrs*. After being defeated by Shankaracharya in the religious discussions, the *Bandyas* or *Banras* (respectables) killed seven hundred Brahmans out of revenge. Their spirits tortured the pedestrians walking on that way. Therefore, a phallus of the Shiva was established to pacify them.[124] This legend is also referred in Wright edited *Vamsavali* which mentions that the wives of 700 Brahmans of Bishalnagara immolated themselves as *Satis* and their curses were so powerful that the thousand murderers were burned to ashes. [125]. Hem Raj Shakya on the other hand writes that it was not Shankaracharya who defeated Amarsimhacharya and his brother Drumasinhacharya of Naksal *Bahal*, rather the former was defeated by the latter in religious discussion. Drumasimhacharya was expert in occult cult [126] The Buddhists of Nepal think that those Vajracharya brothers lived at Naksal *Bahal*. After religious conflict, it is stated that the Naksal *Bahal* was changed into Nandikeshvara shrine. Wright edited *Vamsavali* mentions that the emblem

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(*Gurudakshina*), he restored two Shiva temples at Kashi and performed many religious activities. After sometimes, he came to Nepal and ordained the princes in Shaivism. He also made a Shiva temple by the money he earned from his disciples. It is mentioned in the inscription. To perform all these activities, it takes many years. Therefore the account of N.S.222 referred in *Sanskrit Sandesh* may be taken as true. The year 1102 A.D (N.S. 222) is therefore taken as Shankaracharya's first visit and 1144 A.D. (N.S 264) as mentiond by Nepal and 1142 A.D. (N.S. 262) mentioned by Dhanavajra and Govinda Tandan as the second visit of Shankaracharya to Nepal. In the inscription the date is not visible. So on the basis of the contents i.e. mention of Ananda Malla, the period 1147-1167 A.D (N.S 267-287) is taken as the date of the inscription. See Appendix I.I

123. Dharma Ratna Shakya and others, *Dipankha Yatra*, (Lalitpur : Dipankha Guthi, 2005 A.D), pp. 35-36.

124. Dept. of Archaelogy, "Nepal Deshko Itihas" (History of the country Nepal), *Ancient Nepal*, No. 16, (Kathmandu : 1971), p. 20.

125. Wright, f.n. No.16, p. 159.

126. Shakya, f.n. No.78, p.194.

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of Shiva was placed by *Raja* Shankeradeva to put stop to the trouble created by *Brahman Pisacha* also called *Shanteshvara*. Wright edited *Vamsavali* also mentions different incarnations of Shakaracharya.[127] Thus we have conflicting ideas about Shankaracharya's visit to Nepal. Rajendra Ram writes that Shankaracharya is said to have burnt the Buddhist scriptures as Turkish invaders during the beginning of thirteenth century in Bihar and Bengal. However these generalizations of some European scholars like B.H Hodgson, D. Wright, F. Tucker etc. are cheap and facile.[128] He further writes that Buddhism was in a state of decay when Shankaracharya appeared in the scene in Nepal.[129] Ram gives the date of Shankaracharya in between 788-820 A.D., his *Padyatra* (journey on foot) between 804-820 A.D. sometimes during the last years of his life before his final settlement and demise at Kanchi Kamakoti *Math.* Ram mentions that Shankaracharya made a trip to Nepal in course of his pilgrimage cum *Digvijayayatra* is challenged by local scholars. [130] Jnanamani Nepal writes that only Dandi *Swami* the disciple of Shankaracharya of Amardakpith Agnimath Kashi came to Nepal. He ordained the king and people and spread Shaivism. In his first visit, Shivadeva was supposed to be the king and in his second visit Narendradeva was the king. [131] He further further mentions that the account of the visit of Shankaracharya to Nepal is incised in refined Sanskrit language.(See Appendix I.I.) It is in the form of eulogy. It is preserved in National Museum. It is mentioned that after four hundred years of Licchavi rule in Nepal, the hymn of Shankaracharya is taken as an important inscription in Sanskrit. It contains the account of the visit of Shankaracharya to Nepal. One another note of 1102 A.D. (N.S. 222) mentions the visit of Shankaracharya to Nepal. It is guessed that it was his first visit to Nepal. Jnanamani Nepal further writes that in the second visit the Dandi *Swami* stayed in Nepal in 1144 A.D. (N.S. 264) 1142 A.D. (N.S. 262), according to Govinda Tandan and Dhanavajra Vajracharya). They were the *Svamis* of Amardak Agni Pith of Prayag. However the inscription has no date. Therefore on the basis of the contents of the date of

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[127]. Wright, f.n. No.16, p. 160.

[128]. Ram, f.n. No. 17, pp 69-72.

[129]. *Ibid*, p.75.

[130]. *Ibid*, p. 67.Ram writes- Above all, the very theory of his visit to Nepal has been challenged by many scholars, because no epigraphic sources or authentic literary work is at our disposal to support Shankaracharya's role in Nepal. Only traditions are living among the people.

[131]. Nepal, f.n. No.121, p. 84.

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the inscription, it is assumed to be the time frame of the reign of King Ananda Malla i.e. 1147-1167 A.D. (N.S 287-287,).[132]

The Chhauni Museum inscription clearifies that the confusion spread by other sects was removed after the advent of Shankaracharya. It also mentions that the *Svamis* regarded themselves as the real incarnation of Shankar. They walked in the form of Shiva bismearing ashes, riding bull and doing meditation. They studied *Rudrayamala Tantra* and followed it. They ordained their disciple in *Shivamantra*. They were called Rudra Shiva. They used to take (*Guru Dakshina*) teachers's fee.[133] It is also stated that they make their monasteries everywhere. They were skilled in recitation of *Mantra*, meditation, (Japa) mental prayer, worship, (Nyas) *Tantric* system, and concentration. Among the team, the *Svami's* hand was broken. It is said that his hand was broken by the strike of the staff by their opponents while he was saving the life of *Yogis*. They were used to fighting and become militant in order to save the life and property of the monastery. They used to carry bow and arrow as Mahadeva.[134]

It is guessed that the visit of Shankaracharya of Agnimath indicates the denouncement of Buddhism and spread of Shaivism even by resorting to violence. No doubt their characteristics show it. It is mentioned that the king who was ordained by Shankaracharya was Anandadeva and the prince ordained by him was Yesho Malla (prince of Kabhrepalanchowk). In the same way, the next prince ordained was Arjunadeva, (of Karnata dynasty) at the age of twelve. His name is mentioned in the hymn as a brave prince. It is believed that Shankaracharya of Kashi came to Nepal via Simaroangarh 1132 A.D. (252 N.S.) Arjundeva was the son of Nanyadeva. It is also believed that the other princes and courtiers had come on pilgrimage to Pashupatinath along with Shankaracharya. They collected much property and constructed a Shiva temple and a monastery in the confluence of Vagmati and Vishnumati.[135]

To cite Govinda Tandan's version, the legend of *Aadhya* Shankaracharya's coming to Nepal in the ninth century is doubtful. He established (*Math*) monasteries in four

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[132]. *Ibid*, p. 84. Shyam Sunder Rajbanshi, the archaeologist of DOA orally communicated the author that the inscription of Sankaracharya does not include date. He got the rollong of the inscription of Chauni which is given in Annex I.I.

[133]. *Ibid*, p.48 cf *Pashupatinathko Samiksha* (Review of Pashupatinath), p. 47.

[134]. *Ibid*, pp. 84-85.

[135]. *Ibid, p.* 85, cf Dinesh Chandra Sarkar, *Selected Inscription Part II.*

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different places of India. Many scholars take him to the ninth century. But some one doubts on his identity at that time. With regard to the fact that he came to Nepal and appointed the south Indian Brahmanas as the priests of Pashupatinath temple is also doubtful. Only later texts mention this account. With regard to the account of the *Aadhya* (first) Shankaracharya's visit to Nepal during the reign of Vrisadeva in the fifth century, Tandan writes that the account does not talley with his time. It has already been discussed in the earlier chapter. To sum up Tandan's version Shankaracharya's inscription now exhibited in National Museum Chhauni dated 1142 A.D. (N.S. 262), records that he was not (*Aadhya*) first Shankaracharya rather he was Shankaracharya of Kashi Agni *Math*, follower of (*Dwait*) dualistic theory unlike the first Shankaracharya who followed *Advait* (non dualistic) concept. He is assumed to have come to Nepal during the reign of Shivadeva III 1146 A.D. (N.S. 246). He mentions a note of 1769 A.D. (1826 V.S) which refers that in 1102 A.D. (N.S 222), the first Shankaracharya visited Nepal. Shankaracharya claims that he came to Nepal for two times. His second visit was more effective. Out of the money he earned by making the princes as his disciples, he is said to have renovated Pashupati temple and made Natesvara temple at Pashupati. He had faith in *Tantric* system and introduced the system of worshipping Pashupati by making *Shreeyantra* at the *Nairityakon* (north eastern corner) and introduced the syatem of worshipping Pashupati by the Brahmins of south India in between 1102-1142 A.D. (N.S 222 to 262.).[136] Earlier, it is stated that Pashupatinath was worshipped by *Sanyasis* and some time by *Vandyas*. Citing *Vamsavali* and *Thyasaphu*-(diary) Nepal mentions that during the time of Ratna Malla, Shodanyashi Svamis were made the priests of Pashupati. But during the time of Jagajjaya Malla in 1728 A.D. (*Samvat* 848) arrangement was made for the appointment of the priests of some temples. The copper plate of 1728 A.D. (*Samvat* 848) is misinterpreted by some scholars. According to it, scholars interpreted that Sadashiva Bhatta was appointed as the priest of Pashupatinath. (See pictures in Appendix I. II) Nepal makes it clear that the provision of the appointment of the priest of Pashupati and other temples will be clear by the palm leaf of Jagajjaya Malla dated 1735 A.D. (*Samvat* 855). The above mentioned copper plate has to be read with reference to this later palm leaf of Jagajjaya Malla. According to this palm leaf arrangement was made to appoint Dravid Brahmans coming from south of Vindhyachal as priest of

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136. Govinda Tandan," Pashupatinath Mandirma Pujariharuko Vyavatha" (Organisation for the priest of Pashupatinath), (Kathmandu : *Pashupati Kshetra*, Half Yearly Magazine Vol. 2. Year I, 1994).

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Pashupatinath. This tradition was started by Shankaracharya in the 12th century. Provision was also made for the appointment of hereditary priests in the *Agamghar* of Pashupatinath to perform *Tantric* worship by appointing Sadashishiva Bhatta. The later had to give *Shivadikshya* (ordination of Shiva) to the south Indian Brahmans before they enter Pashupati temple. This system still continues at Pashupati.[137]

Ram writes that with the emergence of the Karnataka Khatriyas just after the decay of the Buddhist Palas, Brahmanical social institutions and religious observances were revived with fresh jeal. Consequently Nepal remained only safe place for Buddhism. The Buddhists of India and Tibet could get homely and warm treatment there. All the above discussions make it clear that the history of early medieval period witnessed many important events which affected the development of Buddhism in Nepal. It was the feudal society in which the warrior tribes established their supremacy. The rich nobles and rich middle class were dominating the society. The rulers were at the mercy of the feudal lords. The period is marked with the religious fermentations and syncretic tendencies. It was the result of contact, conflict and compromise of several major and minor religious cults. The influences of Buddhist *Siddhacharyas* and their teachings about new Vaishnavism were profound.during that time.[138]

### 4.5.1. Interaction with the Karnatakas

The Turkish invasion of Eastern India in the beginning of the 13th century badly affected the region. Its impact was directly visible in Nepal. The Pala kings of Bihar and Bengal could not resist them. The professional fighters like Karnatas, Khasas and Mallas emerged in the political realm. From the "11th to the 14th century, Nepal was divided into three states-*Khasa* Malla kingdom in the west; Simroangarh (Tirhut kingdom) under the Karnatakas and *Nepal Mandala* in the central part"[139]. In the 11th century the kingdom of Karnataka had great prestige. Nanyadeva and Vijaya Sena, the two great military commanders, advanced to north Mithila and east Bengal. They established their two independent kingdoms by defeating the Pala rulers. Nanyadeva came to Nepalis terai and established the kingdom of Simroangarh in Tirhut. Nanyadeva's power was established in

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137. Nepal, f.n. No. 121, pp.28

138. Ram, f.n. No.17, pp.145 and 148

139. T.R. Vaidya, "Deval Devi the Defacto Ruler of Nepal", (Kirtipur : *Voice of History* Vol. XVI, No. 2 2001 A.D. (2058 V.S ), p.12.

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Tirhut region before 1097 A.D.[140] R. Ram also mentions that in the time of Milarapa, Karnata king Nanyadeva who ascended the throne of 1097 A.D. invaded Nepal. [141] Sylvain Levi writes that Nanyadeva, according to tradition, took possession of royal power in 1097 A.D. and conquered the whole of Nepal. He is referred to as dethroning the Malla kings of Patan and Kathmandu. They were Jayadeva Malla and Ananda Malla. He established his court at Bhadgaon and reigned over the three capitals. He introduced two divinities Maju and Svekhu.[142] Jnanamani Nepal writes that Nanyadeva was not successful in his attempt to conquer Nepal. He mentions that the Thakuris of Nuwakot then entered the Valley in that period. In twelve *Toles* (localities) of Kathmandu and twenty four *Toles* of Lalitpur, they elected chiefs from among themselves and ruled. [143] It is mentioned that the story of the chronicle does not correspond with the sequence of event. Nepal mentions that the account of the chronicle may be solved on the basis of note mentioned in a manuscript entitled *Naradasmriti*. He mentions that after fourteen years of construction of Simroangarh, Nanyadeva attacked Nepal in 1111 A.D. The *Gopalraja Vamsavali* refers- "Shree Shree Anarghamalla deva Poha had massacred all the Doya invaders by semitar" The Malla *Pohas* lived in Palanchowk. They were great warriors. After the establishment of Simroangarh, the newly established state had frequently fought over Nepal. That period was important from Buddhist point of view although there was threat from the Karnatakas. In the reign of Indradeva 1128 A.D. (N.S. 248) *Nakshyatra Jataka* was composed. In 1136 A.D. (N.S. 256) *Namasangiti* was copied. The *Namasangiti* was authored by Ratna Gupta of Jamalgranti *Mahavihara* of Koliyagram, Kathmandu. To cite Harsamuni Shakya, Ratna Gupta went to Jumla, preached Buddhism and breathed his last over there. [144] These are preserved in the National Archives of Nepal. Nanyadeva and his descendents Gangdeva and Ramsimha had long drawn hostility with Malla feudal lords of Kabhre Palanchowk. *Poha* Mallas were aggressive in the battle with Tirhut army. *Poha* Mallas had established feudal states in eastern hills situated near Tirhut. They had also assumed the title of Malla. They had

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[140]. Nepal, f.n. No. 9, p. 91.

[141]. Ram, f.n. No. 17, p.148.

[142]. Levi, f.n. No. 19, p. 49

[143]. Nepal, f.n. No.9, pp. 71-72. Nepal writes - Nanyadeva, the king of Karnata made an invasion in Nepal with many Nayar troops and drove away local king Jayadeva and Anandadeva and sat on the throne of Bhaktapur. The local king migrated to Tirhut.

[144]. Harsamuni Shakya, "A few words" Bhuwan Lal Pradhan's *Shakyamuni, The Buddha and Shakya Heritage*, (Teku, Kathmandu : The Shakya Foundation Nepal, 2005 A.D.), p. XIII.

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foiled the attempts of Nanyadeva to conquer Nepal. It is stated that the Hindu families had migrated to Mithila and hilly state of Sinja in those days. Mithila, as a result of it, had become the centre of learning. Many composers of treatises were there. Gangadeva's son Narasimhadeva was lover of learning. Many colophons written in the reign of Ramsimha, son of Narasimha are found. Ramsimha had repeatedly invaded Nepal. He was successful in his last invasion in breaking the fort of Palanchowk in 1246A.D. (N.S 366).The feudal lords of Banepa, Palanchowk, Anartha Malla and Jagat Varma of *Chochhen* killed many armies.and badly defeated the invaders. Anartha Malla became victorious in the battle in 1249 A.D. (N.S. 369). Although Ram Simha could cross the fort of Palanchowk, Banepa and advance to Kapan, they fell in the trap of the enemies and were defeated. It is stated that Simroangarh having a Hindu rule there, seemed a great threat to Buddhism from that quarter. They were the devotees of Tulaja Bhavani, the main *Tantric* deity of *Shakti* cult. Simroangarh was a prosperous state in the early medieval period. The big warriors of Karnataka and south Indian scholars had helped in making the state prosperous. The state had patronized both the warriors and scholars. The senior minister Devaditya Thakur and Deveshvara Thakur and minister Chandreshvara Thakur, poets and astrologers had written many treatises which are preserved in our libraries. However, they could not cope with Muslim warriors. Harasimhadeva had to take asylum at Tinpatan of Sindhuli. Simroangarh had its fall in 1326 A.D (446 N.S.). Harasimhadeva died at Tinpatan in 1326 A.D. (446 N.S.)[145] His family, including his minister Chandreswara and courtiers were moving to Dolakha. They got asylum in *Yuthunimam* palace, the residential palace of defacto ruler Rudra Malla at Bhaktapur. Harasimhadeva's queen Devaldevi had come to Nepal with her son Jagat Simha. Later, she captured power and ruled for 30 years as defacto ruler up to 1366 A.D.[146] Jaya Rudra Malla died after six month of giving asylum to Devaldevi, his sister. Harasimhadeva belonged to lunar dynasty. His minister followed the ideals of Hinduism. He performed *Tuladan* in 1314 A.D. on the bank of Vagmati. He performed *Yajna* (fire sacrifere). His flag had the symbol of *Garud* and he was devotee of Vishnu. He followed *Saptamatrika* cult. The Karnataka king belonged to the solar dynasty. The Mithila kings were reviving the study of *Mimansa*, *Dharma Shastra* and *Nyaya*. Vallasena (1158-1179 A.D.) revived orthodox Hindu rites. Lakshmana Sena

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145. Dhanavajra Vajracharyaand Kamal P.Malla (ed) -The Gopalrajavamsavali, (Kathmandu : Nepal Research Centre Series No. 9), pp. 89, 102.

146. Vaidya, f.n. No.139, p.16.

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(1179-1206 A.D.) was a devout Vaishnavite. It is stated that the interaction with the Karnatakas is also apparent in *Carya* songs. Nanyadeva's *Sarsvati Hridayalankara* formed an enchanting role in Nepalis Buddhist society. The Buddhist *Carya* songs seem to have been effected by these melodies. It is also mentioned that Nanyadeva's inclination towards Shiva cult influenced Brahmanism at the cost of Buddhism. However the period marked the spread of Buddhism in Nepal. *Tantric* Buddhism developed during his time. It is based on *Guhya Shamaja Tantra.* Warder writes - "It was in Nepal that the Indian Mahayana representing the whole of *Madhyamika* was synthesised with Mantrayana in the 12th century". He adds - "The followers of Mantrayana contrast with Sutrayana (vehicle' of the *Sutras).*"[148] Nepalis scholars do not agree with this view. They say that Vajrayana practiced in Nepal is the integrated form of Mantrayana and Sutrayana.

Moreover, Buddhism compromised with Brahmanism for its survival in Nepal since the time of the ascendancy of the Karnatakas. It was in that period many Buddhist texts belonging to esoteric practices were translated into the Tibetan language. It is also remarked that the *Siddhacharyas* were propagating simplified Buddhist ideas in the local dialects. They were spreading the idea that Brahmanical orthodoxy and caste system should be done away with. Therefore, it is remarked that the Brahman scholars of Mithila who were enjoying the good will of Nanyadeva could do nothing against Nepalis Buddhism. However, one cannot deny that Nepal did not remain unaffected from the impact of Mithila, the Hindu kingdom and its fanatic Brahmanical policy as Simroangarh lie in between Nepal and India.[149]

German scholar Heinz Bechart remarks - "Presumably in the 13th or 14th century rather, the *Sangha* was transferred into a caste community i.e. a community one was admitted to not on the basis of personal decision but by virtue of one's birth. The members of this caste live in "*Viharas*" which grow out of the former monasteries. New *Viharas* of this type, of course were also founded.[150]

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148. A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, (Varanashi : Motilal Banarasiders, 1970), p. 485.
149. Ram, f.n. No. 17, pp. 144-145.
150. Heinz Bechart, *Report on A Study of Buddhist Revival In Nepal* (Stuttgart : Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), p. 181.

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To sum up the views of Michael Allen, Dharmasvamin's account and a few additional sources indicate the decline of monasticism in the 12th century and vividly disappeared by the end of the 13th century. In Vajrayana Buddhism of Nepal, the *Tantric* sect dominated and the inner most secrets were available only to those who present themselves for initiation in male female couples. At the end of the 12th century monastricism declined because the strongly Buddhist Thakuris gave way to the high caste Hindu Mallas. Newar society was organized on the classic Hindu caste basis. Among the Bare and the Uraya who belonged to Buddhist caste, the Bare became the principal custodians of Buddhist tradition. The Bare, Shakyabhikshu were excluded from the priesthood, however they were the members of Buddhist association known as *Sangha*. There is no celibate monastic order at present. *Barechhuyegu* may be said to continue symbolic initiation into monkhood and *Achaluyegu* into priesthood of family priest.[151] Scholars mention that Buddhism in India had no caste because the rite of cutting the tuft of the hair at the time of *Chudakarma* indicates renouncement of household life and one's own preference to asetic life, whereas in Nepal, the *Sangha* became hereditary on male line based on caste system. It seems to be the breach of ascetic life.

To quote Nivedita K. Mishra, Newar Buddhism is interpreted as curious ad mixture of Mahayana and Vajrayana and worships of the deities especially those to which *Tantras* are devoted. She adds - "Although Vajrayana Buddhism of Nepal has no celibate monks both the groups of Newar Buddhist are householder Buddhist, but they are considered as monks because they obtain monastic initiation and accept alms according to tradition. Similarly, they receive *Dana* (charity) at *Samyek* and *Pancadana* festivals. It should be noted that Newar Buddhism is ritual Buddhism. [152] To sum up Shanker Thapa's view the early medieval period marked rapid changes in Newar Budhhism. This period transferred Vajrayana tradition into ritual Buddhism, in which rituals have become more prominent than philosophical enquiry. Consequently no attention was paid to the *Bodhisattva Bhumis* and *Paramitas* through the practice. [153]

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151. Michel Allen, "Buddhism Without Monks, Newar Vajrayan Buddhism of the Kathmandu Valley", (Lalitpur : Shanker Thapa (Edt), *Newar Buddhism* Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd, 2005 A.D.), pp. 10-36.

152. Nivedita K. Mishra, "Newar Buddhism and the Context of History", (Lalitpur : Shanker Thapa (Edt), *Newar Buddhism* Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd, 2005 A.D.), pp. 46-49.

153. Shanker Thapa, *Newar Buddhism*, History, Scholarship And Literature, (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd. 2005 A.D.), p . 85.

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### 4.5.2 Shakti Cult in the Integrated Form

It is stated that the *Tantric* works like *Bhairavi Cakra* is used by *Vamamargis* (left sect) for initiating world by pleasure and for attaining mysterious *Tantric* fruits in Hinduism. Scholars mention that it being a Hindu ritual, Buddhism uses no *Bhairavi Cakra*. According to the concept of *Bhairavi Cakra*, heavenly sex is the inseparable for attaining mysteries of *Tantric* fruits. It is not like going with the pros for bodily sensual pleasure. Scholars too mention that the *Shaktas* and Vajrayanists follow the rituals by using *Pacamakara*. Some scholars do not agree it. *Meru Tantra* describes that eight kinds of *Pashas* (snares) such as hatred, suspicion, fairness, shame, envy, parentage, conduct and power, obstruct a person in getting liberation. *Viracara* (heroic conducts) help one to be free from these snares. *Vama Tantrists,* therefore use fish, flesh, bread and wine in their rituals for *Virachara*. *Virachara* prescribes- "*Madya mamsacha matshyacha mudra, maithuna shbha Viracara madam proktam sadhakashyami Vijiakam.*

It is stated that worship of Kumari in Vajrayana Buddhism is related with Taleju, the patron Goddess of the Karnataka kings. Kumari is also included in the Ashtamatrikas as the manifestation of Tripurasundari Bhagavati. It also shows the impact of *Shakti* cult of Hindusim over Buddhism. It came into practice with the coming of the Karnatkas. Tulaja and Duimaju worship existed in the form of *Shakti* cult. This also exhibits the integrated approach.of the Hindus and the Buddhists. There is a logic that one who lay down on the ground has to take aid of the ground to get up. The *Vamamargis* apply the same logic in using *Panchamakara*. *Shakti* is regarded as Goddess who gives *Bhukti* and *Mukti* (enjoyment and salvation). Scholars opine that it is against the teachings of the Buddha.

It is obvious that *Bhairavayamala Tantra* mentions that union of *Shiva* with *Kundalini*. *Shakti* crossing *Shadacakra* (six circles) is taken as *Maithun* (sex). *Yogini Tantra* states that the union of *Kulakundalini* with *Shiva*, who is in the central point of lotus with one thousand petals, is regared as *Sarvoparimaithun* (super sex). Thus the *Tantric* path is *Sattvik*, symbolic, super, profound and holy in Vajrayana Buddhism. The Vajracharyas say that they practice this meditatinal practice. Some one denies it. Shankaracharya in *Saundarya Lahari* says that *Kundalini's* union with her spouse *Shiva* in the centre of the lotus with one thousand petals is (*Maithun*) sex. On the one hand, it is interpreted that the *Kundalini* is taken as *Kulapathagamini*, who is on the way to *Kula* (parentage). While on the other, it is stated that complete union of *Shiva* and *Shakti*, *Brahma* and

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*Brahmamahishi* take them to *Brahmi* (divine) phenomena. Scholars mention that these are used as path of removing defilements.

It is also stated that when all the creatures are united in sensual pleasure, the idea of "*Yekoham Vahushyama*", the seed of creation is emanated. Thus the union of Shiva and *Kundalini* is interpreted in different way. In Vajrayana, *Ghanta* (bell) with pendent, *Mandala* with *Vajra*, *Padma* with beacon are the symbolic expression of the union of two forces. In *Tantric* language creation of universe is possible with the union of "*Rakta and Sveta*" "*Surya and Soma*". When there is duality, the element of *Shiva* (male oriented element) and *Shakti* (female oriented power) are attracted with each other. In other words the element of *Shakti* is oriented with enjoyment and element of *Shiva* with *Mokshya* (salvation). *Shakti* is the one which provides both salvation and enjoyment. Taleju Bhavani, worshipped as Manamanesvari in the Licchavi period, was venerated as Goddess or *Shakti* in the form of Kumari in early medieval period. She is related with spirit and dynamism whereas the element of *Shiva* is kinetic and inactive. When the element of *Shakti* rides over the element of *Shiva* the element of *Shakti* takes form of *Sura* in *Tantric* system. Vajrayana Buddhism is referred as following this system because it is synchronised with Hinduism. Some scholars deny this and say that Buddhism has its own paradigm. It is a pure sect. It is known from communication with a Vajracharya *Guru* that *Prajna* and *Upaya* represent Heruka and Vajravarahi or the skillful means in Vajrayana Buddhism. Philosophers point out that Buddhism believes in the concept of duality and *Sunyata*.as per *Sankya* philosophy of Kapilamuni.

In '*Tantra Tattva Prakash*' it is mentioned that the nectar which falls from the moon in the one thousand petalled lotuses is known as *Sura* which is drinkable. By drinking it, the sages, imbued with spiritual reality get salvation or *Nirvan* or liberation. It provides pleasure, liberation as well as freedom from sorrow. *Tantric Virachara* mentions. "*Mamsa Shiva Sura Shakti, Stadbhokta Bhairava Svayam*". Shakti cult has great impact on Vajrayana Buddhism. In Vajrayana as well as Mahayana Buddhism, Vajra Bhairava is placed in great esteem. The inclusion of Vajra Bhairava as the protector of Buddhist *Vihara* indicates syncretic characteristics. The four wheels of chariot of Matsyendranath are symbolic of four Bhairavas. Thus *Shakti* cult which penetrated in Buddhism in the form of Bodhisattvayana reached the climax in the $10^{th}$ to $13^{th}$ century in Nepal. It symbolizes that syncretism was the characteristic feature of Buddhism in early medieval

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and medieval Nepal. *Adi* Shankaracharya has preached that Goddess *Bhagvati* provides *Bhoga* (enjoyment) and *Mokshya* (salvation). Therefore *Pancha Makara* is taken as blessings of *Shakti*. The visit of Shankaracharya in early medieval period had also high lighted this aspect of spiritualism. It is stated that practicing ascetic austerities according to *Tantra* is esoteric, difficult and remote. False practice or hypocrisy in it is denounced. Sound, sincere and profound practice is encouraged. *Pancamakara* practice without bloodshed is also practiced in Nepal. Fried *Bara,* a kind of bread with pulse flour, *Shelroti*, (round bread) of rice flour with hole in the middle symbolizes *Mudra*. Ginger and salt are taken as alternates of flesh and fish, Milk put in copper vassal is taken as a symbol of alcohol. In the same way mixture of honey and ginger is also taken as alcohol. The coconut juice mixed with sugar is also regarded as alcohol. *Samayabaji* (Skt. *Samarya*) also represents *Panchamakara*. Black soyabean is taken as flesh, garlic as fish, *Baji* (fried flat rice as pose or jesture), ginger as alcohol and unbroken egg as *Maithuna* or sex. These are used by *Vama Tantric* sect in Nepal. Vajrayana Buddhism uses that stuff in its rituals. *Tantricism* has become the unifying tie of Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Buddhism in Nepal. *Tantric* Buddhism has adopted these rituals. The Muslim invasion in India introduced *Bhakti* cult in this period. Its impact in Buddhism in the early medieval period is apparant. In Buddhism *Shakti* (power) appeared in the form of *Nairatma* and Shiva as *Vitaraga*. It is stated that Lord Buddha never propagated *Pancamakar*. However, with the advent of Tantra-Mantrayana or Vajrayana rituals such as *Homa* (fire sacrifice) use of *Pancamakar* was widely observed for quick realization or salvation.

Scholars have mixed reaction on the use of *Pancamakar* in Vajrayana Buddhism of Nepal. Some western scholars say that its use in Buddhism made it sexo-yogic in nature and as such it became corrupt. The above discussion indicates that the use of *Pancamakar* in spiritual sense has made it not for enjoyment but for being free from snares or for empowerment. Its use for sensual pleasure is widely discarded. On *Guhyavishekh*, *Puspavhishekh*, *Kalashabhisekh,* it is stated that the first one is not encouraged in Nepal. Instead of giving animal sacrifice the Vajrayanists offer *Goja* (symbol of sacrifice) to deities. In this context, it is stated that Vajrayana Buddhism of Nepal is not corrupt.

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### 4.6.1. Impact of Turkish Invasion

The Turkish invasion in north Eastern India in the 13th century badly affected Buddhism over there. A large number of Buddhists of eastern India took asylum in Nepal and other countries. Many Buddhists were forced to join the society of Brahmans. The Buddhists converted to Brahminism formed a sect known as *Baul* sect. It is stated that the *Baul* sect grew out of amalgamation of different cults, *Sahajiya Vaishnava* schools as well as *Sufism.*[154] It has direct and indirect impact in Nepal. As a result of it, syncretic religious cult developed in Nepal. [155] Changes took place in Nepalis Buddhist community. Nepalis Buddhist monks lead married life. There were no longer celibate monastic orders among the Newar Buddhists. Vajrayana had developed its own peculiarities which were unique in the Buddhist history. Nepal had to face Hindu revivalists. It was the period of feudal formations. A large number of voluntary donations to Buddhist *Viharas* and Hindu temples created separate socio-political relation in Nepal. The expansion of trade and commerce with Tibet and visits of Tibetan Buddhists to Nepal added new dimension in the internal and external trade of Nepal and social structure too. The Buddhist *Viharas* became the seats of learning. Nepalis Buddhists went on copying Buddhist texts on palm leaves. Many manuscripts copied during the time (1140-1188 A.D.) are preserved in the National Achieves of Kathmandu. From the 11th to 13th century Nepal witnessed the flourishing Buddhist activities. The monasteries played significant roles in *Tantrism.* They also performed intellectual activities. It is remarked that when Buddhism was declining in eastern India, Nepal remained as the safest place for the Buddhists. At that time even the Mongolians were attracted towards Nepal because the Tibetan Buddhist had their hold over the Buddhist community of Mongolia. The period is also marked in the field of Buddhist iconography. The metal and wood icons made in Nepal were popular in Tibet and Trans Himalayan region.[156] *Guhyapuja* (secret Buddhist worship) was performed at Buddhist *Viharas.* [157] Ram writes that the *Pancharaksha* and the *Ashtasahasrikaprajnaparamita* were popular scriptures among the Buddhist texts of Nepal. The *Namasangiti*, the *Chatushpithamandlopayikamantra*, the *Gandhavyuha*, the

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154. Ram Bahadur Rawal, *Kumari Pratha Ra Kathmandu Ko Kumari Jatra* (Kumari system and Kumari Jatra of Kathmandu, (Kathmandu : Guthi Sansthan, 1995 A.D.), p. 49.

155. *Ibid*, p. 148.

156. *Ibid*, p. 151. Cf. S.Bhowmik, *Technical Study And Conservation of Nepalese Image From Baroda Museum*, JOI, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1964 p. 393.

157. *Ibid*, p. 151.

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*Prayaschtasamutchchaya*, the *Kurukullakalpa*, the *Dharmasamuccaya* and *Karandavyuha* etc were the other important Buddhist texts revered by Nepalis. From 1150-1400 A.D. such manuscripts were copied in Nepalis *Viharas*. [158] It is stated that *Yabyum* pantheon (manifestation of nudity in presenting the union of male and female Buddhist deities) was the transplantation of the Tibetan nude pantheon over Nepalis one. It formed one of the important items of trade commodities transacted by Nepalis traders. Clandestine trade on such art works was on the rising tide.[159]

To cite Ram, "The Turkish onslaughts compelled the Buddhists of India to seek safe place for their survival. They took asylum in Nepal. This ushered in an era of progress and fresh lease of life for Buddhism in Nepal. Nepal became the abode of fugitive Indian Buddhists. The Nepali Buddhists extended their warm welcome to them."[160]

In those days, Vibhutichandra and Danashila came to Nepal. Vibhutichandra was a young scholar of Jagadala (Bangladesh). He fled to Nepal after the destruction of Jagadala *Vihara*. Shakyashree Bhadra, his teacher also accompanied him on his flight to Nepal. In 1203 A.D. they went to Tibet. They could not bear the extreme climate of Tibet. Later Vibhutichandra came back to Nepal. It is also stated that majority of the Indian Buddhists fled to Nepal. Nepal became the store house of many Buddhist literatures. It is evident from the vast storage of Buddhist palm leaf manuscripts in Nepal and Tibet. As the monasteries were packed up, they lived with lay Buddhists of Nepal. The collection of Buddhist palm leaf manuscripts preserved with the lay Buddhists of Nepal testifies it. It is also mentioned that even the private households could not support the large number of fugitive Buddhists. The fugitive Buddhists had to sell their scriptures, manuscripts and antiquities, they had carried for their personal use. They also deposited the Buddhist manuscripts at the house of common people and left the place to unknown destination. These manuscripts were moth eaten and destroyed. The fugitive Buddhists also came in contact with tribal people. They came to new light in contact with them. Many Brahminical features became apparent in Nepalis Buddhism. The Vajracharyas or Gubhajus or Gurujus worked as priests. Buddhist *Viharas* were enriched with valuable

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158. *Ibid*, p.150.

159. *Ibid*, p. 152.

160. *Ibid*, Ram, p.161, cf Rahula Sankrityayana, *Buddhacharya*, (Hindi), p.14.

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cultural goods. Buddhist scriptures were transliterated. In this regard Ram's versions may be summed up as remarkable features of Buddhism during that time.

a. The Buddhist monks preserved the Buddhist literature composed by Nepali Buddhist monks as references to worship in the *Viharas*.
b. Buddhist literature composed as well as copied was used for personal use.
c. Buddhist scriptures copied by the monks enriched libraries or collection of manuscripts of Buddhist *Sanghs* and *Viharas*.
d. Buddhist scriptures were copied under the inspiration of followers of Buddhism and were also preserved with private persons.
e. Buddhists scriptures originally composed or copied by the Indian Buddhists during their asylum period were claimed by their host or host institutions after their demise.
f. Buddhist scriptures or literature brought by the fugitive Indian Buddhists during the Turkish invasion in East Indian regions remained as cultural properties.
g. Buddhist literature carried to Nepal by the Tibetan Buddhists either in original forms or copies from Lhasa also remained as cultural properties.[161]

It is remarked that in the early medieval period *Tantrism* became widely popular in Nepal. *Vamachar* and *Kaulachar* (left sect and Kaul sects) were widely spread. The Buddhist *Viharas* were changed into households. The *Yoga* and *Tantric* practices had made the people more superstitious. People were more inclined to life after death than to make the present life successful. They forgot the reality of life and involved themselves in *Bhakti* cult for salvation. Nepalis Buddhists mainly practice *Kriya Tantra* which emphasizes outward activities in relation to religious behaviours. They are four types of *Tantra - Kriya, Carya, Yoga and Anuttarayoga Tantra.*[162]

### 4.7.1. Buddhism in the Khasa Malla Kingdom

Buddhism flourished in the Khasa Malla kingdom of western Nepal in the early mediaeval period. The Khasa Mallas had vast kingdom in Nepal in this period.[163] The *Gopalraja Vamsavali* mentions them as "Khashiya."[164] *Pauranic* treatises and inscriptions of Nepal and Kumaun refer the Khasas Mallas of north western hilly region

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[161]. *Ibid*, p. 165.

[162]. Thapa and Bajracharya, f.n. No. 2.

[163]. Suryamani Adhikari, *Prachin Nepal Ko Aitihasik Anweshan*, (Historical Exploration of Western Nepal), (Kirtipur : Research Centre for Nepal and Asian studies, 2043 V.S. (1986 A.D.), p.1.cf.Vinod Bihari, *Two Inscriptions of Bodhgaya, Epigraphika India*, Vol. XII (1913-14) p. 30.

[164]. Jagadish Chandra Regmi, *The Gopalrajavamsavali*, 43 ka, *Ancient Nepal*, No. 22, (Kathmandu : DOA, 1973), p. 41.

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of Indian sub-continent from the ancient time. The inscription of Dullu Dailekh district gives account of gencaology and important events of Khasas. [165]

### 4.7.2. Nagaraja

When kings of Pala and Challa dynasties maintained their supremacy in India, Nagaraja (1082-1107 A.D.) had shifted his capital from Khari of Tibet to Sinja. His state included all the region of Karnali basin which has its source in Saryu River that flows from Manasarovar. It also included Guge region of Tibet. Some one says that Guge was the region of Challas and the Palas had their supremacy on Gela. In the time of Punya Malla, the two parallel powers were united and became a strong state.[166] The Challas had their supremacy in Kumaun and Garhwal. Nagaraja had his hold in Ngri Bhot. Nagaraja had his inscription inscribed on a Buddha image located at Badahat in Garhwal. The Dullu Victory Pillar inscriptions mention the dates and genealogy of Khasa kings.[167] Harsamuni Shakya mentions that Nagaraja, the Buddhist from Tibet, established his regime in the Karnali region with Sinja as its capital in the twelfth century. In the following years, the regime continued to be the centre of Buddhism and many kings and descendent of Nagaraja and his ministers had been the followers of Buddhism.[168]

Bhuwan Lal Pradhan writes that king Adi Pal had established a new kingdom in the far north western Nepal. It was extended to some parts of Tibet and India. In 1136 A. D. Nagaraja established another state known as Naga state. The Pala and Naga kings, both were Buddhists. During their rule, Buddhism flourished and spread in the whole north western part of (present) Nepal. This religion was Tibetan Buddhism or Lamaism.

One of the Nagaraja, Ashoka Challa is found in Bodh Gaya inscription, India. Ashoka Challa's inscription dated 1321 A.D. is found in Nepal. In this inscription an edict was issued to the administrative officers, military personnels and people in general for not interfering on the affairs by *Taghbai Gumba* and other *Gumbas* of the *Lamas* which were

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165. Nepal, f.n. No. 24, p. 141.

166. *Ibid,* p. 142, cf Rajtarangini, p. 4/545

167. Adhikari, f.n. No.163, p.2 Cf, Yogi Narahari Nath, *Itihas Prakash*, No. 2, Part I, Itihas Prakash Sangh, 1956 A.D., pp. 58-61.

168. Shakya, f.n. No. 144, p. XV.

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under Naga Kingdom. Around the spot of the inscription, Buddhist deities and outlines of *Caitya* are depicted.[169]

### 4.7.3. Aditya Malla

Aditya Malla's (1321- 1328 A.D) copper plate mentions Sinja and *Viratpeeth* (great shrine), as his summer and winter capitals. The Khasa conquerors of Guge finally laid down the foundation of Sinja and Sija, located to the north of Jumla and Dullu as the summer and winter capitals. It is stated that the state of Sinja was established just before the establishment of the state of Simroangarh. Both these states could increase their power when the central power of *Nepal Mandala* was weakning. Both there states had respect to religion and learned scholars. These states respected learning and patronized the learned scholars. The Khasa warriors adopted a policy of aggression against the neighbouring regions. The Khasa Malla kings appreciated the quality of their palace soldiers. So the Khasa Malla kingdom became prosperous. Although they engaged themselves in the process of wars and invasions, they lived normal life. Sinja merchants travelled as far as Vajrasana via the Kathmandu Valley. They had trade with Tibet through Taklakot. Tibetan Buddhists frequently passed through them. Aditya Malla's copper plate of Dailekh mentions *Sankha* (counch shell), *Khadga* (sword) and *A* (short form of Aditya Malla). He was the eight successor of Nagaraja. The third Khasiya invasion in Nepal Valley took place in his time. According to the Dullu copperplate he was a Buddhist king tolerant to Hindus.

### 4.7.4. Ashoka Challa

Ashoka Challa (1255-1278 A.D.), son of Krachalla, the sixth successor of Nagaraja Krachalla was devoted to Buddhism. He sent his courtiers to Bodhgaya to install an image of Buddha and built a *Vihara* there.[170] In the Dullu pillar inscription Ashoka Challa appears with the title of *Hevajra Sevaka* (devotee of *Hevajra*). He himself went to worship Vajrasana. His reign is ascertained from 1255-1278 A.D. His inscriptions of Baleshvar, Kumaun, and Bandahal Garhwal indicate that he had conquered western Tibet, Kumaun and Garhwal (Badri-Kedar). He was a devotee of Vajrayana Buddhism.

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[169]. Pradhan, f.n. No. 55, pp. 173-174.

[170]. Nepal, f.n. no. 24, p. 142, cf. Rahul Sankrityayana, pp. 112-344.

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Jitari Malla was the son of Ashoka Challa. [171] Ashoka Challa's Padukasthan Stela of Dullu inscribes '*Om Namo Buddhayo, Shree Ashoka Challa*'. It shows Ashoka Challa's strong faith in Buddhism. The stela is in Nepali. It is stated that Buddhism was state religion during that time.When Ananta Malla ascended the throne, Ashoka Challa had died.

### 4.7.5. Jitari Malla

Jitari Malla (1288-1299 A.D.), the seventh descendant of Nagaraja, had assumed the title of Malla by renouncing the title of Challa. He is mentioned as Jitar or Jivar Malla in Tibetan chronicle. Jitari Malla was the first king who invaded Nepal for three times. In 1288 A.D., he invaded Nepal with Khasa troops. The people of Nepal had compelled him to leave the Kathmandu Valley by hiding all the crops and vegetables. In 1289 A.D., he paid homage to Red Matsyendra Nath, fed the ascetics and offered flowers to Pashupati Nath by embracing the deity. His son Aditya Malla had also attacked Nepal. Again in 1294 A.D., he invaded the Valley. He burnt down the villages and killed many people. He took many cultural properties to Dullu and decorated the capital with Brahmanical and Buddhist deities.[172] His son Aditya Malla and cousin Ripu Malla had also attacked Nepal and levied taxes.[173]

### 4.7.6. Ripu Malla

Ripu Malla (1312-1313 A.D.), cousin of Jitari Malla and son of Ananda Malla, had come to Nepal in course of his pilgrimage. Probably, he had brought Sangrama Malla with him. In the Ashokan pillar of Lumbini the names of both Ripu Malla and Sangrama Malla are inscribed thus "*Ripu Malla Chiranjayata, Sangrama Malla Mahajayati.*"In the year1313 A.D., he had come to Nepal. He offered a horse to Matsyendra Nath of Bungamati and performed *Mahasnan* (great bath). He worshipped Pashupati Nath touching the idol. He gave feast to those who performed *Chudakarma* ceremony at Svayambhu. He stayed there for eighteen days and then returned home.[174] The *Gopalraja Vamsavali* (43 ka) mentions that Ripu Malla had given feast at Bunga and Kathmandu in 1313 A.D.

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[171]. *Ibid,* p. 142, cf. *Karnali Pradesh Ko Aitihasik Ruprekha,* (Historical features of Karnali Region), pp. 22-24.

[172]. Ram, f.n. no. 28, p. 153.

[173]. Nepal f.n. no. 42, p. 144.

[174]. *Ibid,* p. 155.

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(*Falguna Krishna* 433 N.S.). In the Niglihawa pillar "*Shree Ripu Malla Jayetu 1312 A.D.* (Saka *Samvat* 1234) is inscribed. It shows that Ripu Malla had his pilgrimage to Lumbini, Kapilvastu, Pashupati Nath and Svayambhu.

### 4.7.7. Prithvi Malla

Prithvi Malla (1338-1358 A.D.) was a brave king who ruled for twenty years. His copper plate discovered at Singada village of Bajura inscribes *Khadga* (sword), *Sankha* (counch shell), *Surya* (sun), *Chandra* (moon) and Prithvi Malla and *Buddha, Dharma and Sangha* are shown as witness. His epithet "*Shreedharma Narayanandhigata Prajnarajya Rakshyama*" is interpreted both from Hindu and Buddhist point of view. On the one hand its meaning is interpreted as protected by *Dharma Narayana*'s wisdom 'or' protected by Buddha's wisdom.' His epithet "*Garudadhajavatar*" (incarnate of Vishnu) shows his respect to Vishnu. He has also taken the title of "*Triratnacharanasevaka*" (devotee of three jewels). [175]. To cite Pradhan, Pala king Punya Malla who succeeded King Nagaraja in 1334 A.D. had his copper plates dated 1338 A.D. In the copper plate he mentions that Prithvi Malla was the second king of combined state. He constructed *Caitya* and donated to *Gumbas*. He and his successors had inscribed inscriptions at Dullu and other places of western Nepal. Until the vast Pala kingdom disintegrated into small states, Buddhism was state religion and it was encouraged over there. He further adds that Buddhism played important role in western Nepal for about 400 years. Many *Gumbas* established during that period still exist. Many remains of Buddhist *Gumbas* are found in western Nepal. Among them, it is stated that the archaeological remains of Surkhet still exist. The remains of Buddhist *Gumba* with icon of the Buddha are extent now. The walls, pillars and dome of the *Gumba* indicate the high degree of architecture. The designs incised in the *Gumba* appear in the shape of cucumber in series. So it is called *Kakre Vihara (Vihara* in the decorative style of cucumber). In Surket region, many remains of *Thur (Stupa)*, ditches, *Cityas*, temples are available at present. In Dullu and its surrounding many archaeological remains along with some inscriptions still exist. These areas were included in the states of Nagas and Palas.[176]

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[175]. Adhikari, f.n. No. 163. pp. 8-9.

[176]. Pradhan, f.n. No. 35 pp. 173-175.

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It is also stated that Prithvi Malla ruled his country according to the laws of sages Gargya and Gautama. It is apparent that he followed the policy of religious toleration. The Dailekh stela incises the words "*Om Mani Padme Hun*" jewels on the lotus. It is a prayer of compassionate *Avalokiteshvara*. It is the inscription of Jayasimha incised on a stela, near Bal Bhairava temple at Dailekh. It is supposed to be of the year 1357 A.D. It shows that the Khas Mallas folowed Bodhisattvayana or Mahayana Buddhism. One inscription of the time of Malaya Varma's dated 1389 A.D. (Saka 1311) also mentions the *Mantra* "*Om Mani Padme Hun - Om Swasti*". It shows that feudal lords also followed the policy of Prithvi. Bodhisattvayana or the cult of Avalokiteshvara was in vogue in Khasa Malla kingdom in western Nepal in the early medieval period. Ashoka Challa had placed an epigraphic record at Vajrasana, Bodh Gaya (Bihar). Dharmasvamin had to confront with a *Shravaka* who strongly reacted against Buddhist holy text *Prajnaparamita* as mentioned above. Vajrasana at that time was the centre of Shravakayana or Theravada. However, the construction of Buddhist *Vihara* in Bodhagaya by Ashoka Challa indicates that Bodhisattvayana was popular in Khasa Malla kingdom. As the Challas were the master of western Tibet, they seem to have been following Avalokietshvara cult which had been very popular in Tibet. Making remarkes about the Khas Mallas, Jnanamani Nepal writes -"These kings holding Malla titles did not belong to ancient Mallas. When Nagaraja established Sinja as his capital, his descendants were known as Challa. These rulers up to seventh descendants of Nagaraja assumed the title of Challa. Ashoka Challa's son Jitari Malla left the title of Challa and assumed the title of "Malla." Only in the fourteenth century, the kings of Sinja assumed the title of Malla in fashion of the Mallas of the Kathmandu Valley.[177] Some scholars assume that Khasa Malla rulers had previous contact with the Mallas and Lichchhavis of North Eastern India

To cite Sylvain Levi, a great number of Khasiyas (from western Nepal) immigrated into Nepal in the year 1288 A.D. (408 N.S.) and settled here. In 1291 A.D. (411 N.S.) a considerable number of families from Tirhut also settled here. A colophon of the manuscript copied in 1318 A.D. (438 N.S.) mentions that it was copied in the reign of Jayananda Malla. Thus the early mediaeval period brought about the interaction of different cross sections of people. It also marked the development of *Tantric* Buddhism in the form of Mantrayana or Vajrayana. The development of *Boul* sect represented

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[177]. Nepal, f.n. No. 24, p. 109.

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syncretism. Buddhism had to make compromise with Hinduism and Vaishnavism for its survival.

### 4.8.1. Arniko's Contribution to Buddhism

Arniko was the young artist of Nepal who contributed his utmost for the cause of Buddhism through the medium of art and architecture. He strengthened Nepal's relation with Tibet and China. Many scholars of Nepal and India had gone to Tibet to spread Buddhism. They had their fame and they had left their works there. After the Muslim conquest in India, the Buddhists came to take asylum in Nepal. From here also, they went to Tibet. In the same way, many Hindus migrated to the Kathmandu Valley. They settled in Simroangrah, Sinja and the Kathmandu Valley. The Buddhists from Nalanda, Vikramasila *Mahaviharas* migrated to the Valley and Tibet. They went to Tibet to spread Buddhism. From Tibet and China, many Buddhists came on pilgrimage to Nepal and India. Thus Nepal became a centre of interaction in the region. Nepalis chronicles and other sources furnish information about Arniko. The Chinese chronicle and the inscription placed on the graveyard of Arniko provided information about Arniko. Sylvain Levi has thrown more light on Arniko with reference of Chinese history. The local and foreign scholars have also provided information about him. To quote Jnanamani Nepal, Arniko was popular by the name of *Palpo*. The word *Palpo* and *Balpo* means Nepali. In this connection, he was called *Balbahu*. His real name was Arniko. It is supposed to have been derived from Ananga. As the name came from Anik the name Anik is referred as justified.[178] Among the eight wives of Arniko the name of his first according to inscription was Tsai-yeh-ta-ch'i-mei (Jayadalaksmi). It is interpreted as Jayeta Laksmi.

During that time Phagspa, the monk of Sakys monastery in Tibet was the *Guru* (teacher) of Chinese Emperor Kubilai Khan. By the order of the Chinese Emperor, the artists from Nepal were invited. A team of eighty artists went to Tibet under the leadership of young Arniko. In 1258-1271 A.D., Jaya Bhimadeva was the king of Nepal Mandala. In 1261 A.D. Jaya Bhimadeva Malla received a request from Chinese Emperor Kubilai Khan for dispatching a mission of Nepalis artists for rebuilding and restoring some cultural works in the city of Peking.

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[178]. Nepal, f.n. No. 24, pp.139-140.

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Arniko was born in 1246 A.D.[179] Scholars have given different dates of birth of Arniko. P.C. Bagchi puts his date of birth in 1243 A.D.[180] Luciano Petech on the basis of Chinese epigraphic sources furnishes his date of birth in 1245 A.D. Quoting Prof. K. Enoki, Petech writes that Aniko is the correct form of name as attested by the funeral inscription and by early edition of Yuan-shi (Chinese General).[181] Vijaya Kumar Manandhar writes that Arniko was a prominent figure in the court of Mongol Emperor of China, Kublai Khan. [182] Jnanamani Nepal mentions that Arniko had led the artists of Nepal in such a great number in his tender age proves that he belonged to a high royal clan.[183] S.Levi writes that in the court of Mongol, Arniko arrived towards 1263 A.D. The biography of Arniko introduces a new item in the history of Nepalis Buddhism.[184] Nepal had regular

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179. D.R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, (Calcutta : Firma M.L Mukhopadhyaya, 1960), pp. 52, 91.

180. Ram, f.n. No. 17, p. 179, cf. P.C.Bagchi, *India and China*, (2nd edt). 1950, Bombay, p. 162.

181. Petech,f.n.No.1.p 100,Petech mentions- The Indian (not Sanskrit ) equivalent seems to be Anigo, which occurs as the name of one of the Eighty four *Siddhas*; P Pelliot loc. cit. Citing G Tucci's Tibetan Painted Scrolls,p.228, Petech writes another name of that *Siddha* is Anigo in dialectical form. The above citations indicate that Arniko appears as one of the eightyfour *Siddhas* Petech also mentions ISHIDA's version such as "Gendai no Aniko Neparo no Osaka Anikano denitsuite." Aniko was the member of the Nepalese royal family during Yuan dynasty. Petech writes on the footnote No.1- At the date of his death, he is expressly stated to have been 62 years old; this places his birth (counting in the Chinese fashion) in 1245. ISHIDA, pp.247-248 mentions that this is a mistake, because he was seventeen when he met P'as-pa in 1260 which means that he was born in 1244. But 1260 is not the date of the meeting. It is that of the imperial mandate to p'ags-pa for the construction of the *Stupa*. What with P'agspa receiving the mandate and informing the king of Nepal with the latter collecting the 80 artisans and sending them to Tibet with Aniko last arriving at Saskya. We may fairly be certain that another year had passed and that Aniko came to the presence of P'agspa in 1261.

182. Vijay Kumar Manandhar, *A Comprehensive History of Nepal China Relations upto1955 A.D*, (New Delhi : Adroit Publishers, 2005), p. 53, Manandhar writes - During the first year of the establishment of Yuan dynasty A-ni-ka (Balbahu, Arniko Anize) a Nepalese artisan, architect and prominent figure in the court of Mongol Emperor of China Kublai Khan (1260-1294 A.D.) played an important role in reestablishing Sino Nepalese relations.

183. Nepal, f.n. No. 9, p.140

184. Levi "Nepal", *Ancient Nepal,* No 115, (Kathmandu : DOA, , 1989-1990), p. 8. Levi writes- "Arniko was born in 1343 A.D in the reign of Abhaya Malla.He left Nepal before the reign of Ananta Malla and work in Tibet He states that a '*Sutra* on the proportion of statues' was found in China. He got it from Rev Akamatzn while he was in Japan. The *Sutra* belonged to the time of 'Tsao-Siong-ton-leang-king'. It represents the tradition introduced in China by a Nepalese artist A-Xliko. The biography of the artist has been preserved by the *Annals of the Yuan* that call him Ar-ni-ko. It contributes to throw some light on the very obscure period of the history of Nepal. The biography was published and studied by the priest Bangin in the *Japanese Review Kolka* No 164, January 1964." Levi further writes- "Although one hundred artists were requested from Tibet only eighty were sent to Tibet by king Jaya Bhimadeva (1258-1271 A.D.). Arniko led the artists. Objections were raised owing to his tender age. Arniko replied 'I am young but my intellect is not' The master of the Emperor was amazed to see him. He entrusted him to supervise the work. The following year the pagoda was completed. Arniko asked for leave to return. The master of the Emperor induced him to present himself at the Imperial court. He tonsured and ordained him and accepted him as a disciple. As ordered by the master Arniko proceeded to the court. The Emperor seeing him alone asked him if he was not afraid. He replied the Emperor that His Majesty treated ten thousand countries like sons. A son appearing before a father should not fear. The Emperor asked him why he came. Arniko replied that he had come to Tibet to build a *Stupa*.

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relation with Tibet. In the beginning of the career of Phags-pa, Nepal did not remain stronger to the powerful movement that created and organized Lamism. Writing about the influence of a Nepalis artist on art in China, the *Annals* attributes that the pagoda style in China and Japan has Nepalis origin. Citing *Annals* of the Yuan, S. Levi remarks that Nepal may have given to Chinese Buddhism models of architecture and architects before providing her with a talented sculptor, a law of new measurements. S.Levi mentions that Arniko was a native of Nepal. The people of the kingdom call him Pa-le-pou. When he was quite young, he displayed a bright intelligence of a superior kind to that of ordinary children. When he was a little grown up, he could recite from memory the Buddhist texts and at the end of the year, he understood them all. Among his school fellows, there was one who was sketcher, painter, modeler decorator and who recited the law of measurements. He only heard it once and Arniko was able to repeat it. On his youthhood, he became an expert sketcher himself and excelled in the art of modeling and melting into shapes, images in metal. In 1260 A.D. Khubilai Khan put to his spiritual teacher Phagspa, the request to build a golden pagoda at the monastery of Sakya in Tibet.[185] At the time of cultural delegation of Arniko Tibet was an important unit under the great Emperor Khubilai Khan (1215-1295 A.D.). It is stated that Nepalis Buddhist monk influenced the life and culture of monks at Wu-t'ai-san of China. In this context, P.Landon writes- "at Wu-t'ai-shan there is still a structure remotely resembling the shrines of Boddhnath and Swayambhunath and it does not appear that any other similar shrines to be found in China proper. Manjushree is a guardian deity of China."[186]

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Within two years he completed that. He expressed that the Emperor established peace and worked for the happiness of human beings. So he came to him. The Emperor knowing his skills in metal casting ordered him to take from the palace a copper statue for the acupuncture. It had suffered with time. There was no body who was able to put it right again. Arniko told the Emperor that he did not have practice but he would try to mend it. In the second year of the commencement of the work, (1265 A.D.), Arniko completed the statue. The apertures, the full parts of the veins, the flaunting were all there. The artists in metal were amazed at Arniko's super talent. Skills were highly appreciated. In all the monasteries of Tibet and Bejing (two capitals) the majority of the statues were worked out including the portraits of the several Emperors in silk textile. No painting could equal his paintings.".

185. Levi, f. n. No. 184, pp. 9, 16.

186. P. Landon, *History of Nepal* Vol. II, (Delhi : Adarsh Enterprises, Reprinted 2001), p. 223. Landon writes –"While Arniko was in Tibet in 1261 A.D., he constructed the golden pagoda of Lhasa. Being impressed by his works, Lama Phagapa took him to Peking in 1263. He excelled many artists during his long years say in Peking. He left an imprint of Nepalese Buddhist art and architecture. Citing S.Levi's version Landon writes- "It is there that a historical basis for his (Manjusri's) personality may be found. But he points out that his prototype was born in Orissa about the time of Alexander's invasion.

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In the tenth of Teche-yuan year (1274 A.D.), Arniko was given the supreme authority on all the artists in metal with silver seal stamped with the tiger for the first time. In the fifteenth year (1279 A.D.) a decree ordered him to revert to his ancient dress of layman. He then received the offices of "Kaonlon-ta-fau-tasen-tion", controller of the court of Imperial manufactures. He enjoyed unrivalled favours and gifts.[187]

Arniko's first wife was Nepali woman. Following the customs of the court at which he lived he took a Mongol lady as another chief wife and seven secondary wives. He had eight daughters and six sons. Two of his sons took the official footsteps of his father but none of them achieved fame.[188] Arniko died on the 11 March 1306 A.D. He was cremated in Nepalis style. After his death, he was given the posthumous titles of Tai-che, Kai-fou-yit, Oug-san-se,Duke of the kingdom of Leang Chang techou-kouo (with the posthumous title of Min-hoei) (Prompt Intelligence).[189] The real continuator of this school and his chief pupil was the Chinese Liu-Yuan.[190] Quoting P Pelliot, Petech mentions the contribution of Arniko to Buddhism and he is referred to even as one of the eighty four Siddhas.[191]

### 4.8.1. Invasion of Sultan Shamsuddin in Nepal

The invasion by Sultan Shamsuddin Iliyas was most ravaging in Nepal from religious point of view as well. It not only ravaged the ancient architectures of Nepal but also brought about great havoc among the people of Nepal. Sultan Shamsuddin of Bengal (1342-1352 A.D) over ran Tirhut in 1345-1346 A.D. The *Gopalaraja Vamsavali*

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P. Landon's work was printed under the title "*Nepal*" in the beginning. In the reprint of 2001, it is published in the title of "*History of Nepal*".

187. Levi, f.n. No. 184, p.10.

188. Petech f.n. No. 1, p .101.

189. Levi, f.n. No. 184, p.10.

190. Petech, f.n. No.1, p. 101,Petech writes –"The tradition of Aniko lasted for a long time among the Buddhist sculptors in China, and it is still upheld in the introduction to a late iconometric treatise, the Tsao-hsiaqng-tu-liang-ching"

191. *Ibid*, p. 99, Petech mentions-" In 1272 Yigmis was sent to the country of pa-lo-po beyond the seas (hai -wai) whence he came back in 1274 with some men of that country bearing jewels as a gift to the Emperor. In 1275 he was again sent to Pa-lo-po and he brought back from there a Buddhist "master of the realm". Kuo-shih -lu-po. Pelliot suggested that Pa-lo- po is Balpo, the Tibetan name for Nepal, spelt as Pa-lu-pu in the biography of A-ni-ko and that Yigma came there by sea i.e. through South East Asia and Bengal. The chief source for A-ni-ko and his family is his funeral inscription which was engraved on a stele and erected"

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mentions that in December 1349 A.D. (on the 9th of *Marga Sudi of. 470 N.S*) Sultan Shamsuddin entered Nepal. [192] He came through Sindhuligarhi. At first he attacked Bhaktapur. Although Bhaktapur was the citadel of *Uparaj*, it was the capital of Nepal. The invader plundered the city, destroyed the images and temples and set fire to the three towns of the Kathmandu Valley. The chronicles mention that there was great havoc in the city. Nobody could venture to resist the Muslim invasion. The invaders reached Pashupati temple complex without any resistance. They broke the idol of Pashupati Nath into three pieces. The store of Pashupati temple was looted. The next day they reached Svayambhu. They destroyed the Svayambhu *Mahachaitya*. Then they entered Patan city. They destroyed the *Viharas*, fortresses, temples and images. They looted as many properties as they could find. On the way to these cities, they destroyed Thimi, Deopatan. The people of the three cities fled and hid in the secure places and saved their lives. The great temples, *Viharas*, *Bahils* were destroyed. As there was shortage of food and water and approaching coldness of December was approaching, the invaders returned after seven days. L. Petech writes that the Muslim ruler overran Tirhut in 1345-1346 A.D. and from there he struck into Nepal.[193]

The first inscription commemorates the restoration of Pim *Bahal Caitya* destroyed by Shamsuddin. The inscription of Pim *Bahal* was incised by Meghapal Varma (1357-1359 A.D.) (477, 479 N.S).[194] To refer *Mahapatra* Meghapal Varma's inscription the mention of the words '*Nepal Sarvanagaram Bhasmi keroti*' indicates that Shamasuddin had destroyed the *Caitya* of Pim *Bahal* destroying all the cities. Shamsuddin is said to have advanced to Thimi, Patan and Deopatan towns from Bhaktapur in a day. It is clear from the *Pim Bahal* inscription that the *Caitya* of Pim *Bahal* was renovated in 1357 A.D. (477 N.S.) and completed in 1359 A.D. (479 N.S.). The inscription records that Meghapal Varma showed his respect to all religion. Meghapal Varma renovated the *Caitya* which existed as embodiments of all *Jinas*, (*Tathagatas*) and made arrangement for its worship. The Buddha was worshipped in the form of *Caitya*. The second inscription also gives the account of the invasion of the Sultan Shamsuddin and destruction of *Dharmadhatu Caitya*. The Svayambhu inscription dated 1372 A.D. (N.S. 492) incised by Raj Harsha

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192. Regmi, f.n. No. 164,p.42..

193. Petech, f.n. No. 1, p.119.

194. Joshi, f.n. No. 60. "Mediaeval Inscription", *Ancient Nepal*, No. 53-56, (Kathmandu : DOA, 1980 A.D), p. 36.

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Bhallok eulogizes Jayarjunadeva and Jayasthiti Malla in the context of the conservation of the Buddhist *Caitya.* Both the inscriptions mention the destruction of the Buddhist *Caityas* by the Muslim ruler and plundering of the property put in the *Garbhagriha* of the *Caitya*. The *Caitya* could be restored only after twenty three years of destruction.[195]

It is guessed that Shamsuddin's vandalism was not limited to *Caityas*, temples and idols only. He also destroyed inscription of Svayambhu. It is stated that the inscription of Maitri Chandra Shakya *Bhikshu* of Svayambhu indicates it. However, the the inscription is assumed to be the contemporary inscription of Vijayakamadeva of 1200 A.D. (N.S. 320). The date of the inscription is assumed on the basis of the typology of the script used in the inscription. The script of the inscription is in *Ranjana*. It is guessed that as the inscription is in mutilated form, it so happent not by natural process but by human vandalism. The inscription is said to be preserved in the sculpture museum of Svayambhu. It reminds the effect of the Muslim vandalism.

The inscription is rare in its nature. It includes a symbol of *Shilankush*. *Shilankush* is possessed by *Bhikshus* of *Arya Sangha*. The inscription has a symbol of water filtration. *Shilankush* is not held by the followers of Mahayana, Tantrayana as well as *Shiddhacharyas*, *Yogis* and the *Vidhyadharas*. It is known that *Shilankush* and water filtration symbols are not found in other inscriptions of Nepal. It also indicates that the donor of the inscription named *Bhikshu* Maitri Chandra was a *Vanaprasthi Bhikshu*, who did not live in household. It indicates the existence of the celibate monks during that time. So it is stated that Svayambhu was a holy shrine during that period not only to Mahayana, Vajrayana but also to Shravakayana. The symbol of water filtration testifies the fundamental nature of *Vanaprastha Bhikshus*. As water contains many invisible insects or germs the *Bhikshus* take water only after filtration. This shows their nature of non- violence in Buddhism.[196]

It is obvious that the Muslim invasion had tremendous effect in the development of Buddhism in Nepal. Being idol breakers, the Muslim tried to destroy each and every signs of Buddhist culture. Not only the human vandalism affected Buddhism in the early medieval period but also the natural calamities badly affected its smooth development.

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[195]. *Ibid,* pp. 40-41.

[196]. Shakya, f.n. No. 78, p. 56.

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### 4.7.2. The Great Earth Quake of 1255 A.D.

The great earth quake hit Nepal on Monday13th June 1255 A.D. One third of the population perished in the natural calamity. A large number of Buddhist monks both local and foreign died in the earth quake. Buddhist communities suffered considerable loss of property. Many manuscripts and works of art were destroyed which comprised many historical documents. *Viharas* mentioned in early historical documents collapsed. Buddhist activities came to stand still. To add to this misfortune, the famine which broke after earth quake brought about multiplier effect. The fugitive Indian Buddhists suffered a lot. They fled to Tibet, China and other Trans-Himalayan region. They carried much cultural properties pertaining to Buddhism. A. good number of Buddhist manuscripts brought down by Rahul Sankrityayana from Tibet bears the colophons which refer the Nepali rulers and dates in these works. The natural calamity had adverse effects on cultural life. Price of the commodities of daily needs increased considerably. Measures were taken to meet the effects of natural calamities.The business communities too were affected by the earth quake. They felt financial difficulties. Their commercial commodities were destroyed and paralyzed their sources of production. Hunger, terror and uncertainty over-shadowed the Valley. Day to day life and activities were dislocated. However, rebuilding of infrastructure was started later on.[197]

In the early medieval period people were devoted to Buddhism. Religious toleration was the order of the day. The Itumbahal inscription of Jaitra Laxmi may be referred to.in this context. The inscription mentions that Jaitra Laksmi was a devotee of *Bunga Aryavalokiteshvara and Sugata Vamshavalarini Dharmaputri* (daughter of Buddha's clan). She had incised the inscription in 1382 A.D. (N.S. 502) with the intention of spreading her religion i.e. Buddhism. The inscription is also a eulogy of Jaya Simha Ram *as Mahamantradhirajtilaka Gopinarayana*. In the same way Madana Rama Vardhana is referred to as '*Paramyogindra Sahajnarayana Mahamantri*' who established *Yek Jati* at Svayambhu. Jaya Simha Ram is mentioned as the son of *Mahamantri* Anek Rama Vardhana of lunar dynasty. His mother was Godhana Laxmi. He is described as *Indra* of *Kaliyuga* with the title of *Adhiraj* among the *Mahamantries* (ministers). He had also taken the title of *Gopinarayana*. He renovated the temple of Pashupati with new image.

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[197]. Ram, f.n. No. 17, p. 177.

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During his administration, his brother Madana Ram Vardhana was well versed in drama, *Tantrism*, *Dharma* and meditation. He was of the view that Pashupati and Svayambhu are embodiment of five elements). He had taken the title of *Parma Maheshvara*. He is mentioned as devotee of *Ananda Bodha* (Buddha). He is also referred to by followers of Gorkha Nath sect. His wife Jaitra Laksmi had established a golden image of *Arya Tara* and installed *Paravat Vihara* for the spread of her religion. Religious toleration was the feature of the day.[198] Scholars point out that the rulers took no care to redress the losses incurred by the Buddhist monuments. The Malla rulers were devout Hindus. They were eager to do everything for the Brahmanical monuments. Conservation of Buddhist monuments was dependent on the endeavors of the merchants and monks. All repair works were conducted by Buddhist communities. After the Muslim menace the work of rehabilitation and religious feelings towards the monuments and deities were apparent.[199] This period showed the destruction of monuments and their restoration with public support.

To quote Rajendra Ram, the Buddhists of Nepal experienced disasters for about one hundred years (1255-1350 A.D.). In that period, many monuments were damaged. The Buddhists were in search for their new avenues for their ideological and moral survival. Their contacts with Trans-Himalayan region brought blessings. They took shelter in Tibet and preserved their valuable scriptures and works of art. They also had experience of iconoclast menaces in eastern India and Nepal. It was eye -opening lesson to them. The Tibetan ways and manners of living helped them to preserve their Buddhist cultural heritage. Moreover the climatic condition of Tibet facilitated for the preservation of cultural heritage.[200]

It is stated that Nepalis Buddhism served as a vehicle for cultural contacts with distant areas. It is evident from Nepalis cultural delegation to the Trans-Himalayan countries under the leadership of Arniko in 1261 A.D. It is guessed that Phagspa, the protagonist of Sakyapa School exercised effective influence over Nepalis Buddhists. Phags-pa was very influential in the Mongol Court. The monks of the Sakya-pa led married life with prior

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198. Joshi, f.n. No. 60, pp. 44-46.
199. Ram, f.n. No. 17. p. 192.
200. *Ibid*, p.193.

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sanction of religious laws and monkhood was hierarchical. The spiritual hierarchy was directly transplanted over the Buddhist religious organization.[201]

The Vajracharyas were the *Tantrists* of higher order. They led married life. The *Vandyas* (*Banras*) were the assistants of the Buddhist monks. The Vajracharyas practiced esoteric Buddhist rituals. The *Bhikshus* assisted them. The Udas formed merchant community. They were involved in the professions such as metal worker, carpentry, masonry and stone works etc. The Buddhist monk community served the lay Buddhists on social and religious occasions as priest. The Buddhist monk community played parallel role of the Brahmana priest. The Buddhist monks mostly put on Lama Dress and practised rituals. It is common rituals followed by Indian *Siddhas*. The manner costume and rituals although seem common to India and Tibet, Nepalis monks had adopted them to their originality. Outside the country the *Bhikshus* and *Udas* lived and mixed together. The Vajracharyas experienced great loss of their social and religious status. The hard-line religious morality or organizational hierarchy of the Buddhists of Nepal made speedy progress. Their interactions with the Buddhists of Trans-Himalayan region and their need of survival made them to accept new changes. The man made and natural calamities made them to leave hard line religious hierarchy. Brahmanical priestly influence also may be attributed for their soft line traits leading to social and religious collaboration. The special feature of Buddhists in Nepal was their theistic view. It is stated that the Vajracharyas followed Vajrayana Buddhism based on Mantrayana. It was based on *Tantric* ritual. Its fundamental basis is *Dharini Mantra* (spells) and Y*oga* (concentrative meditation). Samvara and Vajravarahi are the main deities of Vajrayana Buddhism. They also practiced *Sahajayana* and *Kalachakrayana*. Scholars termed it as the period of Brahmanical purge in Buddhism.[202] Ram mentions that that Shankaracharya and his followers had given serious blow to Nepalis Buddhist society. A way was opened for the Hindu section of Nepalis population. Later developments in Buddhism resulted in Tantrayana, Vajrayana, Kalachakrayana and Shajayana.[203]

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[201]. *Ibid*, p. 194. Citing K.P. Chattopadhyaya, Rajendra Ram writes – "The *Bandyas* (*Banras*) the Vajracharyas (*Gubhajus*) and *Udasas* formed the characteristic religious status in organizational hierarchy "

[202]. *Ibid*, p. 197.

[203]. *Ibid*, p. 204.

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In relation to Tantrayana a colophon may be referred. The colophon gives the evidence of Mahayana Buddhism practiced in Nepal. It attests the existence of Sahajayana sub- sect prevailing in the fourteenth century. The colophon was collected by Asiatic Society of Bengal. The name of the *Tantra* is *Heruka Samvarodaya* written in *Nepal Bhasa* script. The *Tantra* deals with Sahajayana Buddhism. Introducing Sahajayana Buddhism, Joshi writes- Sahajayana Buddhism believes that the greatest pleasure is possible only through sexual enjoyment. The *Tantra* according to him is in the form of discourses between Lord Buddha and Vajrapani *Bodhisattva*. The essence of the discourses relates to the topics on how *Samvara* manifests, how *Heruka* is formed out of five elements and how he has became recipient of *Trikaya* ie, *Niramankaya*, *Sambhogakaya* and *Dharmakaya*. The *Tantra* deals with secret and occult worship of Heruka and Vajrayogini. Heruka and Vajrayogini are bound embracing each other in full carnal enjoyment. The adoration is performed with all materials of *Tantric* method. [204] Ram adds that the *Yabyum* form was the impact of the Tibetans. The concept of *Sunyata* also came into practice in the thirteenth century. *Bodhisattva* was anthropomorphized as *Vajrapurusha*. In the name of *Tantric* practices and search of *Mahasukha* (supreme bless) Buddhists involved themselves in complex sexo yogic practices. [205] Relating to Kalachakrayana, H.C.Prusty writes that the cult of Kalachakrayana was developed in Orrisa. [206]

Scholars opine that the decline of political fortunes of the Licchavis was not accompanied by corresponding decline of Buddhism in Nepal. [207] Buddhism is said to have reached its zenith during this period. During the time of the Vaishya Thakuris many *Viharas* of Patan were made. The above discussions show it. In the early medieval period, Nepal had interaction with the scholars of India and Tibet and vice versa. As mentioned above, "Patan with its interlinking web of *Viharas* had become essentially a Buddhist University." During this period Atisha Dipankara and Ratnarakshita came to Nepal. Nepalis Buddhist scholars went to India at different centres of Buddhist learning. In the eleventh century, Tibetan Drokmi spent a year in Nepal studying Sanskrit and Mahayana Buddhism. He was ordained in *Layeku Vihara* of Patan He, later became the teacher of

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[204]. Hari Ram Joshi, "Mediaeval Colophones", (Lalitpur : *Rolamba*, No. 3, Joshi Research Institute, July-September 1993), p. 11.

[205]. Ram, f.n. No.17, pp.160-161.

[206]. Prusty, f.n. No. 26, pp. 50-53.

[207]. Slusser, f.n. No. 3, p. 281.

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Tibetan *Yogin* Marpa. *Guru* Bharo and Phumthinpa were the renowned scholars of *Nepal Mandala* during early medieval period. During that time Nepal was not only the centre of Buddhism but it was the centre of interaction. After Turkish invasion in the north eastern India in the beginning of thirteenth century, many Buddhist scholars took asylum in Nepal. Many manuscripts were copied in Nepal. On the Nepal -Tibet border too a Buddhist centre developed where manuscripts were copied. From the hands of Nepalis monks, there was vast out pouring of manuscripts. In the eleventh century manuscripts were written in Sanskarit employing diverse scripts. *Stupas* developed joining by an ever increasing repertory of images, carved, cast and painted in the *Viharas*. Cultural commodities as arts and crafts developed which became quite popular in the Trans-Himalayan region including China and Mongolia. It was the period of unique triumph of Vajrayana Buddhism which aimed at purity in mind body and speech. Female divinities were increased. *Tantric* Buddhism became more popular. Worship of cosmic deities as Hevaja, Heruka, Samvara and Vajrayogini were very popular. They were the integral part of Vajrayana Buddhism. The *Matrikas* (mother divinities) were venerated for *Bhukti* (enjoyment) and *Mukti* (salvation). *Yajna* (fire sacrifice) along with *Caitya* worship was performed for attaining merit. Therefore some scholars refer Vajrayana Buddhism as Hinduized cult. In real sense, it is not like that. Undoubtedly syncretism is there. *Tantricism* was well developed in Nepal. These were the general features of Buddhism in the early medieval period in *Nepal Mandala*.

The early medieval period produced many prominent monks and scholars of excellence. Nepalis scholars such as Sanghashree, Kanakshree, Mahakaruna Vogisvarakirti Bharo and others were highly renowned scholars and *Tantra* practitioners. The Tibetan scholars came to Nepal to learn with the *Guru* Vajracharya whose home itself maintained Guru-chela (teacher-student) tradition. The *Blue Annals* provides descriptions about Vajrayana tradition of Nepal. With the end of celibate monastism and dependence on ritual practices, Newar Buddhism led the Newar Buddhist community towards the cessation of scholarly tradition, which became the cause of degeneration of Vajrayana Buddhism. Howerver, Tibet still continues celibate monasticism and retains the traits of Vajrayana Buddhism in true sense of term.[208]

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[208]. Thapa, f.n. No. 25, p. 27.

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At present scholars negatively remark that Mahayana and Vajrayana distorted the original teachings of the Buddha. However, some other scholars remark that Mahayana Buddhism has not been properly studied. The religiosity of Mahayana and its altruistic attitude is being undermined. With regard to Vajrayana, scholars point out that it is more tilted to Hinduism and *Tantric* sect and due to the influence of the Hindu rulers ruling in the country. No doubt it has lost its good traits and it showed its inclination towards sarcedotalism as in Hinduism. It had become secular in its approach during the early medieval period. Vajracharyas aimed at the union of Shiva and Kundalini in divine form. So it was practiced as pure sect during that time.

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# CHAPTER V

# History of Buddhism in Later Medieval Nepal

## 5.1. Background

The history of Buddhism during the medieval period is related to the Mallas of *Nepal Mandala*. The history of the Mallas is divided into two periods (a) Early Malla Period (1200- 1382 A.D.) (b) Later Malla Period (1382- 1768 A.D.). The medieval history of Nepal from the last quarter of the fourteenth century to the third quarter of the eighteenth century was the rule of one single family of the Mallas. The contemporary sources of their history are the numerous colophons, several inscriptions, gold plates, copper plates, palm leaves, numismatic sources, accounts of the foreigners, *Vamsavalis*, tradition of the people and their hearsay evidences. Their unanimous evidences that the Malla kings ruled in Nepal prove that the Mallas ruled in the central part of Nepal for 569 years from the beginning of the thirteenth century. As discussed in the last chapter, Nepal was divided into three states from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. During that time there were Khasa Malla kingdom in the west, Simroangarh (Tirhut) kingdom under the Karnatas in the southeast and *Nepal Mandala* in the central part.[1] Slusser points out that there was change in the way of the practising Buddhism in Nepal by the end of the 12th century.[2] D.R Regmi writes that from the 13th century onwards Nepal had been practically only one of the places of Buddhist learning as we have it from various Ms.sources. Scholars from India and Tibet were hailed and allowed to work in multiple monasteries. Several colophons reveal the names of the writers who belonged to the different parts of India. Babu Ram Acharya describes the religious condition of Simroangarh, south eastern part of Nepal and Bihar in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. During the time, the Vaishyas of Nepal being hard pressed both from the north and south followed Buddhism. Buddhist *Viharas* developed as a centre of enlightenment and as well as dispensaries. During the

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1. T.R. Vaidya, "Devaldevi, The Defacto Ruler of Nepal", *Voice of History*, Vol. XVI, No.2, (Kirtipur: 2001), p. 12, cf. "Devaladevi, the wife of Harasimhadeva", *Nepal: A Study of Socio- Economic and Political Changes*, (New Delhi : Anmol Publications, 1992), pp. 19-22.
2. Mary Shepherd Slusser, *Nepal Mandala, A Cultural Study of the Kathmandu Valley*, Vol. I, (New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1992 A.D. ), p. 286. Slusser writes that a change had come about in the Nepalese Buddhist practice by the end of the twelfth century. The period is marked by the end of monasticism.

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period many *Viharas* of Patan excluding a few one were constructed. In the *Viharas* the Vandyas explained the philosophy of Buddhism and enlightened the people. The Vandyas painted the scrolls, cast idols in the *Viharas* and the *Viharas* were converted into workshops. The monks and nuns abandoned celibacy and committed themselves to idolatry. The act was not regarded as crime. During the time of war with the enemies they resorted to *Tantra and Mantra.* Shamasuddin, the Sultan of Bengal destroyed many *Viharas* during his invasion of Nepal. The degeneration of *Viharas* (celibate monasticism) started in Nepal by the end of early medieval period. Jayasthiti Malla claimed himself as the Kshetriya of the solar race. As the Vaishya ministers supported him they were recognized as Acharya and Joshi priests during his reign and his successor.[3] Acharya further mentions that the tradition of being *Bhikshu* (monk) in the *Viharas* discontinued when the monks and nuns living in the *Viharas* lived as *Grihasthas* (householders). During that time, the Vandyas, Udas and Jyapus had their priests from among the Vandyas known as Gurubhajus or Gubhajus. During that time the Tibetans, Gurungs (Phais), Sherpa and Murmi came into contact in the *Viharas* and lived with Vaishyas and Jyapus. They mixed among themselves. Their issues showed the features of Mongols. Gradually the Gubhajus and Vandyas declared the *Bahals* as their personal property. Only the *Caitya* remained as common property. However, the Vandyas performed their ordination rites and rituals in the *Bahals* provided they lived elsewhere.[4]

The Muslim invasion by Sultan Shamsuddin was most destructive and disastrous in Nepal in 1349 A.D. It was the most dangerous invasion in 1349 A.D. which destroyed many *Viharas, Caityas* and idols. It was the most devastating invasion. Although the Muslims established supreme authority in India, Nepal, being a hill fortress, was not so easily accessible to them. After the fall of Prithvi Malla, Sinja state of western Nepal was

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3. Babu Ram Acharya, "*Newar: Newari Language and Culture*"(Trans) by Swayambhu Lal Shrestha in *Nepal Bhasa,* (Lalitpur : Sahityaya Moo Lukha, 1995 A.D. (1115 N.S.), pp.12-14. cf. Article published in Nepali in" *Situ,*" Journal No. I, Year 6, No. 32/2, year 9, No. 49. Babu Ram Acharya writes that the Vaishya rulers ruled for 225 years when Nanyadeva was ruler in Simroangarh. By the end of 11th century the Karnatas followed *Sanatana Dharma,* (traditional Hindu religion). Up to the end of 12th century Buddhism was surviving in Bihar. The monks of Bihar had ordained the people of *Agneyakon* (south eastern corner). In the north, the Lamas of Tibet had ordained the Gurungs, Sherpas and Murmis to Buddhism. Being pressed on both sides the *Vaishas* had to yield to Buddhism in the early medieval period.

4. *Ibid,* p. 15.

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also divided into *Baisi and Chaubisi Rajyas* (twenty two and twenty four states). After that the Valley of Nepal had not to face any other invasion from the western Nepal.[5]

### 5.2.1. Beginning of New Chapter in Socio-religious matter

Historians write that a new chapter begins in the history of Nepal from the time of Jayasthiti Malla (1382-1395 A.D.). It is marked by new change in every aspect. Scholars say that the chapter of early medieval period closes from the time of Jayasthiti Malla and the later medieval period begins. Jayasthiti Malla was a staunch follower of *Sanatana Dharma* (traditional Hindu religion). He was devoted to Pashupati and Maneshvari, the tutelary and palace deity of the Karnatas. Moreover, he treated other religions on equal footing. The Svayambhu inscription credits him with the title of "*Bir Narayana.*" Jayarjunadeva (1361-1382 A.D.) and Jayasthiti Malla are compared with Indra and Upendra (Vishnu). He on the basis of the merit of the Buddha protected the people "*Palitetatra Buddhapunnyodayenaca.*" Svayambhu inscription of Raj Harsa Bhallok shows his liberal attitude. [6] Slusser writes that the Vajracharyas, the religious masters, masters of thunderbolt and masters of absolute power replaced the *Arhats* or similar heads of *Sangha*. They became the Buddhist priests. Socially they outranked the rest of the members of *Sanghas* which included ordinary *Bhikshu* or *Shakya Bhikshu*, a name derived from Sakyamuni Buddha, the Shakya sage from whom the monks claim their decent. The Vajracharyas monopolized the worship of the *Vihara* deities. They made their position hereditary. The *Shakya Bhikhsu* converted their surname Shakya. They largely followed their crafts, they already knew. This was particularly gold and silver smithing and fabrication of religious images.

Scholars point out that during the reign of Jayasthiti Malla and his successors the spiritual milieu of Vajrayana Buddhism gradually disappeared. The conventional celibate community ceased to have the same value as it had as one of the Three Jewels, "*Buddha, Dharma and Sangha*". Celibacy was nullified by ritualistic practices, associated with the female principle *Prajna;* learned *Yogins* and *Siddhas. Sangha* was traditionally composed of an egalitarian congregation consisting of *Arhat Bhiskhu, Sravakas and Cailakas* which

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5. Jnanamani Nepal, *Nepalko Purva Madhyakalko Itihas* (History of Nepal of Early Medieval Period), (Kirtipur : Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, T.U, 1997 A.D. ( 2054 V.S.), p. 197.
6. Hari Ram Joshi, "*Madyakalin Abhilekh,*" (Inscription of Medieval Period, Ins. No 43), *Ancient Nepal,* No. 53-56, (Kathmandu : DOA, 1980 A.D.), p. 40.

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reflected class structured society. The *Viharas* were changed into guild halls. They also made their profession hereditary. Scholars say that the drift from *Sangha* to *Sansarikaran* (secularization) was a gradual process over the courses of the whole Malla period. [7] The highly respected Vajracharyas and *Shakya Bhikshus* began to intermarry. The Vandya (Skt.) "worthy one"; vernacular Vandye, Banhra, Bare, was granted by society an elevated hierarchical position. They developed the skills to perform secular callings in the service of faith. Scholars point out that the Vajracharyas *or* Gubhajus are not celibate monks. They live in the household. Petech calls them the learned monks. He writes that *Shakya Bhikhsu* or Bare (Vandya) were simple monks. Very many of them are goldsmiths by trade.[8] A scholar writes that the ritual feature of Nepalis Buddhism consists of practice of *Dasha Karma* (ten kinds of sacraments).[9] To cite David N. Gellner, Nepalis Buddhism is confined to the Newar community only. According to him, the Newar Buddhists practiced secret *Mantra*, *Tantra*, *and Yoga* and ritual practices. They even maintain the Buddhist texts in original Buddhist Sanskrit. The kind of Buddhism practiced by the Newars is highly ritualized. The first ritual to be considered is the *Gurumandala Puja.* It is the first complex ritual learned by the novice priest.[10] It is obvious that the Buddhist household is distinct by the mark of five *Dhyani* Buddhas on the top of the main door with the auspicious signs and pitchers on either side. They paint it for their wedding ceremony.

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7. Slusser, f.n. No. 2, p. 287.

8. Luciano Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal (750-1430)*, (Rome : Instituto Italiano Par II Medio Ed Estreno (ISMEO) Oriente, 1958), p. 186.

9. Rajendra Man Bajracharya "A Brief Introduction of Nepalese Buddhism," (Kathmandu : Association of Nepalese Buddhism, 2000 p. 15. Cf. Pt. Badri Ratna Bajracharya (ed) Dasha Karma Pratistha Chhahayekegu Vidhi *Wa* Valimala, Kathmandu : Chandra Man and others. Bajracharya writes - Daha Karma includes- 1) *Garbhadhan 2) Punsavan 3) Simantonayan 4) Jatakarma 5) Namakarana 6) Annaprasana 7) Chudakarma (Buddhist ordination) 8) Shilapradan 9) Vratamocana 10) Panigrana.* These rituals are not followed by Vajrayanists of India. These are especially of the Nepalese origin.

10. David N.Gellener, *The Anthropology of Buddhism And Hinduism*, (New Delhi : Oxford India Paper backs, 2003 A.D.), pp. 73-74. Gellner writes - *Gurumandala* ritual consists of building up the *Mandala* (i.e. secred enclosure), offering the *Mandala* to Vajrasattva (*Tantric* Buddhist absolute), various Mahayana Buddhist undertakings and an offering to lower sprits to prevent obstacles. *Gurumanadala* is fundamental to all Newar Buddhist rituals.

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## 5.2.2. Characteristic Features of Buddhism in Nepal in the Later Medieval Period

Scholars have described the special features of Buddhism in the medieval period of Nepal. Among many features secularization of *Viharas* is one of them. Jaysathiti Malla's period is taken as a turning point in the history of Buddhism in Nepal. He made professional divisions. Scholars mention the sixty four divisions of professions perpetuated from father to his sons. These were transferred more rigidly as professions. The professional divisions were gradually transformed into professional castes such as Kayastha (royal scribes) Lekhaka (scribes), Acharya (priest, teacher and sacrificator of the Hindu Newars), Jyotisha (astrologers), Takshyak (wood cutters), Suvarnakara (goldsmiths), Chitrakara (painters), Gwala (Cowherds) Kshetrakara (land surveyors), Darukara (wood carvers), Tankadhari (workers at the mint), Tailakara (Sayemi=Manandhars) and Tuladhar (Udas) etc.[11]

D. Wright edited chronicle mentions that Jayasthiti Malla was assisted by his five *Pandits* Kirtinath Upadhyaya (Kanyakubja) Raghunatha Jha (Maithili), Shreenath Bhatta, Mahinath Bhatta and Ramnath Jha in the codification of laws relating to the professional division.[12] Rajendra Ram writes- "From the list of five orthodox Brahmin scholars at least three sets of Brahmanical traditions of the time came to picture. They are the Mithila traditions covering the regions of eastern India, the Kanyakubja traditions covering the regions of northern India and the Bhatta traditions of south India. Jayasthi Malla is referred as introducing caste system in Nepal." R.Ram also mentions that the scheme of caste system undertaken with the specific motive to purge the Buddhist society of Nepal was the volume control of the socio religious reforms visualized by Jayasthiti Malla.[13] Regarding the social organization of Buddhist society in Nepal, Petech writes -"the Buddhists were more or less fitted into the scheme by conventional ruling according to which the Vandya (monks, all of them married and mostly hereditary) were considered as descendents of Brahman and Kshatriyas converted to Buddhism. They were accepted as

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11. Petech f.n. No.8, pp. 180-183.
12. Daniel Wright, *History of Nepal*, (New Delhi : Asian Educational Services ,(Second Edition), Reprint, 1993 A.D.), pp. 183-187. Wright mentions that Jayasthiti Malla fostered the Hindu religion in Nepal, therby making himslf famous.
13. Rajendra Ram, *History of Buddhism in Nepal*, (Patna: Janabharati Prakashan, 1977), pp. 199 and 201.

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Brahmans and Kshatriyas (according to their family genealogies) without further subdivision. This put the Buddhist "clergy" on the footing of parity with the Brahmanic "clergy". For Buddhist laity no distinction was necessary since the subdivision sketched out could apply very well to both religions."[14] The local and foreign scholars take the classification of social organisation as job classification which later on took the form of the castes. Sylvain Levi writes that Jayasthiti Malla outlined the social and religious organizations with the help of Hindu orthodox doctors (Brahmins).[15] The professional division was one of the established features of medieval period or established by official sanction. The preceding centuries of Malla period witnessed the decline of monastic Buddhism. Scholars comment that although there was no accompanying decline in the number of practicing Buddhists, the Buddhist community merely changed its structure and composition. Slusser writes that about the mid fourteenth century, the Buddhist community began to drift progressively into Hindu fold under state coercion. Official pressure seems to have been applied initially by jealously orthodox Sthiti Malla, but in one way or another, it continued throughout the rest of Malla period. She points out that Buddhism survived in the Kathmandu Valley even to the end of Malla period is largely to the benign influence of the Tibetan Buddhism. One of the remarkable features of the development of Buddhism in the sixteenth century was the impact of flourishing trade with Tibet on it. During that time, the Newar traders which included Manandhars, Tamrakaras, Chitrakars and Udas found congenial atmosphere for trading on goods including cultural goods. While trading in Tibet the Udas had exposure that they could be initiated as monks as there was casteless Buddhism in Tibet.[16] It is clear that the Buddha opposed caste based society. The influence of the Hindu rulers in Nepal seems to have made it caste based. Originally the Buddhist *Sangha* was not caste based. The Buddha himself declared that after getting enlightenment, he did not have any *Gotra*. It is ironical to state that Nepalis Buddhism is based on caste.

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14. Petech, f.n. No. 8, p. 185.

15. Sylvain Levi, "*Nepal: Historical Study of Hindu kingdom*" Vol. I, *Ancient Nepal*, (Kathmandu : No.23, *DOA*, 1973), p. 63. S. Levi writes- The whole population was divided into two classes running in accordance with Hinduism and Buddhism. The faithful Hindu Gods were subdued by the strict rules of the Brahmanic castes. The followers of Buddhist divinities were divided into professional groups according to castes.

16. Slusser, f.n. No. 2, p. 289.

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Some scholars opine that Jayasthiti Malla followed Brahmanical religion and as such he followed the policy of soft domination to Buddhism. However, this allegation too is worth considering in view of his policy of toleration. He is referred as organizing Nepalis society on the basis of Hindu *Dharmashastra.*[17] The above mentioned Svayambhu inscription clearly indicates his reverence to Buddhism. He knew that Buddhism was guiding force in the thirteenth century. The colophons of many manuscripts are evident to attest his policy of toleration. The *Gopalraja Vamsavali* also refers to King Jayasthiti Malla as the *Ramavatar* (Incarnation of Ram, an ideal Hindu King) in *Buddhavatar* (Incarnation of Lord Buddha).[18] In this context, Rajendra Ram also writes - "In pre Jayasthiti Nepal, there were some economic differences in society which led to formation of classes of Buddhist social structures both in laity and *Bhikshus*. He simply reorganized the society.

To sum up the characteristic features of Buddhism in the medieval period as referred to by Slusser, the cultural exchange with China in the fourteenth century is worth mentioning. During that time, the Ming Emperor of China conceived Nepal as a Buddhist state. New *Viharas* and *Stupas* were constructed during that period. New Buddhist cults appeared and flourished in that period. It is estimated that two third of the Newars were Buddhists in this period. Slusser writes that the practice of Buddhism in many ways was quite different from what it had been in the earlier times under the stress laid on it. The other features of Buddhism during this period are referred to as the change in the style of Vandyas. Majority of Vandyas had become secularized. Although they dwelt in the *Vihara* building only a few were practicing monks. In this period, there was little teaching and less learning. The leaders were content with the ritualistic forms peculiar to *Tantrism*. As priest, Vajracharyas performed domestic as well as the community religious rites and rituals. *Tantrism* had become all pervasive force. The medieval period is also marked by the interchange of iconographic concept between Hindu and Buddhist pantheon. The borrowing was vice versa. Slusser refers some ideas of diversity of Vajrayana Buddhism of Nepal in iconography. Like many Vajrayana deities Matrikas and Mahankala images were popular in this period. Samvara and Heruka were regarded as the emanations of Aksobhya, one of the *Panca Buddhas*. Conceptually they were related with

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17. Ram, f.n. No. 13, p. 197.
18. Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Kamal Prakash Malla, *The Gopalrajavamsavali*, (Kathmandu : Nepal Research Centre, folio 29 A and 30 A), p. 131.

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Bhairava. *Tantric* imaginary, particularly depicting ritual copulation was the other feature of iconography of the period. Another feature of the Buddhism of this period was the popularity of Dipankara Buddha. The image of Dipankara at Dipavati *Vihara* of Patan is regarded as the earliest image and the image of the deity at Buddhabari, Kathmandu is regarded as the biggest image. The other remarkable feature of Buddhism in this period is that the cult of Vajrapani who was regarded as *Avalokiteshvara* began to wane but that of Manjushree waxed. Many images of Manjushree of medieval period are found. Among these features of Buddhism in the medieval period is marked by syncretism. Interchange of concepts between Hindus and Buddhists, sign of *Tantrism*, erotic images, popularity of female divinities like Matrikas, Bhairava image along with Kali in *Carya* dance in esoteric form etc are also remarkable features of this period. Thus, Buddhism appeared in new form. Scholars have positive and negative remarks on it. [19] In the medieval period, the liberal individual donors contributed and erected various spectacular *Viharas*. Buddhism of the Kathmandu Valley is mentioned as Buddhism without monks. It was a Buddhism rather than philosophy.[20]

We are here discussing about important Malla rulers relating to Buddhism in Nepal. Among the Malla rulers too, some of the important rulers who contributed for the promotion of Buddhism in Nepal are mentioned here.

### 5.2.3. Advent of Jayasthiti Malla and Buddhism in Nepal

To assess the socio-religious condition during the Malla period, the over all career and achievements of Jayasthiti Malla should be taken into consideration. To begin with the remarks of different scholar's views may be reviewed.

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[19]. Ram, f.n. No.13, p. 203, 290-293.

[20]. Shanker Thapa, and Indra Kumari Bajracharya, *Ratnakar Mahavihara, A Vajrayana Buddhist Monastery of Patan*, (Delhi : Adroit Publisher, 2005 A.D.), pp. 66-67. The authors of the work write -" the *Viharas* as the main centres of the relegious activities greatly contributed to the development of religious texts, doctrinal manuscripts and Buddhist education. *Viharas* play important role in Sangha functions.They perform extensive rites and rituals which are important aspect of the *Kriya Tantra* (the *Tatnra* of action) practice. A *Sangha* of Buddhist followers lives in each *Vihara* which is regulated by a set of rules within its boundary. It is remarked that Buddhism of the Kathmandu Valley is known as Newar Buddhism or Buddhism without monks. It is a Buddhism of rituals rather than philosophyAs ritual practice is the main feature of Newar Buddhism, nonviolence is incompatiblein it. Certain Vajrayana rituals require animal slaughter. It may be noted that animal sacrifice is given on the four wheels of Matsyendra Nath.The author's remark is illustrated by it.

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L. Petech writes that Jayasthi Malla was a masterful personality who entered the history of Nepal. His lineage is surprisingly obscure. D.R. Regmi writes that Jayasthiti Malla wielded absolute dejure and defacto power since the very beginning of his career in Bhadgaon. He continued to enjoy power until he died in 1395 A.D. (N.S. 515). [21] John K Locke blames Jayasthiti Malla for imposing caste status on the Shakyas and Vajracharyas. He mentions –"The Vajracharyas and Shakyas admit that there is no justification for such status in a close *Sangha*. According to the Buddhist scriptureas *Sanghas* should be open to all who want to take initiation of the Shakyas and Vajracharyas. It is an anomaly to refer all the Bares as a caste. In India during the heyday of Buddhism, the *Sangha* or the monastic community was open to all members of the castes, since the initiation rite which they still undergo includes the complete shaving of the head as a sign of rejection of all caste status." [22]

Jnanamani Nepal writes that Sthiti Malla was strong supporter of Hindu religion. During his reign a drama on *Ramayana* was staged. As *Varnashram* system was deteriorating during his time, he regulated it on the basis of *Dharmashastra*. He regulated different groups of community on the basis of jobs and professions they followed. He made new social structure. For this, he took aid of the orthodox Brahmans. He was very much influenced by *Dharmashastra* of Chandresvara Thakur. His minister Jayata Varma had employed the learned scholar Manika who wrote *Manavanyashastra* which was the *Nepal Bhasa* translation of *Narada Smriti*. He took the title of "*Pasupati Carana Kamala Dhulidhusarita*" (laden with dust of the feet of of Lord Pashupati).[23]

Rajendra Ram in this context writes that the rise of Jayasthiti Malla under the dual government with Jayarjunadeva in 1361 marked the turning point in the history of

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[21]. Petech, f.n. No. 8, p. 123: D.R Regmi, *Medieval Nepal Early Medieval Period* 750- 1530, Part I, (Calcutta : Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965), pp. 361-362.

[22]. John K. Locke S.J., *Karunamaya*, (Kathmandu : Sahayogi Prakashan, 1980 A.D.), pp. 11-22. The remarks of Locke represent one of the schools of thought prevailing in the *Vande* (*Bare*) community. Most of the scholars blame Jayasthiti Malla for imposing caste hierarchy in the Buddhist community. However, it is also contended that when Krakucchanda Buddha initiated the *Bhikshus*, they included people of all four *Varnas*. Therefore Buddhist community included all four *Varnas*. Caste system was there as per myth before Jayasthiti Malla. He is said to have simply revived it. If mythical account is to be believed the version will come to be true.

[23]. Nepal, f.n. No. 5, pp. 194-195.

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Nepalis Buddhism.[24] Jayasthiti Malla is referred to as a prince coming from south eastern Terai, Simroangarh and as such the religion practised over there was Brahminical religion. It facilitated him to codify the socio religious scheme. It is pointed out that about thirty years after the death of Harasimhadeva, Mithila was ruled by Kamesvara Bhagesvara Thakur of Oinwara dynasty of the Brahmans. The Brahman dynasty ruled there for about a quarter to two hundred years. Shiva Simha of this dynasty was a very learned king. His queen Lakhiyahuti had taken asylum at Mahottari in Nepalis terai. She was a learned woman. Under her patronage, Vidyapati was a renowned scholar. When Muslims had their full control over India, the small kingdom of Brahman in terai was the cultural centre of Brahmanical religion. There was no threat to central Nepal from that state. Rather it facilitated Sthiti Malla to take their help in regularization of socio religious system.[25] R. B Vandya, however, writes that Buddhism was suppressed in an unprecedented way during the reign of Jayasthiti Malla. It was a dark period. [26] Harischandra Lal Singh remarks that Jayasthiti Malla divided the Buddhists into a number of castes and helped intermarriage between the Buddhists and Hindus.[27]

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[24]. Ram, f.n.No.13, p. 199. Ram writes- "The period from (1382-1395 A.D.) is a period of Brahmanical purge of Buddhism by Jayasthiti Malla. The death of Jayarjuna deva in 1382 sealed the doors of toleration in religious life in Nepal. Jayasthiti Malla was prejudicial to popular cult of Buddhism. The militant Brahmanical policy of Jayasthiti Malla had infringed the sentiment of the vested interests of Buddhist communities. Ram elaborately mentions the law codified by Jayasthiti Malla. The committee of five scholars represented three sets of Brahmanical tradition. He codified laws for the Hindu community. For the Buddhist community he made separate code. The code emerged as *Nepal Rastra Shastra*." Citing D.R.Regmi's view he mentions that Jayasthiti Malla did not create a new caste system. He is credited only for the work of revival on *Hindu Dharmashastra*. Those who were involved in the codification of *Nepal Rastra Shastra* were referred as staunch Brahmans representing their contemporary social tradition in different regions of India. The Buddhist society of Nepal was casteless. Nevertheless the occupational distribution of Nepalese Buddhists who specialized a large number of occupations for their survival, originated social distinction. The process of evolution of profession based Buddhist society and its further proliferation in different economic activities is not different from V*arna* system.

[25]. Nepal, f.n. No. 5, pp. 190-191.

[26]. R.B Vandya, "The Land of Glorious Chapter" *The Ananda Bhumi*, (Kathmandu : Buddhist monthly Vol. 21, No. 1, Year 21, 1993), p. 31; Vandya writes - "Buddhism had setback in the time of Jayasthiti Malla - Buddhism in Nepal had to suffer unprecedented state of suppression in six centuries ago during the reign of Jayasthiti Malla. It was the dark period of history that saw virtual disappearance of sacred traditions of Theravada Buddhism if not entire elimination of Buddhism in Nepal for his subsequent six centuries to come".

[27]. Harischandra Lal Singh, Buddhism in Nepal A Brief Historical Introduction, (Lalitpur : Satish Singh, 1990), p. 20. Quoting Bhairava Bahadur Pradhan's work Buddhism in Medieval Nepal, Kathmandu,

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Ram elaborately mentions the law codified by Jayasthiti Malla. The committee of five scholars represented three sets of Brahmanical tradition. He codified laws for the Hindu community. For the Buddhist community, he made separate code. The code emerged as *Nepal Rastra Shastra*. Again quoting D.R. Regmi's view, he mentions that Jayasthiti Malla did not create a new caste system. He is credited only for the work of revival of *Hindu Dharmashastra*. Those who were involved in the codification of *Nepal Rastra Shastra* were referred to as staunch Brahmans representing their contemporary social tradition in different regions of India. He also referred to that the Buddhist society of Nepal was casteless. Nevertheless, the occupational distribution of Nepalis Buddhists who specialized a large number of occupations for their survival, originated social distinction. The process of evolution of profession based Buddhist society and its further proliferation in different economic activities is not different from *Varna* system. To sim up the views of Ram, some economic differences in pre- Jayasthiti Malla society led to the formation of classes of Buddhist social structure. Jayasthiti Malla had launched his Brahminical caste system over the social divisions of Buddhist community and transferred the so called tradition universally claimed by the Buddhists of Nepal into local social groups. Ram explains that the Brahminic ideals of caste and marriage brought about change in monastic life. As a result of it, four classes of Buddhist *Bhikshus* came into existence. They were Vajracharyas, Brahmacharya *Bhikshus,* Shakya *Bhikshus and Chailakas*. The changed caste system was based on four *Varna* pattern, several sub castes. The first *Varna* included priestly class both Hindus and Buddhists of Nepal. The second *Varna* consisted of warriors and officials. The third *Varna* constituted traders and merchants. It was the hub of Nepalis intelligentsia. They always took the lead in carrying cultural heritage of Nepal abroad. The artisans, peasants and other craftsmen formed the fourth *Varna*. The untouchables performed unclean duties. The hilly tribes of Nepal were

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Dharmodaya Sabha 1956 Singh writes writes- "At the time of Jaysthiti Malla Buddhists were divided into a number of castes and intermarriage between Hindus and Buddhist was allowed. After reorganizing the Hindu society he turned to reform the Buddhist society. He invited the heads of the *Viharas* in order to put an end to the prevailing abuses in the Buddhist monasteries. By royal edicts, the monks were compelled to marry and work for their livelihood. They took different crafts which eventually became hereditary" .Singh adds - "One of the causes of the decline of Buddhism is the adoption of priesthood by Vajracharyas and Shakyas generally after the introduction of reforms by Jayasthiti Malla (1382-1395).The adoption of the system of caste, establishment of hereditary priest hood and misuse of monastic institutions were gradually introduced among the Newar Buddhists. This was the essential difference between Buddhism practiced in Nepal and Buddhism practiced in Ceylon, Tibet and other Buddhist countries." Thus opinions of the scholars differ on it. However, Jayasthiti Malla is generally referred for organizing the society on the basis the profession the people followed which later took the form of caste.

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living outside the pale of the caste system. They were treated by the Brahmanas as uncivilized people.[28]

Despite the negative criticism about Jayasthiti Malla, scholars making about his estimate say that he was not fanatic Hindu, he had equal respect to Buddhism.

Petech writes that Jayasthiti Malla was a devotee of Vishnu as witnessed by the title of *Daitya Narayana* which he is given in the *Abhinava Raghavanataka* and of *Asura Narayana* in the inscription of 1392 A.D. (N.S. 512).[29] To cite D.R Regmi, "Although strictly speaking he was a follower of Shaivite-Vaishnavite religion, Jayasthiti Malla also revered Gods of other sects." Petech writes that the Buddhists more or less were fitted into the scheme by the conventional ruling to which the *Vandya* (monks all of them married and hereditary) were considered as Brahmans and Kshatriyas converted into Buddhism. They were accepted as Brahmans and Kshatriyas (according to their family genealogies without further sub-division. Thus, this tradition put the Buddhist "clergy" in par with Brahminic "clergy." For Buddhist laity no distinction was necessary. Petech remarks that the 64 sub-divisions could apply to both religions. The following remark of Petech is also notable. He says that the Newar Buddhists had had no serious problem to cope with while adjusting the balance between their heritage and their religion. Quite different was the case with Hinduism which compels an extremely lax and tolerant religious outlook with a rigid social system. Petech explains that the Mallas claimed to be of good old Hindu stock i.e.*Raghuvamshatilaka*. So they stickled to the matters of caste and marriage. The Muslim conquest led them to a revolution in the sense of self defence and self revolution. So they set higher standard by adherence of theoretical rules laid down by *Dharmashastra* chiefly by *Manavadharmashastra*. To achieve higher standard and cleanse the society from pollution, adherence of the rule was made imperative. Jayasthiti Malla tightened the social system of Hindu Nepal. The five Indian *Pandits* who assisted him in tightening the social system were instrumental for reorganization of the social structure. The sturdy scheme proved it quite serviceable and lasted till the fall of the Mallas in 1768-69.[30]

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28. Ram, f.n. No. 13, pp. 202-203.
29. Petech, f.n. No. 8, p.140.
30. *Ibid,* pp. 140, 180, 184. Petech writes- "Jayasthiti Mallas's social constitution was very partially a schedule of castes; most of the divisions referred not to castes but to occupational groups, crafts and

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Jayasthiti Malla had taken the title of '*Bir Narayana*' '*Raghuvamsha Chaudamani*' '*Rajalladevi Svami*', '*Suryavamsha Prabhu*'. It is stated that this shows his Brahmanical lineage and glory. By virtue of being spouse of Rajalladevi, he raised from the humble position of *Uparaja* to *Maharajadhiraj*. Perceval Landon says that Jaysthiti Malla and his most distinguished son Jyotir Malla left a lasting impression upon Nepalis nation, indeed, their influence upon the social organization of Nepal remains today. They introduced for the first time, a definite Brahman predominance into the daily life of the country, and seem to have been capable and judicious sovereigns.[31] Quoting D.R. Regmi, he remarked that Jayasthiti Malla did not create a new caste system. He is credited with the work of revival based on Hindu *Dharmashastra.*[32] Scholars remark that Jayasthiti Malla simply reorganized Nepalis society reviving the tradition started by the sages of the past.

To make an estimate of Jayasthiti Malla's faith, he did not appear as fanatic Hindu. He had equal respect to Buddhism. He followed the policy of toleration. The following events of his time remain as evidence of it. According to the *Gopalraja Vamshavali*, Jaya Simha Ram Mahattha, queen Sansaradevi and king Jayarjunadeva performed consecration ceremony at Pashupati on the occasion of reestablishment of Pashupati and he was present when Jayatra Laksmi wife of Madan Ram Vardhana offered golden tempanum to Svayambhu *Chaitya* in 1382 A.D. (N.S.502 ).[33]

The *Gopalraja Vamsavali* mentions that Jayasthiti Malla received initiation from his Guru Shivadas Upadhyaya in 1380 A.D. (N.S. 500). In 1381 A.D. (N.S. 501), he went to Changu Narayana with his queen and prince. At the time of chariot festival of Matshyendra Nath of Patan, Jayasthiti Malla was warmly received by the *Mahapatras* of Patan constructing gates with golden tympanum and laying down red carpets. In 1387 A.D. (N.S. 507) Jayasthiti Malla went to Bungamati with his three sons and Jayasimha

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trades etc. And although there is a good deal overlapping between the castes and the vocational groups; there is no complete coincidence; thus Buddhist craftsmen could find their place in the schedule very early side by side with real Hindu sub castes." He further writes – "the new regime founded by Jayasthiti Malla identified itself with the tightening of social system of Hindu Nepal. He reorganized the ruling classes and common people according to new regid scheme which closely followed orthodox rules yet tried to take into account some of the peculiarities of local society."

31. Perceval Landon, *History of Nepal, Vol I*, (Delhi: Adarsh Enterprises, Reprinted 2001 A.D.), p. 38.

32. Ram, f.n. No. 13, p. 202.

33. Jagadish Chandra Regmi (ed), "Gopalvamsavali", *Ancient Nepal*, No. 22, (Kathmandu : *DOA*, 1773 A.D., p. 47.

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Ram.[34] He lived there for fourteen days and conducted chariot festival of Matsyendra Nath. In his time, he was tolerant to all religions. Participation of the royal family in the procession of Matsyendra Nath is attested by a colophon of 1396 A.D. (516 N.S.). *Namesangiti* text written in his reign is preserved in Cambridge University Library. He had authorized his royal priest to adjudicate cases according to *Dharmashastra*. He made provision for right to petition the king in case injustice was done by the royal priest. It shows that the socio-religious issues were decided according to *Dharmashastra* (the respective religious texts). It also indicates that Nepalis society during his time suffered from moral and ethical lapses. He claimed his theistic approach in the *Tantra* based society. People enjoyed liberty to practise their faith. In 1393 A.D. (N.S. 513) Jyoti Raj of Kathmandu installed Aksobya Buddha at Svayambhu shrine during his reign.

Almost all the western scholars are unanimous in their views that Jayasthiti Malla was responsible for organization of Buddhist community on the line of *Varnashram* system. He is also blamed for transforming classless or casteless Buddhist society divided into different classes or castes.

Jayasthiti Malla gradually rose to power. He thwarted the interest of the then feudal lords. Several colophons and inscriptions attest the fact that Jayasthi Malla had jointly ruled with Jayarjunadeva from 1372-1382 A.D. After Jayarjunadeva's death in 1382 A.D., he became sole ruler. [35] After the final settlement of dispute with the premier noble Jaya Simha Ram, Jayasthiti Malla ruled the country from 1382-1395 as a sole ruler. Petech refers to this in his 26 documents about him. Among them, the Sundhara inscription of Deo Patan mentions his title *Shreemanmanesvari baralabdhakrpayasasitanya mahipate Shree Shree Jayasthiti Malladeva.*[36] Jayasthi Malla took the title of *Svayambhukrita Varaprasadita* or *Svayambhu Varaprasadikasevaka* (served with the merit of Svayambhu). He is also credited with the title of *Ashtalokapalavatar* (incarnation of eight protectors). He also got the title of *Buddhapunyodayenacha.* He ruled the country with the distinction of Lord Buddha. It is also mentioned that there were Shakya *Bhikshus,*

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34. Hem Raj Shakya, *Shree Karunamaya Bungamalokesvara* (Lalitpur : Raj Kumar Shakya, 1991. 1111 A.D.), p.10. cf. the *Gopalrajavamsaval,* folio 63 kha.

35. Petech, f.n. No.8, pp. 224-227. Petech mentions colophon dated 1374 written in Karandavihara of Patan preserved in Durbar Library.

36. *Ibid, p.* 131-136. Petech mentions colophons of Buddhist Mss.*Pancharaksa, Amarakosa, Vamakesvara Tantra, Arya Karanda Vyuha, Guhyasiddhikarana, Prajnaparamita* dated 1384, 1386, 1391, 1394,1395 respectively.

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*Shravaneras, Chailakas and Brahmacharya Bhikshus* included as *Sanyasins* besides the sixty four house holders. [37] Although he was a Hindu ruler, he was tolerant to Buddhism also.

### 5.2.4. Nepal-China Relationship and Attempt to Universal Buddhism

In the early medieval period many feudatories in the east and west were on trade route with Tibet and China. The traders of Banepa had improved their financial condition through this trade. Therefore, Banepa was known as Banikapur. They were trying to control the trade route of Kerung in the west although they had control over Kuti. During the reign of Jayasthiti Malla, Banepa carried on trade with Tibet and China. The exchange of presents strengthened their relationship with Tibet and China. The Chinese delegation had maintained their relationship with Banepa. Jayasthiti Malla and his son Jyotir Malla maintained their official relation with Tibet and China through Banepa. The feudatories of Banepa maintained their correspondence with the Chinese mission. The Vaishyas were known as Rama Vardhanas. [38] The Ming dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.) which succeeded the Mongols, managed to establish the diplomatic relation with Nepal. The Ming rulers contacted Ram Vardhana family ignoring the Malla rulers of Nepal. There is the reference of Ming Emperor Hung-wu deputing Tung-lo (1318-1391 A.D.) a Buddhist monk and his embassy of 30 people to a mission to western regions in 1378-1381 A.D. and their travelling to India by way of Tibet and Nepal.[39]

An extract of the Annals of Ming gives account of the resumption of relationship between Central Empire and Himalayan Kingdom in the course of the XIV century. The rulers of the Rama Vardhana dynasty of Palanchowk took the title of *Wang* (king) from *Yanglo*, the Emperor of China. The Chinese mission had visited Nepal in 1387 A.D. (N.S. 507). The mission was received by Madan Simha Ram Vardhana. The mission returned receiving presents. It is stated that Jayasthiti Malla's name is not mentioned in the Ming Chronicle. However, Nepalis chronicle mentions that Jayasthiti Malla sent presents to the

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37. Hem Raj Shakya, *Shree Svayambhu Mahachaitya*, (Kathmandu : Svayambhu Vikas Mandal, 1978 A.D.), pp. 144--149.: Joshi, f.n. No. 6, pp. 40-41: .Shakya mentions the name of *Ashta Lokapalavatara* as follows- Indra, Yama, Varuna, Kuber, Agneya, Nairitya, Vayu,and Ishana.

38. Nepal,f.n. No. 5, p. 238.

39. Vijay Kumar Manandhar, *A Comprehensive History of Nepal- China Relation upto 1955 A.D*, Vol. I, (New Delhi : Adroit Publishers, 2003 A.D.), p. 63.

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Chinese Emperor. S. Levi writes- "the Chinese Emperor Hung Wu had sent a bonze into Nepal to handover to the king, a seal which conferred on him the official investiture."[40]

In return the king of Nepal despatched an Ambassador to the court of Chinese Emperor. Nepalis Ambassador reached the capital in 1387 A.D. Nepalis mission presented the Chinese Emperor, little pagodas of gold, the sacred books of the Buddha, renowned horses and production of the country. The name of the king who sent the present was Matano Lamo. Before 1390 A.D., a new Embassy from Nepal went to China. In 1390 A.D., the Lama of Shakya monastery and the Chinese delegation visited Nepal. In the month of October, an agreement was signed with the ruler of Banepa in which Jayasthiti Malla was an observer. The agreement was signed on the day when Jaitra Laxmi was performing *Lakshya Homa* (fire sacrifice) after installation of the Buddha's image at Palanchowk *Vihara*. In the ceremony, Jayasthiti Malla was present. The agreement with Tibet and China was signed by Madana Simha Ram. The mission sent by *Yanglo*, Emperor handed over the investiture including the title of *Wang* (King) and presents to Shakti Simha Ram without any heed of Jyotir Malla.[41]

The successor of Emperor Hung Wu, Yonglo resumed the relation. In 1413 the Emperor of China sent presents to the king of Nepal Cho-Ko-sin-ti who reciprocated in 1414 A.D. The Chinese Emperor conferred on him the title of "King of Nepal". He had sent a diploma containing this investiture and also seals in gold and silver. There was no exchange of gifts in 1418. In 1427 A.D. the Emperor Hie-un-te attempted to renew the tradition but his offer became fruitless. No Ambassador approached the court again. Explaining the objective of the Chinese mission, Sylvain Levi states that the study of Chinese and Tibetan documents reveals the political reason as to why the Ming dynasty conferred the title. He states that the Emperors of China were attempting at that time, to place universal Buddhism at the disposal of their interest. They believed that the sovereigns of Nepal were all bonzes (*Seng*) Buddhists. They hoped to flatter their vanity in qualifying them as Lama. Their politeness was not in vain. The Hindus believed that they heard Rama and felt honored, because the name recalls many heroic and pious

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40. Levi, "Nepal", *Ancient Nepal*, No. 75, (Kathmandu : DOA , 1983), p. 36.
41. Jnanamani Nepal, "Itihas Lekhane Parampara Ra Nepal Vrita" (Tradition of History writing and Nepal Chronicle), *Ancient Nepal*, No. 107, (Kathmandu : DOA, 1988), p. 8.

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memories. [42] Levi's assumptions and speculations are interesting. He tried to show Vardhana family as Hindu. But the Buddhist rites and rituals performed by Jaitra Laxmi in Palanchowk *Vihara* were sufficient to the Tibetans and Chinese to know about their faith. The name 'Matana Lamo' is interpreted as Madana Ram, the spouse of Jaitra Laksmi. Levi further mentions that taking the title of Narayana is customary in the Vardhana family. Madana Simha Ram assumed the title of "Daitya Narayana" in 1433 A.D. Jayasthiti Malla is referred to in the prologue of a drama entitled "Bala Ramayana" as "Bala Narayana". After assuming imperial power, he took the title of "Daitya Narayana." Madan Ram, brother of Jaya Simha Ram had intercaste marriage with Vandye lady. Buddhism remained as a strong tie between the countries of Tans-Himalayan region. Moreover, the presents sent to China consisted of images of Buddha. The above mentioned accounts show that Jaya Simha Ram was at the height of power. Buddhism was popular during that time. Madana Ram (1382-1392A.D.) brother of Jayasimha Ram and son of Aneka Ram came from old kingdom at Banepa although Jaya Simha Ram ruled in Kathmandu under the suzerainty of Jayasthiti Malla and his sons. [43] Madana Ram Simha also established an idol of Dipankara Buddha at Itumbahal in 1382 A.D. It shows his inclination to Buddhism. [44] Referring to a document preserved in Pashupati *Bhandar* (store), Jnanamani.Nepal mentions that Chinese Emperor had his political intension besides the religious motive. The letters sent by *Yunglo* includes *Nepal Samvat* not Chinese era. It was a '*Parawana*' of the Chinese Emperor.[45.] S Levi assumed that the chronicler misled Rama as 'Lama. The epoch of Jayasthiti Malla was the most glorious. So he writes that the Chinese might have been beguiled by lying pretentious of the envoys of Simha. His argument itself seems self contradictory as he writes that the Chinese officials had visited Nepal in person. It is at their initiative the relations between the two countries had been opened and maintained. The Chinese Mission had also visited Kathmandu. The most probable truth is that they were in touch with the Vardhanas of Banepa and they were moved by religious sentiment rather than political motive. Thus

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42. Levi, "Nepal", (Kathmandu : *Ancient Nepal* No 75, DOA, 1983), pp. 36-37. Levi explains - "Mana Ramo mentioned in the first embassy is assumed to be Matisima as enumerated in the modern chronicles".
43. *Ibid*, p. 43: Joshi, f.n. No. 6, p. 76.
44. Hem Raj Shakya, *Samyek Mahadan Guthi* (Samyek Charity Trust), (Kathmandu : Jagat Tuladhar, 1980 A.D. (1100 N.S.), p. 18.
45. Nepal, f.n. No. 5, p. 239.

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45. Nepal, f.n. No. 5, p. 239.

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scholars are divided in their opinion. But it is clear that the Chinese Emperor seems to have been inclined to Buddhist hegemony under his sway. Jayasthiti Malla died in 1395 A.D.

## 5.3. Contribution of the Malla Rulers in the Promotion of Buddhism after Jayasthiti Malla (1382-1395)

### 5.3.1. Jyotir Malla

Among Jayasthiti Malla's successors, Dharma Malla, Jyotir Malla and Kirti Malla, the second one was devoted to the Buddhism. The Pashupati inscription of 15th Jan. 1413 A.D. mentions that Jyotir Malla (1408-1428 A.D.) was the sole ruler of Nepal. Regarding him, Levi's remark is worth mentioning. [46] The colophons of his time refer that both Hindu and Buddhist scriptures were read during that period. However, the princes were trained in Hindu scriptures. It indicates the tendency of the time. Seven inscriptions of Jyotir Malla throw light on the religious attitude of the king and status of Vajracharyas during that period. Petech citing a colophon of *Ms. Akhyataratnakosa* preserved in the Durbar Library (present National Archives) dated 1417 A.D., writes that it includes Jayajyotir Malladeva and the word "*Chaturbrahmavihara Caranapaduh*". It indicates his devotion to the Buddhism in the Hindu based kingdom of Bhaktapur. We find *Chaturbrahmavihara* in the Durbar Square over there. Some inscriptions of Bhaktapur and Patan throw light on the activities of Vajracharyas and practice of *Tantrism* during the reign of Jyotir Malla. The Taumadhi Tole inscription mentions that in 1410 A.D. (N.S. 530), in the reign of Jyotir Malla, *Tripura Vidhya Peeth* was established for teaching of the *Tantric* education. During his reign, Vajracharyas practiced *Purascharan* (ritual for purification). It is attested by the Akohiti inscription of Ikhachhe, Lalitpur dated 1415 A.D. (N.S. 535). Hindu deities like Bighanataka, Bhairava, Kali, Ugrachandi, Vidyachandi, Dakini Yaksyha, were popular in Buddhism during that time. These Buddhists also worshipped *Ashta Siddha* of Hindu *Gods.* The Ibaha *Bahi* inscription of Patan dated 1427 A.D. (N.S. 547) shows Jyotir Malla as the devotee of Pashupati and

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46. Sylvain Levi, "Nepal" *Ancient Nepal,* No. 76, (Kathmandu: DOA, 1983), p. 9. Levi writes- "He was jealous towards Civa. Jyotir Malla prides himself nevertheless, in having restored to *Caitya* of Svayambhu and the statue of *Dharmadhatu Vagishvara* on mount *Padmacala*, close to Svayambhu Nath.

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Manamaneshvari. Although the inscription shows him as the Hindu ruler, it reveals that the chief of southern *Vihara* of Patan, Raj Simha Malladeva Varma had helped Jyotir Malla to reestablish his sway over Patan. It shows his popularity among the Buddhists of his time. The *Vihara* was also called *Raj Vihara* during that time. It is recently renovated. Two terms mentioned in the inscription such as "*Mula*" and "*Karma*" Vajracharya show the existence of Vajracharya by birth and Vajracharya by deed. The copper plate of Rajshree *Vihara* mentions that Raj Simha Malla had taken the title of "*Srimat Aryaavalokiteshvara Charanapankajasevita.*" He had invited Jyortir Malla and staged the drama entitled Birbahu in *Raj Vihara.*[47] Gellner writes- "The senior most Vajracharya is called *Chakreshvara.* He is responsible for the regular worship of the monastery's principle *Tantric* deity. He has a Vajracharya assistant called. *Bataju* (not an elder of the monastery), chosen for his knowledge who oversees the whole round of the ritual in the monastery. [48] P. Landon writes that Jyotirmalla seems to have been a man of unexpected religious impartiality. He restored the Buddhist shrine of Svayambhu Nath. [49]

### 5.3.2. Yakshya Malla

Yakshya Malla's (1428-1480 A.D.) reign is important from the Buddhist point of view too. Although Yakshya Malla was the follower of *Sanatana Dharma* (traditional Hindu religion), he was tolerant to the other religions. Petech has referred many colophons on Buddhist works written during his reign.[50] The inscription placed by Rup Raj (a devotee) at Matsyendra *Bahal*, Patan during the reign of Yakshya Malla mentions that a donor offered *Dhoja, Chhatra* (flag and umbrella) wishing peace and solace of mind. [51]

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47. Hari Ram Joshi, Madhyakalin Abhilekh (Medieval Inscription), Ancient Nepal, No. 57, (Kathmandu : DOA, 1980), pp. 11, 26-39.
48. Gellner, f.n. No. 10, p. 111.
49. Landon, f.n. No. 31, p. 38.
50. Petech, f.n. No. 8, pp. 160-165. Petech mentions - the colophons written during the reign of Yakshya Malla are *Amarkosa* preserved in Cambridge University Library dated 1424 A.D; *Vajravali* deposited in Cambridge University library written by Jivayibhadra dated 1429 A.D.; *Kubjika kumari puja paryanta* preserved in Dubar library (present National Archives) dated 1444 A.D.; *Pancaraksa* preserved in Durbar Library dated 1470, 1476, 1479 A.D are the three separate copies which mention his name.
51. Nepal, f.n. No. 5, p. 245.

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Padmadeva built the temple of Dharma Raj - Mina Nath Lokeshvara in the reign of Yakshya Malla. Images of Samanta Bhadra *Bodhisattva*, Padmapani *Bodhisattva*, other Gods and planets were installed during his time in the temple. In Kathmandu, he built a temple of Yamaleshvara. The image of Lokeshvara known as Yamaleshvara was discovered by some porters while digging soil. The image was made by Gunakamadeva *Raja*. It was buried under the ruins of a temple at the place called Yamala (at present Jamala). Yakshya Malla repaired the image and built a temple for the deity. The inscription inscribed by Rup Raj, a devotee at Matsyendra *Bahal* Patan during the time of Yakshya Malla mentions that the donor offered a *Dhoj, Chhatra* (flag and umbrella) to Aryavalokiteshvara wishing peace and solace of mind. Shakya mentions that in 1479 A.D. Amrit Singh, the grand son of Chief *Maha Patra*, Raj Singh celebrated *Samyek Mahadan Bhoj* at Patan, in which all *Baha* and *Bahils* were invited.[52]

During his reign, Chaitanya Nath, a *Yogi* (ascetic) of Nath sect from Gaud (Bengal) purchased land in Nepal. He created a trust to worship Gorkha Nath at Marusatal, Kathmandu. The trust was organized to feed the ascetics of Nath sect known as *Avadhuts* and to give charity to the poor. Although, Yakshya Malla was a Shaivite he was tolerant to other religions as his contemporary historical evidences reveal.[53] During the reign of Yakshya Malla, a golden image of Aksobhya was embellished at Vishwakarma *Vihara* in Kathmandu in 1429 A.D. [54] His reign is marked by the development of *Avalokiteshvara* cult. The deity is regarded as the symbol of compassion and dispenser of evils and fear. In the Matsyendra *Bahal* inscription of Patan, Yakshya Malla is credited as "*Parameshvara Parmbhattaraka Punyabhumishvara*". [55] The Moo Bahal Inscription of Patan dated 1447 A.D., records the installation a wooden image of Vajrasattva in the Govardhanapintha *Mahavihara* performing *Homa* (fire sacrifice) throughout the night). It indicates the fire sacrifice has become the integral part of Vajrayana Buddhism.[56] It is stated that Yakshya Malla was tolerant to all region. The popularity of this ritual shows the impact of Hinduism in Buddhism during that time.

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52. Shakya, f.n. No. 44, pp.19-20.
53. Nepal, f.n. No. 5, p. 245.
54. Joshi, f.n. No. 6. p. 46.
55. *Ibid.* pp. 19-20.
56. *Ibid.* p.13.

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## 5.4. Contribution of the Rulers of Kantipur to Buddhism

### 5.4.1. Ratna Malla

Ratna Malla (1482-1520 A.D.), the third son of Yakshya Malla was a Shaivite by religion. P. Landon writes that during his reign, Hinduism and popular Buddhism had become the undisputed creeds of Nepal. [57] It is obvious that during his time, *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu was venerated in the form of *Devi,* Goddess. The Buddhists regard Goddess *Nairatma* (which has no end, symbol of infinitive) as the root of the *Mahacaitya.* [58]

During the reign of Amar Malla (1530-1538 A.D.), the classical dances of Gods and Goddesses were instituted in the Kathmandu Valley. It is based on *Tantrism.* For this, the king is credited. [59] During his reign, a Baudhacharya named Abhaya Raj built a three storied Buddhist temple in which he placed the image of Shakyamuni Buddha. To the east of the temple, he installed an image of Vidhyadharidevi, head maid of Mahabuddha.[60]

### 5.4.2. Shiva Simha Malla

Shiva Simha Malla (1590-1620 A.D.) was the most popular king of medieval period. When people talk about old golden days, he is the most lovingly recalled as *Simsim Maharaj* (Shiva Simha Malla). A palm leaf account mentions Shiva Simha Malla as reigning king of Lalitpur in 1599 A.D. [61] Shiva Simha Malla had annexed Lalitpur into Kathmandu before 1599 A.D. Study of contemporary inscriptions and palm leaf show that the three *Mahapatras* among the *Sapta Kutumbajas* were ruling in Lalitpur. There, *Mahapatras* were under the authority of Malla kings. They being hereditary had become very powerful. They seek opportunity to be independent from the authority of the Mallas. A manuscript entitled "*Saptasati*" mentions Purandar Simha as *Manigaladhipati* up to. 1599 A.D. A palm leaf mentions Shiva Simhadeva Thakur in 1599 A.D. (719 N.S.) as king of Lalitpur. It shows that Shiva Simha Malla (also known as Shiva Simhadeva) had conquered Lalitpur in 1599 A.D. The *Hiranya Varma Mahavihara* inscription of 1608

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57. Landon, f.n. No. 31, p. 40.
58. *Ibid,* p. 40.
59. Wright, f.n. No 12, p. 204.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205.
61. Itihas Samsodhan Mandal, Purnima, palm leaf, Year 3, No. 4, p. 20.

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A.D. (728 N.S.) mentions that Shiva Simha Malla conquered Lalitpur in that year. However, the palm leaf mentioned above shows his reign in Lalitpur much earlier. In 1595 A.D. (N.S. 715), Shiva Simha Malla had consecrated Svayambhu *Stupa*. This inscription mentions that he had been able to conquer Lalitpur by its merits. The exact date of his conquest of Lalitpur is not known. However, the Jal Vinayak inscription indicates that he conqured Lalitpur only after 1595 A.D. (715 N.S.). A palm leaf account mentions Shiva Simha Malla with the title of *Manigaladhipati*. An inscription of Patan Kwabahal dated 1614 A.D. (*Samvat* 734) indicates that new *Caityas* were being constructed during that time. Shiva Simha Malla was inclined to the Buddhism. According to Yampisthur *Caitya* inscription dated 1615 A.D. (735 N.S..) in the reign of Shiva Simha Malla, a person named Krishna Ram had renovated the *Stupa* after performing *Homa* (fire sacrifice) [62]. He followed Brahmanical religion which is attested by Bhringareshvara inscription of Sunaguthi, Patan dated 1615 A.D. (735 N.S.). The inscription mentions that a learned Brahmin of the bank of Kaveri, south India had come to Nepal. He became the *Guru* (teacher) of Shiva Simha Malla. The name of the learned Bhatta Brahman was Narayan Sharma. It is stated that he made his disciple Shiva Simha Malla a devout Hindu. Although he was a Hindu, he had equal respect to the Buddhism. He is credited for conservation of the ancient Buddhist *Chaityas*. During his time a Licchavi *Chaitya* of Tukan Bahal located at Hyumat Tole, Kathmandu was restored in 1614 A.D. (734 N.S.). [63] The *Chaitya* reveals the objects put inside the *Chaitya*. (See Appendix I. III.)

After the restoration of Svayambhu *Mahachaitya* 1595 A.D. (715 N.S.), Shiva Simha Malla offered a golden umbrella to Svayambhu *Dharmadhatu Vegishvara Chaitya* and performed *Lakshya Homa* (fire sacrifice). The inscription mentions that by this merit, he was able to occupy Lalitpur. It shows his devotion to Svayambhu. His spouse, Ganga Rani was a most pious lady who made *Ranivan* for the conservation of Nagarjuna hill.

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62. Dhanavajra Vajracharya, *Madhyakalka Abhilekh*, (Inscription of Medieval Period) (Kirtipur : Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1999 A.D. (2056 V.S.), pp. 55, 80.

63. K.M Shrestha, *Tukan Bahal Chaitya Jirnodhar ko Sandarbhama* (Tukan *Bahal Chaitya* in the context of Conservation, (Kathmandu : Kathmandu Meropolitan city, ward No 12, 1997 A.D.), p. 90. The researcher is involved in the archaeologiacal conservation of the *Caitya*. The artifacts discovered in the *Caitya shows the antiquity of Buddhism from ancient time to modern period.* More than one thousand coins including Kushan coins, Pashupati coins, coins of Amshuvarma, Shiva Simha Malla and coins of Shah period are discovered inside the Garbhagriha of the Caitya which reveals the antiquity of the Caitya. It was conserved during the reign of Shiva Simha Malla too.

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According to a *Thyasaphu* in the possession of Kamalananda, the conservation included the act of replacing the central timber of Svayambhu *Maha-chaitya*. Again the *Chaitya* was conserved in 1604 A.D. (724 N.S.). It was damaged by the thunderbolt. It was restored by Jaya Laksha with the permission of Shiva Simha Malla in 1605 A.D. (725 N.S). Wright edited chronicle mentions that Shiva Simha Malla was a wise man. He caused Degutale of Kathmandu to be set up by a Maharastra Brahman. He instituted the *Jatra* of Panchalinga Bhairava on the 5th *Aswin Sudi*. It is also stated that a powerful *Tantrist* named Surat Vajra went to Lhasa. An interesting story is mentioned relating to him. It is stated that Surat Vajra extinguished the fire at his home by throwing out tea served to him at Lhasa by a Lama. His act of necromancy at Benares is also interesting. Shiva Simha Malla's inscriptions as the king are available from 1595-1620 A.D. Shiva Simha Malla's spouse, Ganga Rani always looked after the welfare of the people. Ganga Rani is referred as more energetic and efficient than Shiva Simha Malla in religious affairs. The king had allowed her to deal with the religious side of state affairs.[64] In 1601 A.D. Shiva Simha Malla graced the consecration ceremony of Maha Buddha temple. The consecration ceremony was performed by *Acharyadeva Guru* Siddhideva, *Pandit* Jayamuni of Maha Buddha and *Pandit* Jiva Raj. Shiva Simha Malla offered a golden coin to Maha Buddha temple. [65] The Maha Buddha temple of Patan was designed by Abhaya Raj of Patan. He stayed for three years in Buddha Gaya. He decided to construct a facsimile temple of Mahabodhi of India which is also known as "the Diamond Seat Pagoda." Jiva Raj completed the temple. He had invited Shiva Simha Malla for consecration of the temple. Joshi mentions that the prototype of Mahabodhi temple of Bodh Gaya was made in Peking (modern Bejing) capital of China in 1473 A.D. at *Chan-chyu-shi* (Satyanistha Jagaran *Mahavihara*). To cite P. Landon, Maha Buddha temple of Patan was built during the reign of Sada Shiva Malla predecessor of Shiva Simha Malla. As mentioned above the local scholars attribute Abhaya Raj of Patan for the foundation of Mahabuddha temple during the reign of Amar Malla, son of Ratna Malla. .It is stated that Lord Buddha got enlightenment under a pipal tree known as *Bodhi* tree in Bodh Gaya. The temple has its spiritual value. Such Bodhi temples were made in the countries of South East Asia to venerate Lord Buddha. It was made in China in *Shikhara* style. It

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64. Shakya, f.n. No. 37, pp. 154- 162.
65. Hem Raj Shakya, *Maha Buddha Mandir*, (Maha Buddha Temple) (Lalitpur : Chhatra Raj Shakya, 1988 A.D (N.S.1108.), pp. 10-11.

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was regarded as an ideal model shrine in the countries of this region. It is also known as *'u-tha-si-tha'* (temple of *Caityas*) in China.[66] After the completion of the temple, king of Sikkim offered a tray full of gold coins to this temple as a token of his devotion. The gold presented to the temple was used to make *Suvarna Vimana* (golden plate form) of the chariot of Matsyendra Nath. Jiva Raj presented four golden doors, *Torana* and tympanum of the chariot. It indicates devotional feeling of the people of the region. [67] Like the king, the people were also devoted to Buddhism at that time. In 1586 A.D. (706 N.S) Vajracharyas of Sikhomu *Bahal* celebrated *Samyek Mahadana.* In 1594 A.D. (714 N.S.), the rules of *Samyek* ritual were framed. Gudo Chandra Shakya *Bhikshu* made the list of utensils needed for it. In 1611 A.D. (731 N.S.), Jaya Simha Shakya *Bhikshu* of Patan also organized *Samyek* festival. In 1616 A.D.(736 N.S.), Jiva Bhadra and his brothers established Chakra Samvara at Champapur (Chapagaon), Patan. These events marked the devotional feelings of the people of the Valley during the time. [68]

### 5.4.3. Pratap Malla

Pratap Malla's (1641-1674 A.D.) role in Nepalis Buddhism is note worthy. Itihas Samshodhan Mandal has published several inscriptions of Pratap Malla dated (1641-1674 A.D.)[69]. P. Landon's remark on the character of Pratap Malla is noteworthy.[70]. S.Levi also gives his version on his character.[71] P. Landon mentions that Pratap Malla had made conservation of Svayambhu *Chaitya* with the support of the Tibetans.[72] He built two

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66. Satya Mohan Joshi, (preface) Hem Raj Shakya's *Maha Buddha Temple*, (Lalitpur : Chhatra Raj Shakya, 1988 A.D), pp. Ga, Gha.

67. Shakya f.n. No. 65, pp. 10-11.

68. Shakya, f.n. No 44, pp. 29-32.

69. Itihas Samshodhan Mandal, *Abhilekh Sangrah*a (collection of Inscription) Part III, (Kathmandu : 1969 A.D. (2018 V.S.), pp. 1-26.

70. Landon, f.n. No. 31, p .45. Landon writes - "He seems to have been a man of character and learning. It is possible to disentangle from the confused story of his religious enthusiasms a fairly complete picture of a man, who during sixty one years maintained the independence and apparently the prosperity also of his kingdom. Personally he must be a man of no little literary pride."

71. Levi, f.n. No.13, "Nepal", *Ancient Nepal,* No 76, (Kathmandu : DOA 1983), p, 15. Levi writes – "The Vamsavalis enumerate, with an infatigable complaiance the numerous religious foundation of this long reign; but Pratap Malla was desirous of directly instructing the posterity of his glory and his merits. In other respects, he was inquisitive mind, sharp, a Poul-Pray and who well deserved to leave in the people's mind, the reputation of a magician. It is also related that he knew how to make smile the statue of Bhairava placed in front of the palace and he even succeeded in making it move its head."

72. Landon f.n. No. 31, p.45. Landon writes- "In 1640 the authority of Lhasa seems to have been recognized in the matter of Svayambhu Nath. The enormous central timber which rises from the interior of the *Stupa* and supports the upper structure of the gilt copper was removed by the Tibetans."

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temples at Svayambhu known as Pratapapur and Anantapur to the north eastern and south eastern side of Svayambhu *Mahachaitya*. The Anantapur inscription dated 1665 A.D. (775 N.S.), inscribes his hymn of Ugratara, the Vajrayana deity established by Anantapriya one of his spouses. Anantapriya and Rupamati were the daughters of Bir Narayan of Bihar. The inscription of Anantapur temple also mentions Anantapriya's elder sister Rupamati, another wife of Pratap Malla. In the Pratappur temple, he placed *Agamadevatas*. The inscription was erected after establishment of the temple of Neel Sarsvati, Ugratara, Yekjata. It is a well known Vajrayana Goddess. Citing Levi's version Landon writes that Pratap Malla was exposed to all faiths.[73] Pratap Malla's inscription of Vishnumati bridge on the way to Svayambhu dated 1663 A.D.(*Samvat*783) shows his regard to *Pancha Buddhas*-Akshobhya, Ratna Sambhava, Amitabha, Amoghasiddhi, Vairochana and Goddess Vidhyadhari Yogini. The inscription commemorates the construction of the Vishnumati Bridge. It shows his respect to Mahayana Buddhism. He also composed a prayer to Svayambhu and inscribed in the *Caitya* complex in 1650 A.D. (N.S. 770). He installed *Dharmadhatu Mandala* and *Vajra* (thunderbolt) in front of Svayambhu *Mahachaitya* in gold gilt copper in 1666 A.D. [74] Itihas Samshodhan Mandal presents the cosmogony of Vajrayana Buddhism. It obviously represents the developed form of Vajrayana Buddhism during the reign of Pratap Malla. Pratap Malla had placed two inscriptions at Sankhu Vajrayogini. In the first inscription the hymn of Vajrayogini is inscribed. It is related with installation of his golden statue along with Rupamati and Anantapriya. The second inscription commemorates his land endowment for worshipping *Caitya* and Vajrayogini on the day of *Chaitra Purnima*. It also relates with religious activities as (*Homa)* fire sacrifice and white wash of the temple by that time. These

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73. *Ibid,* Landon writes- "M. Levi does not hesitate to say that to him poetry was only another form of exhaltation or mysticism. No mystic can be tied to the form of any one creed or cult. Pratap Malla like Akbar of India and Kublai khan in Khan-balik listened with imperial attention to exposition of all the faiths that were known to his court."

74. Shakya, f.n.No.32, pp. 207-208. The inscription reads - *"Suvarna Mandalam Suvarna Vajrasthapita".* The *Mandala* is based on *Nispannayogavali* by Abhayankara Gupta. The *Dhamadhatumandala* inscribes the name of Buddhist deities such as Manjugosh, soul of Mahavairochan (*Dharmadhatuvagishvara*), *Panchatathaguta, Pancha Bodhisattva, Panchatara, Astosanish, Shodasa Buddha, Chaturpujadevi, Chaturedwarpal, Dwadashabhumishvari, Dwadashaparmitadevi, Dhadashavashitadevi, Dwadashadharini, Chaturpratisamvidadeva, Chaturvashyadevi, Shodashabodhisattva, Dasakrodha Bhairava, Ashtapujadevi, Dwavishatidevayogina, Ashtadikpala, Brahmadevata, Navagrahadevata, Balabhadradi Chaturdevata, Ashta Nagarja, Ashtaparvatadevata, Ashtayakshyaraj, Ashtavimshati, Nakshatradevata, Chaturakarsanadevi.*

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inscriptions dated 1655 A.D. (*Samvat* 775) show his regard to Buddhism.[75] Shiva Bharo and Satyahari Bharo created a trust for illumination at Svayambhu on the day of *Vaisakh Purnima*, *Buddha Jayanti* day of every year. Pratap Malla offered 150/- *Kavindramalli* (rupees) for creating a trust for illumination around Svayambhu *Caitya* and recite religious scripture on the shrine. It is mentioned in the inscription placed in the south west of Svayambhu *Mahachaitya* dated 1663 A.D. (N.S. 783). During the reign of Pratap Malla there was draught. To relieve the suffering of the people, Pratap Malla entered Shantipur and brought out *Mahamegha Sutra*, written with the blood of snakes and a *Paubha* on the day of *Ashtami* in 1658 A.D. (N.S. 778). As it was exposed to sun there was rainfall. Thus, he could remove drought that was pervading in his reign. *Mahamegha Sutra* is mentioned as the book preserved by Shantikaracharya. Pratap Malla composed a book entitled *Chintamani Strotra.* Pratap Malla had written a book with illustration of the account which he experienced in Shantipur. The *Paubha* illustrates the scene which the king experienced in his Shantipur encounter. It is stated that it is in the possession of Deva Harsa Vajracharya of Surat Shree *Mahavihara.* In the illustrated picture Pratap Malla is depicted with a lamp and a dish of worship in his both hands. This account shows Pratap Malla's practice of *Tantrism.* The inscription of Shantipur gives account of Pratap Malla's entry to Shantipur. It also gives account of the unsuccessful attempts of *Tantrists* earlier. It is also stated that Pratap Malla could find the fearful image of Samvar and *Samvar Tantra* in one of the 27 rooms of Shantipur which has three storeys inside. The illustration shows giants dancing before Samvara. Pratap Malla is also referred to have seen Shantikaracharya's skeleton in meditation pose in one of the rooms of Shantipur. He is said to have entered Shantipur twice. He showed his skills in *Tantrism* by exhibiting many wonderful feats to the people. Pratap Malla's book on Shantipur is written in *Harital* (Nepali paper) with illustration of scenes of Shantipur. It gives more accounts than that mentiond in Shantipur inscription.[76] Pratap Malla also graced the *Samyek* festival celebrated by Dharma Jyoti Kansakar and his family members in 1653 A.D. (773 N.S.) and by Varnajanani Tuladhar of Naradevi in 1655 A.D. (775 N.S.). Out of the remaining food grains, the Tuladhar family celebrated *Pancadana.* Varnajanani also made the painters to paint Cakrasamvara *Paubha* and scribes to copy holy text

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75. Mandal, f.n. No. 97, pp. 11-14.
76. Shakya, f.n. No. 37, pp. 198, 200-203.

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*Pancarakshya*. In 1657 A.D., he again celebrated *Samyek* festival inviting 7500 people. This shows the popularity of *Samyek* festival during the medieval period. [77] Pratap Malla's four spiritual Directors of *Tantrism* were Jnananda *Svami*, (a Hindu from Deccan), Lamba Karna Bhatta (a Brahman *Fakeer* from Maharastra), Narasimha Thakur, (a magician from Tirhut) and Jamana Gurubhaju (a local Buddhist priest from Mani Simha *Mahavihara*). Jnanananda was nominated priest of Pashupati.[78] Scholars mention Jamana Gubhaju as incarnation of Manjushree for his wisdom.

Pratap Malla was also devoted to Narayana. His inscription dated 1661 A.D. (781 N.S.) at Mahakali mound located to the north of Bhaktapur city credits him for installation of Narayan image. He made land endowment for creating *Krishnastami Trust* and regular worship of Garud Narayan.[79] Pratap Malla is credited for many constructive activities at Hanumandhoka. The big bell inscription of Pratap Malla at Hanumandhoka dated 1672 A.D. (792 N.S.) mentions Hanuman as God that gives victory in war and protection at home. He installed Hanuman, Nrisimha, Kal Bhairava, and Ganesh in his palace complex. Hanuman and Bhairava are the deities revered by Vajrayana Buddhism. In Hanumandhoka, he installed Jalasayana Narayan, Kaliadaman (Krishna suppressing Kali Naga). He is regarded incarnate of Lord Vishnu as Lord Buddha. His monuments are found at every cross section of the road. He installed *Kotilinga* and made a temple in *Chhatra* style at Pashupati, as mentioned in his Pashupati inscription dated 1655 A.D. (775 N.S.). He established golden statue of himself and his queens Rupamati and Anautapriya along with his sons in front of the temple of Degutale at Hanumandhoka. His hymns of Pashupati Nath consisted of nine verses. He assumed the title of *Kavindra* (poet king). He also performed *Tuladana*. His Vasuki and Pashupati hymns show that he was devoted to Shiva and Vishnu. Although his inscriptions show him as a devout Hindu, he had equal respect for Buddhism. His hymns of Svayambhu and Guheshvari attest it. He had composed a hymn of 17 verses about Svayambhu *Dharmadhatu Mandala*. In the north eastern part of Svayambhu, he erected an inscription dated 1655 A.D. (775 N.S.) in which he mentioned *Jadyumunger Strotra* of Vajrayogini. Pratap Malla offered a golden pinnacle to Svayambhu *Mahachaitya* in 1659 A.D. (N.S. 779). It is mentioned in a

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77. Shakya f.n. No 44, pp. 38-40.
78. Levi, f.n. No.15, p. 17
79. Mandal, f.n. No. 61, pp. 20-21

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*Thyasaphu*, in the possession of Gautam Vajra Vajracharya. [80] He caused the *Jalahari* and greater part of the emblem of Pancha Linga Bhaireva to be covered up at Pachali.[81]

It is mentioned that he gave the title of *Guru* to Lamba Karna Bhatta, the Brahman from Maharastra, being acquainted with his merits He gave him as much land as he could walk in seven days. But with the advice of the courtiers, the *Guru* was said to have been carried in a palanquin carried by lame, blind and paralytic men to make his journey slow.[82]

In pursuance of a book '*Mahakal Samhita*', Narasimha Thakur, a Brahman from Tirhut discovered the holy spot of Guheshvari at Sleshmantak *Ban* (forest). There he placed Bhairava, Navadurga-gana and Hinsa Narasimha. Pratap Malla caused a prayer inscribed on a stone. He erected a pillar, surmounted by a lion in front of the temple. In 1654 A.D. (N.S. 774), Sumaraj Shakya *Bhikshu* built the Lagan Bahal in Kantipur. [83] By the advice of the *Svami*, he offered an umbrella of gold with '*Panhayana Panchapatramantra*' and inscription to Pashupati Nath. In it, the *Svami* added *Tandava Mantra* composed by Mahakala. Jamana Gurubhaju of Mani Singh *Mahavihara*, his Buddhist *Guru* advised the king to repair Itum *Bahal* built by Kesh Chandra. All these accounts exhibit that Pratap Malla visualized unity in Buddhist and Hindu deities. He presented an ideal model of syncretism in religion. His inscription of Svayambhu exhibits the belief of Buddhists in polytheism.

### 5.4.4. Bhaskar Malla

Among the successors of Pratap Malla, Bhaskar Malla (1700-1722 A.D.) was inclined towards Buddhism. At the age of forteen, he became king. He built a beautiful *Dharmashala* (*Vihara*) at Kimdol. Earlier, he performed *Naga Sadhana* at Shantipur and *Nagapuja* at Svayambhu. He completed the restoration of Svayambhu *Mahachaitya* in 1714 A.D. (N.S. 834) and the images of Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha and Amoghasiddhi were replaced. The restoration was started from 1710 A.D. (N.S. 830).[84]

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80. Shakya, f.n. No. 37, pp. 197-205.
81. Wright, f.n. No. 12, p. 214.
82. Levi, f.n. No. 63, p.71.
83. Wright, f.n. No.12, p. 218.
84. Shakya, f.n. No.37, pp. 221-231.

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### 5.4.5. Jaya Prakash Malla

Landon writes that Jaya Prakasha Malla (1736-1768 A.D.) seems to have been in many ways a pious and industrious sovereign. [85] Jaya Prakash Malla wanted to amalgamate the two creeds of Nepal i.e. Hinduism and Buddhism which is indicated from the act of restoration of Svayambhu *Mahachaitya*. It is stated that Vishnu himself therein reported to have assisted the restoration.[86]

Jaya Prakash Malla involved himself in the restoration of Svayambhu *Mahachaitya* in 1751 A.D. Shakya mentions that the Lamas of Tibet had great respect to Svayambhu shrine. Vajrachhewang Norbu (Vajra Ayurishmani) wanted to change the central beam of the *Stupa* in 1751 A.D. (N.S. 871). Jaya Prakash Malla promised to carry out the repairs. Prithvi Narayan Shah, the king of Gorkha, at that time had occupied the western part of the Kathmandu Valley. The central timber was available in the forest in the territory occupied by him. The King of Gorkha promised to offer a large beam for placing it as the central timber. [87] Scholar's interprete that Prithivi Narayan Shah, the king of Gorkha at that time had poltical motive in providing the central timber for the restoration of Svayambhu *Mahachitya*. But it is obvious that he seems to have been inspired by spiritual sentiment. Hem Raj Shakya mentions that Megha Sarvajna Lama came to Nepal to fulfil the wish of his Guru Vajra Ayurishmani to conserve Svayambhu *Caitya*. The

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85. Landon, f.n. No. 31, p.53. Landon writes –"It is probable that he was one of those unfortunate rulers who have the fatal gift of antagonizing almost everyone who comes in their path."

86. *Ibid*, p. 54. Landon mentions- "It may perhaps have been due to some feeling of fear of the older faith in Nepal that Jaya Prakasha while robbing the Hindu shrines, seems to have been careful to respect the centres of Buddhism. Once again the central beam of Swayambhu Nath was renewed. Of this restoration, a full description is there recorded upon stone. It is remarkable because once more, there is indicated a desire to amalgamate the two creeds of Hinduism and Buddhism."

87. *Ibid*, p. 54. Landon writes- "The Raja of Gorkha Sri Sri Sri Prithiwi Narayan promised to have the large beam dragged to its place, It is difficult to understand what lies behind this apparently innocent statement.Prithiwi Narayan about the year 1756 had made the noble offer of this beam - splendid enough to serve as the core of the most famous Buddhist temple belonging to his enemy. Suspecting the motive behind it, Landon writes - except on the principle of the Trojan horse, it is hard to see why this offer should ever have been made. It is possible that Prithiwi Narayan, defeated in his first attack upon the Valley, determined under a cloak of religious enthusiasm, to send emissaries into the enemy's country"

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conservation work was started in 1751 A.D. Vaidya writes- "It was started in 1751 A.D. and completed on January 24, 1758 A.D. (*Pausha Sukla Poornima* 878 N.S.) Although Jaya Prakash Malla needed money for war, he took the responsibility of restoration of Svayambhu *Caitya*. Altogether 3344 tolas of gold, one and half *dharni* (one *dharni* is equal to two and half kg.) of silver, two *dharni* of copper were used for the restoration. In the process of restoration for erecting central beam, the Vajracharyas of Nepal and other devotees performed rites according to Nepali tradition. The central beam was erected on the plate of silver guilded by gold. *Dharani Mantra* was incised on it. Coins of Jaya Prakash "*Jayaprakashmalli*" along with coins of Patan and Bhaktapur were placed over the plate covered by copper plate. While erecting the central beam holy scriptures like *Saddharma Pundarika, Pancha Rakshya, Mahayana Sutra, Prajnaparamita* were recited. King Jaya Prakash was offered *Indra Kalash* (auspicious pitcher).

On completion of the restoration, 99 Buddhas, *Bodhisattvas*, Dipankara Buddhas and 64 deities from Shiva Math were taken to Svayambhu area for worshipping. The above mentioned rites and rituals obviously present the syncretic approach during the reign of Jaya Prakash Malla in the second half of the eighteenth century. A *Thyasaphu* describes the detail description of the process of restoration. The completion of restoration of Svayambhu *Mahachaitya* and the foundation laying ceremony of Kumari house at Kantipur took place in 1757 A.D. (N.S. 877).[88] Wright mentions that the restoration was complete in 1758 A.D. (N.S. 878). Wright quotes the stone inscription of Svayambhu which gives the full account. The inscription eulogises Svayambhu:[89]

King Jaya Prakash Malla had observed *Khadga Siddhi* ritual at Guhesvari. The priest of Guhesvari performed sacramental rites with the worship of *Khadga* for the victory of King Jaya Prakash when his courtiers under the leadership of Kazi Taudhik and queen

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88. Shakya, f.n. No. 37, pp. 244-257.

89. Wright, f.n. No. 12, pp. 228-229; Svayambhu inscription mentions *Tri Ratna, as* the protector of all *Sattvas*, sentient beings. Svayambhu is referred as *Sadguru*, on the lotus, never dying lotus. This *Sadguru*, in order that prosperity and happiness may attend the Gods and mankind, has appeared in the Svayambhu *Chaitya* in Nepal.The *Sadguru* lighted by the jewels which shine on the heads of Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesvara, Indra, and other Gods and Lokpalas, who constantly bowing and raising their heads spread variegated light around. He is born, the never dying jewel to reward the merits of mankind. He is the noose by which are successfully drawn the three sorts of *Bodhjnana*, namely Shravkayana, Prateyekayana, and Mahayana. He fulfils the desire of every one like the *Bhadra - kalasa*. Those who bow to him sincerely; he exempts them from the wheel of the world. This presents the concept of Svayambhu in the eighteenth century: T.R.Vaidya, *Jaya Prakash Malla The Brave Malla King of Kantipur*, (New Delhi : Anmol Publications, 1996), pp. 282-285.

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Dayavati deposed him. He met the troops and won them in his favour. He made Guhesvari *ghat* and turned the course of Vagmati i.e. made it run northward at that place. It shows that he was a devotee of Goddess Guhesvari (Goddess of Power). He had composed hymn (prayers) of Taleju, Kumari, Guhesvari and Karunamaya. It shows his equal respect to Hindu and Buddhist deities. He became unpopular when he had to take away the treasure of Jayavagishvari and Pashupati to support the Naga sepoys. For this, he even took out the *Gajurs* of the temple.[90]

Sylvain Levi citing a Buddhist *Vamsavali* mentions a singular story of a Buddhist *Gubhaju* who attempted a vertable revolution. He shows Jayaprakash Malla's opposition to such jesture. [91]

The event exhibits the *Tantric* practice being misused. Moreover, it shows the corrupt practice of the Buddhists in imitation of *Sannyasi* and corrupt behaviour of ordained disciples in the name of religion in the eighteenth century Nepal. Moreover such evil practice was also reported in Kantipur with political intention by the Gorkhas. In that event also Jaya Prakash Malla is reported as intervening against it.

## 5.5. Promotion of Buddhism by the Rulers of Lalitpur

### 5.5.1. Siddhinarasimha Malla

Lalitpur is regarded as the stronghold of Buddhism. Siddhinarasimha Malla's (1620-1661 A.D.) reign is important from Buddhist point of view. He was wise and very pious king of Patan. The people were devoted to Buddhism. Levi writes that he slept on bare stone, spent his days on prayer and subjected himself to the diet of *Chandrayana*, regulated on the phases of moon. On the day of the new moon, he took food, a handful of rice, gradually increased it till the full moon then decreased, his portion by degrees. Wright

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90. *Ibid*, p. 225.

91. Levi, f.n. No. 15, p. 23; Levi writes- "A Buddhist *Gubhaji Codhana* of the monastery of Bu Bahal attempted a vertable revolution; every morning, he proceeded to the temple of Vaisnavi, escorted by twenty or thirty companions. One bright day, he overtakes by surprise a *Sannyasi* who had just sacrificed a human victim and was preparing the magical ointment. At the sight of the troop, the *Sannyasi* fled; *Codhana* takes his place and continue the operation. He completes it and distributes the magical ointment to his companions, therby enslaving them to his empire. They proceeded together to dwell in a house of the Nakavihara; *Codhana*, by suggestion, transfers each one of his acolytes into different God; then he exhorts the people to desert the temples and worship the Gods manifested in his house. His audacity goes so far as to receive from the temple, the attribute of the divinities. At last, Jaya Prakaca intervened; he stops the sacrileges orders to have them offered one by one to sacrifice to the divinities, whom they claimed to respectively incarnate."

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edited chronicle mentions that he was conceived whilst his father lived at Pashupati to the south of the temple and he was born at an auspicious moment. [92] He became *Rajarshi* (hermit king). He made the famous Krishna temple of Patan in which he placed *Avalokiteshvara Karunamaya Bungamalokeshvara* on the upper part of the chamber on the third storey of the temple where *Shivalinga* is placed. [93]. Wright edited Chronicle mentions that he extended Patan Durbar by pulling down Hatko *Vihara* built by Laksmikamadeva Varma. The *Vihara* was rebuilt near Gaubahal (Gaabahal).[94]

He underwent austerities also known as *Panchagni Vrata*. While observing this *Vrata*, he subjected himself to fire in the month of summer. He slept on bare stone in winter. In 1652 A.D, he entrusted the public affairs to his son. He had to declare his son Shreenivas Malla as the king, having remained himself in the kingship and lived the life as a hermit. Later, he went to Benares where he died. Siddhinarsimha Malla called himself a devotee of the *Lokeshvara*. He incised *Bungamatilokeshvara* on the ivory window with golden *Torana* of Sundarichowk at Patan Durbar. Levi mentions that Siddhinarsimha Malla is credited for the organistion of Buddhist *Viharas* in Patan. He prescribed rules of civil discipline, distributed the rank of precedence. He established central organization and instructed rites of purification.[95]

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92. Wright, f.n. No. 12, p. 233.

93. Shakya, f.n. No. 37, p. 11.

94. Wright, f.n. No. 12, pp. 234-235. Wright mentions – "The following *bihars* existed Jeshthabarn Tangal, built by Balarchanadeva, Dharmakirti Tava built by Bhuvanakar barma, Mayurbarn Vishnuksha built by Shankeradeva,Vaishnavarn, built by Baisdeva barma, Onkuli Rudrabarn, built by Shivadeva barma, Hakwa, built by Lakshmi Kalyan barma,Hiranyabarn, built by Bhaskaradeva barma, Jesodharabuyo, built by Bidhyadhara barma ,Chakra built by Manadeva barma, Sakwa, built by Rudradeva garga, Yanchhu, built by Baladhara Gupta.Among them Vishnuksha, Onkuli, Gwaaakshe (or Chakra) Sakwa and Yanchhu had one chief, who was the oldest among five head Bauddhamargis of the *bihars*. The rest of the *bihars* mentioned above had each a separate *Nayaka* or the chief *Bauddhamargi*. The rank of the *Naikya* was confirmed on the oldest *Bauddhamargis* and thery were called *Tathagatas*.Three *bihars* namely Wambaha, Jyobaha and Dhumbaha were established in his reign. The *Raja* called the *Nakayas* of all these *bihars* before him and ordered them to establish the custom of *Thapatwaya guthi*. In the foot note he writes that the *Guthi* is conducted by offering a feast at which the *Buddhamargis* of the *bihars* assemble and choose their *Nakayas*."

95. S. Levi, *"Nepal", Ancient Nepal*, No. 76, (Kathmandu : DOA, 1983 A..D.), p. 19. Levi writes- "He appears to have concentrated a good part of his energy in introducing order in the dangerous anarchy of the Buddhistic monasteries. In order to check their rival pretensions, he distributed among them, ranks of precedence; he imposed on them a central organization, a common representation, rules of civil discipline. As the relations with Tibet were increasing he busied himself with instituting rites of purification for the merchants returning from Lhasa."

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Wright mentions that Siddhinarsimha Malla called together the men of fifteen *Viharas* to make rules for their guidance and directed that the order of their precedence should be fixed according to the order in which they arrived [96] He further mentions that Yampi *Vihara* built by Sunyashree Mishra was *Nirnbanik Vihara* (i.e. the inhabitants did not marry). The king decided that as a *Grihasta Acharya* is required for performing the *Homa*, the people from Dhum *Vihara* should act as priest to perform *Homa* in this *Vihara*.[97] To sum up, *Vamsavali's* version Siddhinarsimha made rules of 25 *Nirvanik Viharas*. He made rules by summoning the *Bhikshus* of these *Viharas*. The people of these *Nirvanik Viharas* did not marry. The king laid down the rules for election of the *Naikyas* on the basis of seneriority of age. The oldest among them were called *Panca* Buddhas. He set up *Guthi* (trust) for the maintenance of the *Bhikshus*. As members of the *Naikyas* were many people worshipped only two among the eldest.[98]

Thapa and Bajracharya in their work give description of Ratnakara *Mahavihara*. The name of the *Vihara* is enlisted as the ancient *Viharas* of Patan as mentioned above. It may be taken as a model *Vihara*. To sum up the accounts of the work of the authoras, the ancient name of Ratnakara *Mahavihara* is Hakha *Bahal*. Its Sanskrit name is *Shree Laksmi Kalyana Varma Sanskarita Mahavihara*. The Vajracharyas of this *Vihara Sangha* are known as *Raj Purohitas*. The *Vihara* was built by Laksmikamadeva in Khokhu, Patan during the early medieval period. In local dilect it is known as *Layeku Vihara*. A daughter of one of the member of the *Sangha* had established a tradition of *Layeku Kumari*. She

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96. Wright, f.n. No. 12, p. 235. Wright mentions-" According to the precedence Tangal remained first, Tava second, Dhumbahal remained third.To the rest precedence was given according to the order in which they presented themselves. Chaubahal and Kirtipur were under the jurisdiction of Lalitpur. The *bihars* of those places were were amalgamated with the fifteen *bihars* of Lalitpur. Another *bihar* named Sibahal was not amalgamated with these, because it was built after the rules had been made by the *Raja* for their guidance and *guthis* had been assigned to them. There were several old *bihars* standing empty, which had been existed before."

97. *Ibid*, f.n. No. 12, p. 226.

98. *Ibid*, p. 237. Wright mentions-" The *Raja* next found that there were altogether twenty five *Nirvanik bihars* in the places under the jurisdiction of Lalitpur (viz, Chaubaha, Bogmati and Chapagaon): and in order to make rules for their guidance, he summoned all their *bhikshus*.The *bhikshus* of only fifteen *bihars* came, namely those lying on the left hand side of the route taken by Matchchhindra-nath's *rath* during his *rath-jatra*, and to whom the *Raja* had given empty *bihars* to live in. He made a rule that the five oldest among their *bhikshus*, should be *Naikyas*, and should be called the *Panch-* buddhas, and be assigned a *guthi* for their maintenance. He made rules for electing their *Naikyas* or headmen, and for performing the ceremonies after death. He also ruled that the oldest *Naikya Bhikshu* should have the charge of worship of the deities of all the *bihars*; and he put a stop to the old custom, by which the worship was performed by head *bhikshu* of each *vihar*. If the worshipper becomes one of the *Panch-* buddhas, then his son succeeded him in the performance of the worship. He also amalgamated these fifteen *bihars* with the fifteen mentioned above. Afterwards he made separate rules for the remaining ten *bihars*, which lay to the righthand of the route taken by Machchhidra-nath's rath, and appointed headmen for them.. The people of Lalitpur as they could not worship a number of *bhikshus*, worshipped only two, namely, the oldest among the *bhikshus* of all the *bihars* standing at the top of the road, and the oldest of those standing at the foot of it.The *banaprastha bihars* were called by some *bahi*, i.e. outside, because the *banaprastha bhikshus* did not live in cities, but in forests. This extract defines the vanaprastha *Bhikshus* who live in *Bahi*."

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lives in this *Vihara*. Before it was shifted to Gabahal, it was located in Magal Bazar where *Layeku* (royal) golden window exists at present. When King Siddhinarasimha Malla extended Patan Durbar complex, it was shifted to this present site. Inscriptions relating to Vajrasatva (1861 A.D.) and Kumari are found here. This *Vihara* observes *Baha Guthi, Sande Guthi* (feast for all male children), *Lainkyabhu Guthi* (*Bhojan Guthi*), *Acha (Acharya) Guthi* (feast for *Sangha* members who have undergone *Achaluyegu* initiation), *Sana Guthi*, (associated with death ritual). The ritual of the *Vihara* includes *Nitya Puja* (daily worship), *Sopothayegu* (afternoon service), *Saunthayegu* (evening service), *Degu Busadha* (conservation of the shrine of *Kwapadya*, deity placed on the ground floor) *Bahi Dyo Boyegu* (exhibition of the deities of the *Vihara*), *Basundhara Puja* (worship of the Buddhist deity of wealth and long life) *Pancadana* (donation of the five kinds of cereals such as unhusked rice, polished rice, cereals, lentil seeds, wheat and salt). The account exhibits the rituals performed and special cultural activities reflecting the life style of the *Sangha* members of the *Vihara*. [99]

Siddhinarsimha Malla also scheduled the rites of purification for merchants returning from Tibet.[100] He also decided the procedure of *Twaya- Guthi*. If one of the five Naikyas dies, his successor had to give a feast and should undergo the ceremony of becoming a *Naikya*. Siddhinarsimha Malla made the Vandyas to take up the trade of carpenters as there were not enough carpenters. Several inscriptions of the time of Siddhinarsimha Malla throw light on his religious activities. His Chobhar inscription of 1641 A.D. (N.S. 761) mentions that his minister Hari Shankar was devoted to *Lokeshvara*. Siddhinarsimha Malla and his son Shreenivas Malla graced the ceremony when he offered golden pitcher *'Suvarna Kalash'* to the deity. It also shows the construction of three storied temple of *Adi* Nath by the minister Jiran Praman of Lalitpur during the joint rule of Siddhinarsimha and his son Shreenivas Malla. During his reign, people were devoted to Buddhism which is revealed from many constructive activities. In 1643 A.D. (764 N.S.), Gopi Bharo, Baliram Bharo and his brothers renovated the image of Shakyamuni at *Pintha Bahal*. In the same year, *Bhikshu* Shreedeva and his son *Brahmacharya Bhikshu* Narendradeva made a new *Dharmadhatu Vagishvara* at Chobanani in Kwobahal Tole, Patan. The Ikha Tole, Kwo *Bahal* inscription of Chapagaon, dated 1654 A.D.mentions the establishment

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99. Thapa and Bajracharya, f.n. No. 20, pp. 72-75, 101-105, 109-119

100. Wright, f.n. No. 12, p. 38.

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of the deities such as *Vajrasana* Shakyamuni Buddha, *Dharma*, *Sangha*, Mahankal, Mahakshyari, Chakrasamvara and Vajravarahi etc. The Chyasal Tole inscription of Iku *Bahil* dated 1657 A.D. (N.S. 777) mentions, performance of *Homa* (fire sacrifice) for the whole night at *Saptapuri Mahavihara* and renovation of Vajravarahi Bhattaraka.[101] During the reign of Siddhinarshima Malla, Laksman Singh Bharo's brothers and sons organized *Samyek* festival at Patan in the month of January (Ist of Magh) in 1630 A.D.(750 N.S). Devasimha Shakyavamsha established *Devadatta Mahavihara* and installed Dipankara Buddha. He also established a trust at Naudwan *Bahal* to give charity to the Vandyas in August on the 8th day of *Gunla* (*Pancadana* of Patan). Karma Raj Shakyavhamsha of Pasu Varna *Mahavihara* (Ilhan) Patan celebrated *Pancadana* on the 9th bright day of *Paush*. Siddhinarsimha Malla and his chief minister, Moti Raj Shakya were the chief guests on that occasion. It shows that Buddhist festival like *Samyek* was celebrated as a state festival during that time. [102] Siddhinarsimha Malla, although devoted to Krishna, respected Matsendra Nath also. He stated to have installed *Aryavalokeshvara Karunamaya Bungamatilokeshvara* on the upperpart of *Shivalinga* in the third storey of Krishna temple of Patan.[103] Wright mentions that Siddhinarsimha Malla became *Fakeer* (ascetic) in 1657 A.D. (777 N.S.) and went away.[104] According to an inscription written in gold plate palced at Mulchowk of Patan Durbar, Siddhinarsimha Malla handed over his kingdom to his son Shreenivas Malla in 1160 A.D. (V.S. 1717) as his son revolted against him for the throne.[105]

### 5.5.2. Shreenivas Malla

Shreenivas Malla's (1660-1684 A.D.) reign is also very important in the history of Buddhism. More than dozens of inscriptions are published by Dhanavajra Vajracharya. In the seventeenth century the Mughal Emperors were very powerful in India. Auranzeb

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101. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 62, pp. 84-110.
102. Shakya, f.n. No. 44, pp. 33, 34.
103. Shakya, f.n. No. 34, p.12.
104. Wright, f.n. No. 12, p. 242, Wright mentions-"Siddhinarasnha Malla , the *Jivan -mukta* having obtained salvation while on earth, the chaste, the favourite of Krishna, master of *Yoga*, the chief of poets, the relinquisher of the world , the son of Harisimha. He who repeats this slok will be absolved from sin". The Brahmins composed this slok because he was *Jivan-mukta*".
105. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 53, p. 144.

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was following aggresive policy for the spread of Islam. He even destroyed Vishwanath temple at Benares. This had negative impact in the hilly region. To defend ones own religion, the petty states of the hilly region and the Kathmandu Valley made a strong tie of friendship known as treaty of non aggression pact among themselves during the reign of Shreenivas Malla at the time of the *Upanayana* ceremony of Yoganarendra Malla. But luckily the rulers of the Himalayan region had not to face Muslim invasion as the hilly region was inaccessible to the Mughal rulers at that time. During the time of Shreenivas Malla, Matsyendra Nath was very popular deity. Levi writes that he displayed zeal to Matsyendra Nath, erected the *Manimandapa* in His honour and consecrated Him lands. During his reign, the cult of Matsyendra Nath was very popular. People were devoted to this deity. The Chobhar inscription of Matsyendra Lokeshvara *Mahavihara* dated 1662 A.D. (N.S. 782.) mentions that the *Mahavihara* was reconstructed by Indradev during his reign. The descendents of Kusaldev Vajracharya of Sikanmugal *Bahal*, Uttahalan Bharo of Chhasapakha, Kantipur served the deity on every *Sankranti* day (first day of every month). Ratna Raj and Chakradeva, the first and second son of Kushaldeva and Dhanamuni offered three storied golden roof and canopy and the Tamrakaras of Maruruyechhen, Uttahalan Bharo and his wife offered golden lotus to the deity.[106]

The Yampi *Bahil* inscription dated 1672A.D. (N.S.792) mentions that *Brahamacharya Bhikshu* Dinakara, son of Bhanudeva one of the descendents of Sunashree Mitra, along with his wife and son, made *Pratima* (image) of "*Buddha, Dharma and Sangha*" and installed them in the *Bahil*. It indicates that *Bhakti* cult was in vogue in his reign.[107] In Shreenivas Malla"s time, Kunu Sharma of Khim Tole, Patan had written a booklet entitled *Kirtipataka*, in Sanskrit. It is translated by Yogi Narahari Nath in Nepali. It gives the account of Mina Nath and Matsyendra Nath temple of Khim Tole as well as the chariot festival of Matsyendra Nath during the reign of Shreenivas Malla. Matsyendra Nath was popular as *Bungadyo* during that time.. The hymn (slok) Nos. 12, 13, 14 and 15 mention the account of Parvati, Mina Nath and Matsyndra Nath. He describes that Parvati exists in the form of Rajrajeshvari in the flower garden. Mina Nath temple includes all Buddhas including Shakyamuni Buddha. In Khim Tole, the Matsyendra Nath temple with

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106. *Ibid*, pp. 124-125.

107. *Ibid*, pp. 167-168.

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three storied roof is located. He also describes Matsyendra Nath dazzling like Sun served by many deities.[108] The *Kirtipataka* was written in 1652 A.D. (772 N.S.) by poet Kunu Sharma. He has presented Shreenivas Malla as incarnation of Vishnu, devoted to people. As such he was a Loka Nath. Hymn, Nos. 123 and 124 mention it. It indicates that Matsyendra Nath was popular in his reign as Lokanath. In the Licchavi period Matshyandra Nath was popular as Karunamaya (God of Compassion). Shreenivas Malla in 1661 A.D. (N.S. 781) minted coins in the name of Karunamaya. Since his reign, all the kings of Patan minted coins in the name of Karunamaya and Lokanath.[109] P Landon writing about coins of Nepal mentions that coins in the treasure room of Pashupati include the symbols punched common to both Hindus and Buddhists. He describes in detail a coin of Shreenivas Malla. [110]

On the coinage we find the symbol of *Khadga* (sword of Devi), *Madala*, square and round, *Yantras*, conch shell, discus, mace and lotus with eight petals,*Caitya* common to Hindus and Buddhists alike. The symbols are the *Mangalas* (auspicious signs), *Vahanas* like lion and the *Praharana* (weapons) as *Khadga*, Trident and sometimes *Kalasa*. *Yantra* is given greater prominence. Coinage incising Loka Nath, Karunamaya and Gorkha Nath show the prominence given as patron deities.

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[108]. Yogi Narahari Nath (edt), *Kirtipataka* by Kunu Sharma, (Lalitpur: Jagdamba Prakshan, 1961 A.D (2018 V.S.), pp. 4-5.

[109]. Shakya, f.n. No. 34, p. 16 : The kings of Patan minted coins in the name of Lokanath and Karunamaya as follows. Shreernivas Malla, *Shree Karunamaya*, N.S.781, Shree Yoganarendra Malla,*Shree Lokanath*, N.S.805, Shree Lok Prakash,*Shree Karunamaya*, N.S 826, Shree Indra Malla, *Shree Lokanath*, N.S. 826, Shree Bir Narasimha, *Shree Lokanath*, N.S. 829, Shree Bir Mahindra Simha,, *Shree Lokanath*, N.S. 829, Shree Riddhi Narasimha, *Shree Karunamaya*, N.S, 835, Shree Mahindra Simha,*Shree Karunamaya*, N.S. 837, Shree Yoga Prakash, *Shree Karunamaya*, N. S. 842, Shree Vishnu Malla, *Shree Karunamaya*, N.S. 849, Shree Rajya Prakash,*Shree Lokanath*, N.S.865, Shree Vishwajit, *Shree Lokanath*, N.S.878, Shree Jaya Prakash,*Shree Karunamaya*, N.S. 880, Shree Ranajit Malla , *Shree Karunamaya*, N.S. 882, Shree Dalamardan Shah, *Shree Karunamaya*,N.S.884, Shree Tej Narasimha, *Shree Karunamaya*, N.S.885.,Shree Prithvi Narayan Shah, *Shree Lokanath*, Saka Samvat, 1685, (1763 A.D.)

[110]. Landon, f.n. No. 31, pp. 323-324. Landon writes- "On the coin of Shree Nivas Malla two intersecting triangles appear on the obverse.; Within the hexagon so formed a *Khadga* with *avarana* on top of which are a lotus and two crescents, one on each side, *Shree Shree* on the left and right of the *Khadga* forming top line.In the six triangles *Shree* appears within the top one, *ni* and *va* on the left and right of the two triangles below it, *sa* and *ma* in the triangles below the former pair, and *lla* in the bottom triangle. The triangles are connected by scallops, within each of which are are placed four dots round a central one, with the actual dotted margin around. On the reverse; A *bhupura* or square divided in the middle in its ordinary form, and a circle in the centre of the *bhupura;* within the circle, an elephant - goad in the middle with a *kalasa* with *avarana* to the left and another to the right; in the four corners of the square the counch -shell, discus, lotus, and mace, counter clockwise; within the bottom *dvara* is the date N.S. 786. In this the syllables *Nepalesvara*,each within a *dvara*, are absent, and probably the coin with that legend was issued later than this one

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The *Ashta Matrika* dance of Patan was composed by the Buddhists of Nakabahil during his time. It is stated that *Ashta Matrika* was visualized by Shreenivas Malla. It is performed as Buddhist dance. Invocation of mother Goddess as *Prajna* is popular among the Buddhists. Mahayana Buddhism has included the *Ashta Matrikas* in the cosmogony of Buddhism. These deities are regarded as *Prajnadevi* as mentioned above in Kiritpur inscription. It seems that the tradition of this dance is influenced by Hinduism.

During the reign of Shreenivas Malla, Jodhaju Shakya of Maha Bauddha temple Okubahal, Patan had offered a golden throne to the king for celebrating *Samyek* festival. There was a tradition of giving the golden throne on hire to the people devoted to the Buddhism. It indicates the popularity of Buddhist tradition of observing *Samyak* festival. In the *Samyek* festival, the king is worshipped as *Bodhisattva.* He is seated on the golden throne and is given *Pindapatra (Gulupa).* Since it is not possible to all the devotees to make golden throne on all occasion of *Samyek* festival, Shakya Jodhaju of Okubahal offered the throne to Shreenivas Malla and use the throne on the occasion of *Samyek* festival. Therefore, provision was made to give the golden throne on hire to the Buddhists. Those who take the golden throne on hire were required to pay two rupees as rent of the throne. The rent is given to the copper smiths and carpenters who made the throne. Its main purpose was to maintain the golden throne always ready for use. The golden throne is embellished with *Kadamba Vrikshya* (Kadamba tree). To take the golden throne on hire, the user should present security or bail for it. The golden throne inscription of 1667 A.D. (N.S. 787) indicates the popularity of Buddhist religious ceremony like *Samyek* festival among the rich people following Mahayana Buddhism in Patan. It is still a current practice in Nepal. On the full moon day of May (*Jestha Purnima*) the throne is displayed to all people. During the reign of Shreenivas Malla, lokeshvara was worshipped along with *Tara.*[111] Oku Bahil inscription of Patan dated 1678 A.D. (N.S. 788) shows lokeshvara accompanied with his *Shakti* Tara was installed by a local resident Hariram Bharo and his wife. They made a trust to distribute *Samebaji* (fried rice, local beer, meat ginger, soyabean, flat rice) and banana as well as curd as *Prasad* on the day of Indrajatra.[112] During that time, Nila Kantha of Benares has written the *Matsyendra Nath Satakam* as prayer of Matsyendra Nath. Matsyendra Nath as the

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[111]. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 53, pp. 151-152.: Shakya, f.n. No. 44, p. 40.

[112]. *Ibid*, pp. 151-152.

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patron deity of Lalitpur became popular in the reign of Siddhinarsimha Malla and Shreenivas Malla. Gold plates and copper plates are these for organizing *Rathjatra.* They specify the rules of venerating the deity. Every twelve years, the chariot festival commences from Bungamati. It is stated that 104 twelve years festivals had been observed so far. It indicates its cultural heritage since more than twelve hundred years old. So it is proposed to inscribe as oral and intangible cultural heritage of Nepal in World Heritage List of UNESCO. When Matsyendra Nath is taken out from the chariot at Jawalakhel, *Bhotojatra* is held. Many people participate in this Buddhist festival. It remains as the uncommon model of public participation with pious feeling of religious syncretism.

The inscription placed in the temple of Karunamaya, Bungadya at Tava Bahal dated 1673 A.D. (793 N.S.) mentions that Shreenivas Malla endowed hundreds of *ropani* land to Karunamaya for its bathing ceremony, chariot festival, daily worship and worship on special occasion. It also includes the rules which the kings have to follow during the chariot festival of the Matsyendra Nath. He also established *Arati Guthi* (trust for illumination). According to this inscription of 1673 A.D. (N.S. 793) Shreenivas Malla mentioned all the traditional rules relating to Matsyendra Nath on the stone inscription known *Samvatsara Lohan.* It is also written in *Nepal Bhasa* to make intelligible to all. It gives the list of activities conducted as rites and rituals of Matsyendra Nath *Jatra.* Matsyendra Nath represents both sexes. So the deity has no sex. It shows that the patron deity, although regarded as male, is also treated as female. The ritual of *Ihi* and *Bahrachuyegu* (marriage and hiding the girl from the male)) rituals are performed. While performing *Dash Karma* (ten rituals of both males and females) as *Rathjatra* (chariot festival) and *Snanjatra* (Bathing ceremony).the deity is given bath by *Pancamrit* (milk, curd, honey, ghee and raw sugar). In the *Jatra* the king's presence was obligatory according to the *Samvatsar Lohan* (inscription). Even if the kings observe mourning at the death of members of royal family, the playing of the music during the festival was continued. When the deity was on the chariot people were prohibited to wear shoes. The materials needed for building chariot were collected as mentioned in the gold plate. The invitation to the kings was to be offered properly for chariot festival and *Nhawan* in vernacular (Bathing ceremony). People are supposed to discharge their responsibility assigned to them. Failure to do these duties was regarded as offence. *Thakurs* (royal

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family) had to discharge their duties. Shreenivas Malla had also established *Aarati guthi* (lighting lamps). The copper plate was made to regulate it. Performing *Homa* (fire sacrifice) was made obligatory on every Sunday in the month of *Kartik* (October). Land endowment also included for *Mahasnan* and celebration of *Shivaratri.* A copper plate mentions it. People were obliged to draw the chariot as per *Betha Visti* (compulsory rule imposed on the people for drawing the chariot). As Matsyendra Nath is regarded as the saint of Nath sect, Shreenivas Malla established *Jogichakra guthi* (trust for worshipping *Jogichakra*) for the merit of his mother Bhanumati. In the month of March, on the day of *Amavashya of Chaitra Krishna*, *Jogicharka* was worshipped by setting auspicious pitcher. Land endowment was made for it. According to the inscription the creditors should not use force to the debtors at the time of chariot festival. Breach of the rule was subject to penalty by the king. Bhagirath Bhaiya (the chief minister) and Yognarendra Malla, the crown prince were the witnesses of the edict.[113]

The festival of Matsyendra Nath is celebrated as the festival of the rulers and ruled for the last thirteen hundred years. Although it is Buddhist festival, tens of thousands of people from all walks of life participate in this festival. It also demonstrates the participation of not only men but also obligatory participation of women. When the chariot is drawn to Jawalakhel, women are oblized to draw the chariot of Matsyendra Nath. The deity is the guardian God of the Shakyas and Vajracharyas. To cite J.K Locke, Seto Matsyendra Nath of *Jana Baha* is also the family deity (digudyo) of the Shakyas and Vajracharyas. [114] The cult of Matsyendra Nath although is a Buddhist festival, it shows the impact of the *Siddhas* like Matsyendra Nath, Mina Nath and Adi Nath in Buddhism. Many legends are attached to it

Shreenivas Malla's Matsyendra *Bahal* inscription of 1676 A.D. (*Samvat* 796 N.S.) mentions Maneshvari and Trailokya Nath as *Istadevatas*. Red Matsyendra Nath is referred to as Trilokya Nath. The inscription prohibits *Jogini* (*Kusle*), *Dhobini* (washer women) and *Kasaini* (butcher women) to enter the temple complex of Matsyendra *Bahal* to observe *Vrata* (austerity) on the *Kartik Purnima* (October). These acts show the feature of the cult in the medieval period. While pulling the chariot of Matsyendra Nath some where in procession Mina Nath (Dharma Raj) chariot remains ahead and some where it

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[113]. *Ibid,* pp. 170-191.

[114]. John K. Locke, f.n. No. 22, p. 169.

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remains after the chariot of Matsyendra Nath. During the chariot procession, the Vajracharyas recite *Namasangiti* in melodious tune. It is mentioned that there is a tradition of giving animal sacrifice to the four wheels of the chariot of Matsyendra Nath. The flesh of the buffalo sacrified in the *puja* is fed to dogs considering them as the vehicles of Bhairava. The *Ghama* is taken as Karkotak Nagaraja of Kotpaldaha (*Taudaha*). Matsyendra Nath is regarded as Trilokya Nath (Lord of three realms). Hindus regard the deity as incarnate of Shiva, the Vaishnavas as Lord Vishnu, the Shaktas as *Shakti*, and the Nath sect as Lord. So it is the common God of all sects. Worship of *Jogichakra* indicates its relation with Nath sect. Some scholars take the tradition as the distortion of original Buddhism and popularity of Mahyana and Vajrayana.

The legend of Bandhudatta Acharya and Narendradeva shows such mysterious stories relating to the deity. They mention that the king and the *Guru* were absorbed on the feet of Matsyendra Nath. It is the impact of *Bhakti* cult. Matsyendra Nath is regarded as Padmapani Lokeshvara according to *Tantric* sect of Vajrayana. The deity is venerated as *Lokeshvara* who brings about prosperity. The deity is also regarded as the incarnation of campassion, symbol of *Sangha* for worship. The deity represents very effective syncretism practised in Nepal. The six lettered *Mantra* "*Om mani padme hun*" is related with the deity. It is believed that the *Mantra* originates *Bodhicitta*. It is also mentioned that the image of *Adi* Buddha, Vajrasattva is placed in the canopy put above the deity in *Suvarnaviman* of the chariot. It is also stated that in the Nath sect there was no caste discrimination. But in Matsyendra cult, practised in the medieval Nepal during the time of Shreenivas Malla, the edict shows caste distinction. The chariot of Matsyendra Nath is nine storied 32 *Hat-* (one *hat* is equal to about one and half feet). It is tied with cane making nine rings representing *Navagraha* (nine planets). On the top of the chariot Svayambhu *Chaitya* is placed. Svayambhu is regarded as *Adi* Buddha that descended from heaven (*Akanista Bhuvan*) Matsyendra Nath is also regarded as *Padmapani Bodhisattva* emanated by *Amitabha* Buddha, one of the *Panca Buddhas*. *Bodhisattva* cult is based on the treatise of *Guna Karanda Vyuha Sutra.* [115]

The inscription placed at the Amarpur temple of Matsyendra *Bahal* at Yeta Tole in Bungamati dated 1681 A.D. (N.S 801) mentions that the Brahmans refer the deity as *Svayambhu - Sva-bhu* and *Shambhu*. The Buddhists call the deity as Lokanath which

[115]. Shakya, f.n. No. 34, pp. 23-35.

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exists in the form of Lord of all. It exists in the form of *Parabrahma* (Supreme God). Shree Nivas Malla's eldest daughter Rudramati, wife of Prince Rudra Malla had renovated the *Mandap* and paved the floor of the temple of Bhairava at Bungamati.[116] Bhairava is regarded as the ferocious form of Lord Shiva. In the mediaeval period, people practised religion with faith on unity of God's head. It has the flavour of splendid bleding of thought of Hindus and Buddhists. One of the inscriptions of Ibahal Tole, Patan inscribed during the reign of Shreenivas Malla mentions Bhairava in the form of *Sunyata* as clear as sky. The Buddhist text refers 18 kinds of *Sunyata*. The inscription is dated 1661 A.D. (801 N.S.). According to it, *Torana* (tympanum) was offered to Bhairava. It reminds the *Sunyata* philosophy of Nagarjuna. Shreenivas Malla had invited scholars like Bhattacharya, Chakravarti, Raya and Ojha from abroad. Although, he followed Hinduism, he was tolerant to other religion. Buddhism developed during his reign but it has the flavour of Hinduism. He followed the policy of religious toleration. He had taken the title of *Pashupaticharanakamala dhulidhusarita, Lokanathcharanakamala dhulidhusarita, Maneshvari Isthadevata varlabdhaprasadita*. It shows his devotion to Gods Pashupati, Lokanath and Goddess Maneshvari as his patron deities.

*Pandit* Hari Vamsa, the great scholar of Sanskrit had adorned his court. Shreenivas Malla assumed the title of *Nepaleshvara* and *Manigaladhipati*. Shreenivas Malla was Shaivite by religion and he was devoted to Matsyendra Nath, the common deity of all sects. During his reign Hinduism slowly penetrated in the Buddhism.

Chilancho *Caitya* of Kirtipur represents the tangible cultural heritage representing the features of Buddhism in mediaeval Nepal which reminds the work of Jagatpal. Under his name the *Vihara* is also known as Jagatpal *Vihara*. The inscription of the *Caitya* is in mutilated form. It credits Jagatpal for building five *Caityas* in *Vedic* tradition. *Bhikshu Sangh* completed it. On the top of the *Caitya*, five *Charkas* (circles) are there. The eulogy of Jagatpal mentions that he was involved in worship of *Yogambara* associated with his *Shakti, Chakrasamvar* associated with *Vajravarahi*. He was also called *Asur Narayana*, chief among the *Sapta Kutumbajas*. The epigraphic record indicates that Jagatpal was devoted to Buddhism with faith on Hindu deity *Manamaneshvari*. The golden *Caitya* was offered in 1661 A.D. (N.S. 635). Jagatpal had also taken titles such as *'Bhagnarajasthapanacharya' 'Luvdharajagajankusa' 'Saranagatarajavajampanjara'*

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116. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 62, pp. 206-207.

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(restorer of king who has lost power, controller of greedy king like hooking through the trunk of elephant, provider of asylum to the kings who seek it). He was the chief *Mahapatra* of Pimbahal.

This reveals that several deities were venerated during that period. The deities include Matsyendra Nath, tutelar or patron deity of Lalitpur, *Panca Tathagatas*, Harasiddhi, Mahavir, Indrayani, Vyaghresvara, Maneshvari, Yogamvara etc. It shows the popularity of Brahmanical as well as *Tantric* deities in Buddhism. Vajrayana had adopted Brahmanical deities during that period. Jagatpal was follower of *Vedic* tradition and he had faith on *Tantric* Buddhism. The *Caitya* shows "*Buddha Dharma and Sangha*" in the form of images (symbolically Shakyamini Buddha as Buddha, *Prajnaparamita* as *Dharma* and compassionate Lokeshvara as *Sangha*)[117]

The Kirtipur Lahandeval inscription refers *Prajnadevi* as mother of the Buddha. It also refers Padmapani *Lokeshvara* as God who directs the way to salvation, fulfils all the wishes that exists in pure form with great power. The deity is venerated by all. Lokeshvara is also regarded as the Lord who looks down upon or bears the cries of the world. The series of creations in the Chilancho *Bahal* indicate the characteristic features of Buddhism in vogue in medieval period. Numbers of inscription are dated from 1668-1673 A.D. (N.S. 788 to 793.). These inscriptions were inscribed during the reign of Shreenivas Malla. They mention that *Dharmadhatu Bhattaraka* (Chilancho *Caitya*) exists in the form of *Stupa* peaceful by the mind of *Panca Skandha* (five elements) clear as sky, virtue without any defilement. The devotees and their *Sangha* had placed images such as two images of *Krodharaja*, two stone elephants by either side of the gate. They had also installed four human figures, image of Aksobhya *Tathagata*, Prajnaparamita, Lokeshvara, Ratna Sambhava with two *Bodhisattvas*, four *Taras* (Lochana, Mamaki, Pandala and Tara, image of *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sangha* etc.[118]

### 5.5.3. Yoganarendra Malla

Yoganarendra Malla (1684-1705 A.D.): He was the son of Shreenivas Malla and Mrigawati. Like his father, he was also devoted to Matsyendra Nath (Loka Nath). Yoga Narendra Malla installed *Shristikanta* Lokeshvara in the golden window of Patan Durbar

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[117]. *Ibid*, pp. 117 and 498.
[118]. *Ibid*, p. 506-507.

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Keshav Narayan *Chowk* (royal courtyard). Every year on the day of *Mataya*, (festival of light) is celebrated in the month of August (*Bhadra*). People pay homage to the deity. The deity was modeled on the basis of *Mahayana Sutra,* and *Gunakaranda Vyuha.*[119] During his rule, Buddhist deities like *Adi* Nath, *Bodhisattva*, Chakra Samvara, Vajravarahi, Vajra Bhairava and Mahankal were established by the people in 1684 A.D. (N.S. 804).. He took the title of *Manigaladhipati*. He and his wife Yoga Laxmi paved the way from Kwobahal to Kumbhesvara in 1685 A.D. (N.S. 805) which shows his constructive character.[120] In the reign of Yoganarendra Malla, the images of the Goddesses Ashta Matrika, Sun and Moon were established in the presence of the king. Balambu inscription dated 1687 A.D. (N.S 807) shows it.[121] *Yag Bahal* inscription mentions that Vamshidhar and his mother Majuni Laksmi installed the golden image of Bhairava and a Devi (Goddess) in 808 N.S. (1688 A.D.) It was made obligatory that the decorated Bhairava should be exhibited on the day of *Bunga Jatra and Indra Jatra.* It indicates the nature of syncretism between the Hinduism and Buddhism during his time.[122] In the year 1697 (817 N.S) Ratnamuni Shakya and others celebrated *Samyek*. King Yog Narendra Malla of Patan and Bhipatindra Malla of Bhaktapur were invited as guest of honour in the *Samyek* festival. The donors created a trust for worshipping Chakrasamvara, Varahi and Prajnaparamitadevi as the *Agam* deities of Oku Bahal, Patan.[123]

In 1690 A.D. (810 N.S) *Brahmacharya Bhikshu* Chintamani and Ram Bharo made a temple for a deity of Yampi *Stupa* during the reign of Yog Narendra Malla. In 1691 A.D. (811 N.S.), a *Caitya* was established at Chol Tole of Bungamati, Patan and the donor wished the merit of his family members and land endowment was offered for worshipping *Kalash* (auspicious pitcher). His inscription of 1601 A.D (821 N.S.) credits Yoganarendra Malla for renovation of *Mani Mandapa* where the astrologers of Patan assemble and determine the auspicious time for drawing chariot of Matsyendra Nath. He established the image of Bhairava with *Shakti* and created trust for for the worship of the deity on the full moon day of Indrajatra. According to *Panajus*, (priests of Matsyendra

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[119]. Shakya, f.n. No. 34, p. 10.

[120]. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 62, pp. 247-254.

[121]. *Ibid*, p. 264.

[122]. *Ibid,* pp. 266-267.

[123]. Shakya, f.n. No. 44, pp. b.41-42.

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Nath), Yog Narendra Malla was devoted to Matsyendra Nath. Rice was cooked at Patan Durbar to offer to the deity. It is given as *Prasad* of the deity. The place where the rice is given as *Prasad* is known as Jahwalakhel at present Jawalakhel.

These activities show the religious tendency of king and people. During his time of King Yoganarendra Malla, Buddhism developed. Many inscriptions of Patan attest it. Although, he was Shaivite he was tolerant to other religions. During his time, *Shakti* cult was popular among the Buddhists. He gave a copy of *Karanda Vyuha* containing the history of Matsyendra Nath; written in golden letters to Dharma Raj Pandit of *Onkuli Vihara*. In 1709 A.D (825 N.S.) Hevajra Bhattaraka was offered a golden window. In the same way, Akshokhya *Tathagata* was installed at Svayambhu *Agamghar* of Bunga in 1707 A.D. (827 N.S). Shakya Muni temple was constructed at Iubahil of Chyasal Tole Patan in 1706 A.D. (*Samvat* 826). *Sahastrahuti Yajna* was performed in the presence of Yog Narendra Malla at Janabahal Chowk, Patan in 1706 A.D. (*Samvat* 827) after renovation of Shakya Muni temple. The gracious presence of Yog Narendra Malla in the Buddhist ceremony shows his respect to Buddhism. There was the spontaneous flow of Buddhist feelings mixed with Brahmanical rites during his reign. Dharmaraj Pandit of *Onkuli Vihara* recited *Karenda Vyuha Purana* in Mani Mandap where a stone throne is placed at the centre.

Buddhism flourished in Patan during the rule of the successors of Yoganarendra Malla as they followed the tradition with all sincerity. The Pulchowk *Bahi* inscription dated 1708 A.D. (*Samvat* 828 ) mentions that a golden image of Shakyamuni was established and a trust was created to provide *Dakshina* (cash gift) to one Gubhaju, a priest, a *Bhikshu* and a *Siddha*. It presents the scenario of Buddhists existing during the reign of Indra Malla (1706-1709 A.D.).[124] This reveals the development of sarcedotalism in medieval Nepal and religion based on *Bhakti* cult became syncretic in nature.

### 5.6.1. Development of Buddhism under the Malla Rulers of Bhaktapur

Bhaktapur was a stronghold of Hinduism. However, during Licchavi period, Buddhism developed in Bhaktapur, which is attested by the existence of epigraphic evidence of Chyamhasima. The inscription includes the term *Mahasanghika Bhikshuni Sangh*. To the south of Dattratraya monastery, there is a row of Buddhist *Viharas* uptil now. It is stated

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[124]. Vajracharya, f.n. No. 62, pp. 277-366.

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that Shankaracharya had destroyed the Buddhist *Vihara* there and established Dattatraya monastery in the Buddhist site. In the medieval period *Chaturvrarna Mahavihara* (*Ta-dhi-chhen*) was popular. It was the medieval *Vihara* of Bhaktapur established in 1422 A.D. According to a Buddhist manuscript entitled *Pancha Rakshya*, the ancestors of the people who live in the *Vihara* had migrated from Suratvajra *Mahavihara* in Kathmandu. The main deity of Chaturvana *Mahavihara* is the image of Padmapani Lokeshvara. On the tympanum of the temple is an icon of *Sahasrabhuja* Lokeshvara. Inside the courtyard are two *Caityas* and a *Dharmadhatu Mandal*a. It indicates that in the last quarter of the fifteenth century Lokeshvara was popular in Bhaktapur. The royal Kumari of Bhaktapur has her origin in the monastery. Every day Kumari and *Kwapadya* of the *Vihara* are worshipped. Dipankar Buddha is also worshipped every day over there.[125]

The impact of Nath sect was noticed in Bhaktapur during the reign of Jagat Prakash Malla. He built *Simala-Sneha Mandap* and assigned land to furnish oil for lighting the *Mandap.*

### 5.6.2. Jagajyotir Malla

Levi mentions that Jagajyotir Malla (1617-1630 A.D.) did not neglect the erotic art so important in Sanskrit literature. He selected as a text for his studies, the *Nagarak Sarvasva* (Treasure of urbanities) composed by Buddhist monk Shree Jhana who had received the lessons of the Brahman Basudeva. To complete the teachings bequeathed by these two formidable masters, the king composed a commentary on the work. He composed *Mudita Kuvalayacha,* classical type of drama (heroic comedy) consecrated by Kalidas and Bhavabhuti and (*Hara Gauri Vivaha)* drama.[126]

### 5.6.3. Jitamitra Malla

The reign of Jita Mitra Malla (1672-1696 A.D.) is important from Buddhist point of view. His Kumari Chowk inscription of Bhaktapur Durbar credits him for renovating Yeta Chowk to the west of Mulchowk. He made paintings of *Ashta Matrika* including *Chandi, Yoginigana* on the wall. To the south, he made pillars, doors, windows for decoration. On the corridor in the first floor, he made paintings of Aksobhya Buddha.

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[125]. G. Sayami,"Buddhist Monuments in Bhaktapur", (Bhaktapur : Souvenir Magazine of Bhaktapur Festival 1997), p. 27: Geeta Mandhar, "Tadhichhen, Bhaktapur Buddhist Heritage", *Ibid,* p. 32 .

[126]. Levi, f.n. No. 71, p. 11.

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The painting of Aksobhya Buddha on the wall of the Durbar along with *Ashta Matrika* including *Chandi* shows the kings respect to the Buddhist deities in the stronghold of the Hindus. [127] It indicates his liberal attitude. During his reign a Buddhist *Mahavihara* was established in Bhaktapur. Lumbavarna *Mahavihara* (*Lun Baha*) of Sukul Dhoka bears an inscription of 1670 A.D. Images of Vajrasattva, Amitabha Buddha and Bhimsena were installed in this *Vihara*. It indicates that Vajrayana Buddhism was popular during his reign.

In 1671 Indravarna *Mahavihara* (Inacho *Baha*) was built at Inacho. It has image of Sakyamini Buddha. We have reference of Lokeshvara *Mahavihara* (*Laskadyo*) of Tapalachhi in original style with open space in front of *Vihara*. *Nibaha*, Jetvarna *Mahavihara* is located inside a courtyard at Tekhacho. There is an image of Buddha carved on the top of the *Stupa* which is known as *Kwapadya*. There is also an image of Aksobhya Buddha touching the earth.[128] Jita Mitra Malla's reign is marked by his faith in Buddhism in the medieval period. He had involved the Buddhist community in the activities related to Bhaputindra Malla's wedding ceremony. The caste and sub- castes of the Buddhist involved were Tamot (copper smith),Kansakar (smith on brnze), Lee karmi (worker on lead), Madhikarmi (bread maker), Lohankarmi (worker on stone), Sthapit, Sikarmi (wood workers), Awale (brick makers) and twelve castes of Jyapus such as Jyapu, Suwal, Duwal, Mali, Napit, Chitrakar, Nakarmi, Dalli, Kasahi, Kulu, Jogi, Salmi and Kumal.[129] In 1696 (*Samvat* 816), Jita Mitra Malla and Yog Narendra Malla had concluded a treaty pledging not to interfere on the religions tradition of each others kingdom. The copper plate inscriptions dated 1696 A.D. (N.S. 816), placed at Taleju Chowk Bhaktapur mentions Taleju, Karunamaya, Pashupati, Garud Narayan, Guheshvari, Vajrayogini and Harsiddhi as the witnesses of the inscription. In his inscription, placed on the pedastal of Chandi dated 1681A.D. (N.S. 801), he mentions Chandi as his tutelary deity. He is also credited for making painting of Goddesses at the northern wall of Kumari Chowk. In his inscription incised on the stone cot 1692 A.D. (N.S. 812), he is shown as devotee of *Istadevata* and Pashupati. His association with

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[127]. Mandal, f.n. No .67, pp. 24-25.

[128]. Sayami, f.n. No. 125, p. 8.

[129]. Chunda Vajracharya *Jita Mitra Malla Kalin Dharah Pau*, (List of of the time of Jita Mitra Malla), (Kirtipur : T.U, Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Research Studies, 1996 A.D. (2053 V.S ), p. 18.

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Shreenivas Malla shows his devotion to Matsyendra Nath, Vajrayogini etc. the Buddhist deities.[130]

### 5.6.4. Bhupatindra Malla

Twelve inscriptions of Bhupatindra Malla (1696-1722 A.D.) have been published so far.[131] The pedestal inscription of Hanuman dated 1697 A.D. (817 N.S.) credits him for installing Hanuman facing to the south for the protection of the palace. Similarly we have the image of Hanuman in each and every *Vihara.*[132]

Bhupatindra Malla was equally devoted to Buddhist *Tantric* deities. He built three storied temple of Bhairava for the protection of the country and removal of sin and distress of the people.[133] Bhairava is regarded as Shiva in fearful form. As Bhairava appeared in fearful form, he consulted Buddhists residing near by his palace. They advised the king to establish Goddess (*Ishvari of Tantra Shastra*) whom Bhairava respected. In 1703 A.D. (*Samvat* 823), at an auspicious moment, the *Raja* placed a *Chudamani* in the temple. The *Chudamani* is the jewel worn on the top of the headdress by Goddess. [134] On an auspicious moment, he laid the foundation of a five storied temple which was planned on *Tantric* way by the Buddhist scholar. It is the highest temple of the city. Bhupatindra Malla built it with public support. He also got support from Lalitpur to build the temple. It is attested by the list of the materials collected and resources provided by people. When the temple was finished, he secretly placed a deity of *Tantra Shastra,* who rides *Yamaraj* (supposed to be *Baudhamargi devata*) whom no one is permitted to see. [135] Local people say that Goddess Siddhi Laksmi is installed in the temple. In the terrace of the palace, he placed beautiful images of Varahi, Kumari and Vaishnavi. He also placed Bhairava and Ugra Chandi in the *Nyakhachhen-tava-gol-kwatha,* built by his grand father Jagat Prakash Malla.[136] It indicates his emphasis on *Shakti* cult. Bhupatindra Malla's reign is

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[130]. Mandal, f.n. No. 69. *Abhilekh Sangraha* (collection of Inscription) Part XI, Mahabauddha (Kathmandu: Naya Raj Pant, 1973 A.D, (2020 V.S), pp. 8-10.

[131]. *Ibid,* f.n. No. 69, *Abhilekh Sangraha* Part IV, (Mahabauddha, Kathmandu : Naya Raj Pant, 1973 A.D. (2016 V.S.), pp. 12-14.

[132]. *Ibid,* p. 5.

[133]. Wright, f.n. No. 12, p. 194.

[134]. *Ibid,* p. 194.

[135]. *Ibid,* p. 195.

[136]. Wright, f.n. no. 12, p. 196.

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marked by the development of *Tantric* Buddhism. During his reign Shiva, Shakti and Vaishnu were worshipped in Bhaktapur.

### 5.6.5. Ranajit Malla

Ranjit Malla (1722-1769 A.D.) had composed a hymn (a prayer) of *Panca* Buddha-Vairochana, Aksobhya, Ratna Sambhava, Amitabha and Amoghasiddhi wishing good rainfall for plantation of rice shapling in rainy season. Moreover, the hymn indicates contemporary society based on belief in Buddhist deity like *Padmapani* Lokeshvara (rain God) because Nepalis society in the mediaeval period was based on agro-economy. They pray *Padmapani* Lokeshvara for rainfall. The deity is the one who protected people providing food and happiness (bless) in this life and salvation after death. This is reflected in the hymn.[137] During his reign, Bhaktapur witnessed the development of the Buddhist *Viharas*. In the courtyard of Thathu *Bahi*, Jayakirti *Mahavihara* located next to Na-pukhu (Guhya Pokhari pond) two stone inscriptions dated 1727 and 1731 A.D. are placed. There is a clay icon of Buddha in the form of *Kwapadya* (the Buddha enshrined in a room on the ground floor). There are also other images of Lokeshvara. In the year 1748 A.D. Kuthi *Bahi*, Sukravarna *Mahavihara* was constructed. The *Kwapadyo* is the stone icon of Sakyamuni Buddha. The inscription of the *Vihara* mentions that the *Vihara* was constructed during the reign of King Ranajit Malla.[138]

In the medieval period, the Malla rulers had shown high respect to Buddhism. Medieval inscriptions provide information on Buddhism. Sanskrit manuscripts were preserved by the Buddhist scholars. *Viharas* occupied important place. Vajrayana *Viharas* are the private sanctuaries of a particular lineage of Buddhists called the *Sangha*. Celibate monastic practice vanished. Tenets of Buddhism, whether philosophical or other, were transferred into ritual practice. The Newar Buddhists did not practice the ten *Bhumis*

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137. Wright, f.n. No. 12, pp. 237-239; Shakya describes –"In the hymn Ranajit Malla writes that shapling should be properly planted with spacing neither long nor short. Workers generally make romance at the time of plantation. The king expresses that he himself was ashamed by the jestures of the ladies involved in plantation. The hymn best represents the living culture of Nepal during his reign. Even the king was concerned with the way of plantation wishing good rainfall at the time of plantation. He prayed *Panca* Buddha for good rainfall. It indicates that the people of the Kathmandu Valley including the king wished good rain fall at the time of plantation by bless of Svayambhu. They make enjoyment while planting the shappling." The extract shows that Svayambhu is the supreme Buddha who peovides rain and sun. Children sing a song wishing sun in the morning in winter and farmers wish rain during plantation season.

138. Sayami, f.n. No.125, p.28.

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(grounds) and six *Paramitas* (perfections). They believed that the ritual practice will bring desired result. Medieval inscriptions and other documentary sources reveal that a large number of *Viharas* were established in the Kathmandu Valley. They were lavishly decorated and were rich in art works. The Newar Buddhist scholars showed high degree of their scholarship in logic, *Yoga*, and *Tantra*.[139] Pt. Badri Ratna Vajracharya has given the account of 32 renowned Vajracharyas of Nepal. Buddhist scholastic activities developed in the medieval Nepal. Nepalis scholars played important role in developing scholastic activities not only in the country but also in Tibet. They became very prominent in Tibet.[140]

To sum up S. Thapa version, Buddhism continued to develop in Nepal throught the medieval period. It became very strong during that period. Buddhist art, architecture, scholarship and Buddhist Sanskrit literature developed. The tradition is also termed as Sanskrit Buddhism. Nepal became the centre for Buddhist scholars. Medieval period marked rapid changes in Newar Buddhism. This period transferred Vajracharya tradition into ritual Buddhism in which ritual became more prominent than philosophical inquiry. Consequently no attention was paid to *Bodhisattva Bhumis* and *Paramitas* as mentioned above through the practice. From ancient times to the medieval period liberal individual donors contributed and built various spectacular *Viharas* but after the end of Malla period

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[139]. Shanker Thapa, *Newar Buddhism, History, Scholarship And Literature*, (Lalitpur : Nagajuna Publication Pvt. Ltd., 2005 A.D.), pp. 14-16.

[140]. Badri Ratna Vajracharya, *Prasidha Vajracharyapinigu Samshipta Parichaya* (Short Introduction of the Renowned Vajracharyas of Nepal) (Kathmandu : Hira Shobha Tuladhar, 1989 A.D. (1109 N.S.), p. Na. "The names of the renowned Vajracharyas are- Manjudevacharya, Shantikaracharya, Vacha Siddhi, Uddiyanacharya, Vandhudatta Acharya, Vajrapad Vajracharya, Omkaravajra Vajracharya, Hunkaravajra Vajracharya, Sasvatvajra Vajracharya, Vakavajra Vajracharya, Paramadivajra Vajracharya, Ratnavajra Vajracharya, Suratvajra Vajracharya, Jiva Chandra Vajracharya, Leelavajra Vajracharya, Manjuvajra Vajracharya, Amoghavajra Vajracharya, Vandakritadeva Vajracharya, Siddhivajra Vajracharya, Hasavajra Vajracharya, Vilashvajra Vajracharya, Mahasukhavajra Vajracharya, Shreevajra Vajracharya, Anupavajra Vajracharya, Vikramavajra Vajracharya, Munindravajra Vajracharya, Bhimavajra Vajracharya, Meetavajra Vajracharya, Samarasa Vajracharya, Tathagata Vajracharya, Svayambhu Ratna Vajracharya, Indravajra Vajracharya." The names of other prominent Vajracharyas are also referred by Shanker Thapa which are as as follows- ".Shilamanju, Bodhigupta, Vagisvarakirti, Shanti Bhadra, Ratnakarashanti,Anantashree, Gautamashree, Shubhashree, Ravindra, Vajrakarajiva, Kirtishreejnana, Vibratachandrapala,Biramati, Ratnarakshita, Kshemendra, Shreejnananda,Shreejnanakirtisena, Subodhajiva." Thapa writes- "The term" Vajracharya" denotes one who studied with *Sthavira* in *Vihara* and lived according to prescribed rules of Newar tradition. The incumbent initially becomes a novice (Shramaner). His head is shaved under a ritual process at the presence of *Sthavira* and then conferred upon *Prvarajyasamvara*" "ompletion of the studies which goes up to 20 years too, the *Bhikshu* returns to worldly life. Then he is conferred upon the *Acharyaluyegu* initiation. Gradually, the tradition marked changes." (Thapa. up cit.p..35)

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not a single *Vihara* was constructed in the Kathmandu Valley. However a large number of Tibetan *Gumbas* came up and they were laviously decorated and ornamented. [141]

*Pravajyabhishekh* is regarded as one of the most important rituals for entry in the *Sangha*. This ritual entitled the Shakyas and Vajracharyas to enter to their respective *Sangha*. In this connection Itumbahal model is replicable in every *Sangha* of Kathmandu. In Itumbahal, the Shakyas and Vajracharyas perform a ritual of monkhood for four days only. The ritual *Pravajyabhishekh* (monkhood) is performed on the courtyard of Keshachandra Sanskarit Parivrata *Mahavihara* by the Buddhist priests attired in the traditional dress. They hold their sons while the boy's maternal uncles tonsure them. Their paternal aunts collect the hair as part of ritual. Male children of twelve to fourteen years are brought to the monastery for induction to monkhood called *Pravajyabhishekh* at least for four consequtive days, reminding the children of their glorious past that they belong to family in which Lord Buddha was born. For four days the children have to live a very strict and disciplined life as a monk. As per ritual, the monks go door to door seeking alms at least for seven houses every day. Finally on the last day, they go to Svayambhu *Stupa* to revert back to normal life. This ritual is performed by *Chha Sangha* and *Ba Sangha* (*Bahal Sangha*). Some parts of the ritual as the collection of the hair of the novice resembles with the *Upanayana* ceremony of the Hindus. In Itumbahal, there are twelve *Thapajus*, the chief priests to conduct different religious activities including *Pravajyabhishekh* ritual. [142] *Pravjyabhishekh*, (*Barechhuyegu)* is slightly different in Patan from Buddhist *Viharas* of Kathmandu. Only those initiated within the lineage become members of the *Sangha*. This ritual is performed on an auspicious day and there is no age limit for participation in this ritual. Generally the male children of the *Sangha* members are initiated between the ages of five and seven._[143] During medieval period, all the three cities of the Kathmandu Valley, practised Vajrayana Buddhism based on *Tantricism*. Svayambhu was venerated as the

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141. Thapa, f.n. No 139, p.85-87. Thapa writes -" the Newar Buddhist scholars in Patan and Kathmandu were the masters of *Tantra*, philosophy and logic and secret precepts. They produced the *Carya* songs and ritual books (*vidhi*) The Nepalese Buddhist scholars glorified the Nepalese society. The wide spread ritual practice in Vajrayana *Viharas* and the transformation of celibate monasticism into married householders life led the break down of Newar Buddhist scholarship. The Buddhist heritage of Nepal is rich in tradition as well as rituals. Contibution of the Nepalese Buddhists in the region is very much appreciated."

142. The Kathmandu Post, Feb. 5, 2001, p. 4.

143. Thapa and Bajracharya, f.n. No. 20, pp. 119-120.

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patron deity. Padmapani Lokeshvara was taken as rain God. Svayambhu, entreated by Brahma, Vishnu, and Maheshvara, Indra and Lokapalas and noose of all the three *yanas* was regarded as the Supreme super natural deity or *Adi* Buddha or *Sadguru.* Bungamati inscription equates *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu with Shambhu. Therefore, Buddhism in medieval Nepal seems to have been based on theism which was supposed to be the traditional Buddhism of Nepal. Some orthodox Buddhists do not agree it. According to them Svayambhu exists in the form of *Sunyata* and cosmis forces as ultimate reality of the world. In Buddhism, Kumari is worshipped as Shakti. In all the three cities of the Kathmandu Valley, the Malla rulers had *Kumarichhen* or *Kumari Ghar* where vergin girls are worshipped by the kings as living Goddess who are the daughters of *Vandye.* This tradition is still continued.

The above mentioned accounts clearly indicate that the Malla rulers of the Valley although were the followers of Shaivism and Shaktism, they made no difference between Buddha and Shiva, Svayambhu and Shambhu. Hinduism slowly penetrated in Buddhism. It is stated that *Tantrism* and *Bhakti* cult mixed both the cults as water in the milk. However, it is apparent that Buddhism adopted Brahmanical deities in the cosmogony of Buddhism. Syncretism was the order of the day.

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# CHAPTER VI

# History of Buddhism in Modern Nepal

## 6.1. Background

The history of Buddhism in modern period is marked by the spirit of toleration, although the rulers were Hindus. The sense of spirituality appealed the people of this region. They respected each others faith.The Lamas and holy sages were vererated. Although the rulers had faith on Hindu deities they equally respected the Buddhist deities. Religious toleration was the feature of the days. The general people were moved by devotional sense.and aimed at spiritual unity. The history of Buddhism in the eighteenth century is marked by the ethos of the people of Nepal. As mentioned earlier Vajra Bhairava was worshipped during the reign of Shivadeva II in Gorkha. The Gorkha Nath.grotto inscription indicates the prevelance of Vajra Bhairava cult in Gorkha since Licchavi period. During that period the deity was venerated not only in the Kathmandu Valley but also outside it.[1] At present the Vajra Bhairava shrine is located at the upper *Kot* of the Gorkha Durbar. There is no idol in the shrine. However, the deity is worshipped up to the present time by *Guthi Sansthan* (Trust Corporation) without any idol. Min Bahadur Shakya quoting *Guhya Samaja Tantra* explains that Yamantaka Vajra Bhairava is one of the many forms of Yamantaka. Its legend is related with *Bodhisattva* Manjushree who took the wrathful form of Vajra Bhairava to subdue the *Yama* (Lord of death). Its story is related with the Bonpo ascetic of Tibet. Yamantaka, Vajra Bhairava with bull's head belongs to one of the ten wrathful deities of Vajrayana Buddhism.[2] Gorkha venerated

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1. Tulasi Ram Vaidya and Dhanavajra Vajracharya (ed), *Gorkhako Aitihasik Samagri*, (Historical Materials of Gorkha) (Kirtipur : Nepal Adhyan Santhan Prakashanmala 2. (Institute of Nepal Studies. 2029 V.S (1972 A.D), p. 11. The Gorkhanath Groto inscription mentions-"Vajra Bhairava Bhattaraka... Karuna Bhagavatodattani". "There is still a Vajra Bhairava shrine in the upper kot of Gorkha Durbar.
2. Min Bahadur Shakya, *The Iconography of Nepalese Buddhism*, (Kathmandu : Handicraft Association of Nepal, 1997), p A.D., p. 4. Shakya personally communicates that Vajra Bhairava known as Dorje Jerhed is well depicted in the three dimentional *Mandala* of Kapan monastery in Kathmandu at present. Thus the deity seems to have its origin in Tibet according to a legend. The present border of

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Vajra Bhairava and Manakamana. The priest of Manakamana was initiated by Vajracharya. This indicates the pursuits of Vajrayana Buddhism in Gorkha. Lakhan Thapa Magar, the priest of Manakamana, was also ordained by the Vajracharyas. Lakhan Thapa was supposed to be the *Siddha* of Vajrayana Buddhism. It is stated that during that time, the kingdom of Gorkha worshipped Goddess Manakamana according to Vajrayana ritual. Prithvi Narayan Shah, the great king of Gorkha endowed land for the worship at the grotto of Lakhan Thapa located to the north above Manakamana temple.[32]

Historians have divided the political history of Nepal and they mention that modern history of Nepal begins with the advent of Prithvi Narayan Shah in the political arena of Nepal. From religious point of view, Gorkha Nath grotto was the holy shrine for the ascetic of the Nath sect. As discussed in the earlier chapter, Gorkha Nath was a *Siddha* from India. In the beginning, he was a Buddhist *Bhikshu* named Ramana Vajra. Later, he became *Siddha* practicing *Hathayoga.* He is referred as following Shaivism to please the contemporary rulers of Nepal. He emphasized on the importance of *Yoga* and supported the house-holders who were in touch with the *Yogis.* He was one of the nineth *Siddha* among the eigthty four *Siddhas.* Rahul Sankrityayana mentions that the Nath sect renounced atheism and became theist in practice. In their teachings, one can find the elements of *Nirvana*, *Sunyavada* and Vajrayana elements. [4] Gorkha Nath was the follower of Mahi Nath sect. The Hindus regard Gorkha Nath, as the incarnation of Lord Shiva as Shankaracharya. Detail research on it, has not been done so far. The Shah rulers of Gorkha venerated Goddess Kali and Gorkha Nath. During the time of Ram Shah (1609-1636 A.D.) they followed *Dharma Shastra.* They had the system of *Dharmadhikari and Raj Guru.* One of the royal priests was chosen as *Dharmadhikari.* [5] The Shah rulers of Gorkha were impressed by the architectural style of the temples of the Kathmandu Valley. D. R. Regmi writes that the rulers of the hilly region and the rulers of

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Gorkha touches the Tibetan region. In the 18th century the people of Gorkha seem to have venerated the Lama *Guru* and impressed by the cult prevalent in Tibet.

3. Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha, *Shahkalka Abhilekh* (Inscription of Shah Period), (Kirtipur : Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies 1980 A.D. (2037 V.S), p. 69.

4. Bhuwan Lal Pradhan, *Nepalma Baudha Dharnma*, (Buddhism in Nepal) (Kathmandu : Royal Nepal Academy, 1968 A.D. (2045 V.S.), p. 130. cf. Rahul Sankrityayana, *Purattva Nivandavali* (Archaeological essays) pp. 132-133.: Hari Prasad Dawadi, *Nath Sampradaya,* (Illahabad : 1950, pp. 54-96.

5 Raja Ram Subedi, "Nepalma Dharmadhikariharu *Ancient Nepal*, No. 91, (Kathmandu : DOA, 1985-1986 A.D.), p. 13.

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the Valley had a treaty of non aggression pact for unity, in view of the threatening of the Mughal attack. It was concluded in Patan at the *Upanayana* ceremony of Yog Narendra Malla during the time of Shreenivas Malla. At that time Aurangzeb threatened the Hindu rulers and destroyed the temple of Vishva Nath in Benares. It showed the unity and solidarity of the rulers of that time in persuits of their creeds. [6] The predecessors of the great king Prithvi Narayan Shah followed Hindu religion as the Malla rulers of the Kathmandu Valley. As such, they worshipped mother divinities. The Sena rulers of the south east of the Kathmandu Valley followed Vaishnava sect. Its impact was visible in this region during that time. They fostered the liberal idea by respecting each other's faith. The preaching of the sages and *Siddhas* attracted the rulers and the ruled. The sense of spiritual feeling was one of the significant features of modern Nepal.

### 6.2.1. Prithvi Narayan Shah

In the eighteenth century, the great king of Gorkha, Prithvi Narayan Shah (1743-1775 A.D.) conquered the three Malla kingdoms of the *Nepal Mandala* and the three kingdoms of the Sena rulers of the east. In the political history of Nepal, he is credited for making the history of modern Nepal. His mission of unification was followed by his successors. It is obvious that the Shah rulers followed the policy of aggression. Historians refer that his conquest to the east was the act of aggression. It is also mentioned that the Shah rulers were inspired by the saints, the Lama *Gurus* and they were devoted to Bhairava and the mother Goddess *Shakti*. Gorkha Nath grotto inscription gives the account of the worship of Vajra Bhairava since ancient time in Gorkha as mentioned above. Prithvi Narayan Shah is referred to have respected the long honored cultural tradition of Nepal. Like the three medieval palaces of the Kathmandu Valley and Buddhist *Viharas*, Prithvipati Shah installed the image of Hanuman in Hanuman Bhanjyang near Gorkha Durbar. [7]

Although the Shah rulers of Gorkha followed Hinduism they were tolerant to other religions also. They tried to win over the *Lamas* staying in the northern part of Gorkha. Moreover, Buddhism was being more popular among the people, and it being social force, the rulers wished to win their support in their favour. Narabhupal Shah, grandson of Prithvipati Shah and son of Bir Bhadra Shah, also cherished the dream of moving to

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6 D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 750- 530 A.D. (Calcutta : Firma K.L Mukhopadyaya, 1965), p. 541.

7 Vaidya and Vajracharya, f.n. No. 1. p. 6.

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the east. As the first step of this mission, he tried to win over the Lama of Rasuwa, lying on the trade route to Tibet towards Kerung to his side. The copper plate inscription dated 1741 A.D. mentions that Narabhupal Shah gave Nakathali *Gumba* to Lopa *Lama* as *Kush Virta* (land endowment). The king authorized the *Lama* of the *Gumba* to command the village of the *Gumba* land. The villagers had to work as ordered by the *Lama*. This authority was given to *Lama* to win over the *Lama* to his side in order to advance to the east. *Tantric* worship of mother divinities was popular in Gorkha also. It is stated that different *Tantras* like '*Chamunda Tantra' Vrihad Dharma Purana, Malini Vijaya, Shakti Sangam Tantra, Guhyati Guhya Tantra* were recited to invoke Goddess Kali. Goddess Kali is worshipped with the spell of *Mantra* (spell words) of *Tantra*. According to *Tantra*, Goddess Kali is regarded as one of the deities of *Dasa Mahavidya. Tantra Chintamani* refers to Goddess Kali as *Shyama*. The deities of *Dasa Mahavidya* appear in the form *of Saptamatrika, Ashtamatrika, Navagauri and Navadurga*. A palm leaf of 1106 A.D. (226 N.S.) includes paintings of *Saptasati* in the name of *Dasha Mahavidya*. In the shrine of Kali in Gorkha Dubar, Goddess Kali is worshipped with great respect.[8]

Prithvi Narayan Shah is referred to in the context of glorifying Buddhist rites and rituals. Although, he was born and brought up as a Hindu, he had equal respect for Buddhism. D.R.Regmi describes the early career of the great king Prithvi Narayan Shah who was educated to be an ideal king by his guardian mother Chandra Prabhavati.[9]

To cite S.Levi's version, the great king made religious policy. Gorkha followed Hindu religion, respected cows and Brahminic doctrine. Brahmins of Gorkha belonging to Kanyakubja clan followed *Shakti* rites according to *Tantra*. The spiritual teacher, *Guru* and domestic priests, *Purohitas* observed the rites of *Dharmashastra.*[10]. Chronicles

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8. Vishnu Kant Sharma," Dhading Janaki Tripura Sundari", *Abhilekh*, year 13, No. 13, (Kathmandu: National Archives, 1995 A.D (2051 V.S.), p. 12.

9. D.R. Regmi, *Modern Nepal*, Vol. I, (Calcutta : Firma K.L. Mukhopadyay, 1975 A.D First Edition), pp. 44-45.

10. Sylvan Levi, "Nepal", *Ancient Nepal*, No. 49-52, (Kathmandu : DOA, 978-1979, A.D), pp.7-10. Levi writes-"The Gorkha .....exercises the Hindu religion and willingly stand as champions for it. They have reduced the dogmas to an article of faith alone: the respect of cow seems up for them the Brahmanic doctrine." "In Nepal, the slaying of cow is punished with capital punishment - death. A simple act of brutality committed on a cow is punished with imprisonment for life" "In any case, the capital punishment could not be passed against the Brahman. The most serious penalty that could be inflicted on him is perpetual imprisonment with the forfeiture of his caste." Levi further adds that "the Brahmans of Gorkha belong to the Kanyakubja clan, devoted to Shakti rites and recognize the authority of *Tantra*" "The erudités are scarce; astrology is the most cultivated science. Among them the highest bears the title of *Upadhyaya*. They belong to school of *Yajurveda*. They serve as '*Gurus*'

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glorify the early career of Prithvi Narayan Shah. According to it, his mother Kausalyavati had swallowed the sun in her dream. He got blessings from Gorakha Nath. He had the audience of Indrayani Bhairavi, Goddess of Dhading Salyankot, in the form of a girl (virgin) who called herself as the daughter of the priest as per *Divya Upadesh.*[11]

Legends mention that he received *Prasad* (bliss) from Bhairava and blue lotus from *Kumari* (Virgin Goddess) at Kumari Chowk in Bhaktapur Durbar when he was the guest of Ranjit Malla. Wright edited chronicle mentions that a *jyapu* (farmer) had seen a strange sight at Devkhel located to the south of Matsyendrapur (Bungamati). He saw a Bhairava who asked food from Matsyendra who told him to go to Gorkha and enjoy the sovereignty of that country. Bhairava said if Matsyendra would give him sovereignty of Nepal, he would go to Gorkha.[12] These legends seem to glorify the great king as the incarnation of divinity and show that he possessed divine bliss from the patron deities of Nepal such as Matsyendra and Bhairava also. Moreover, the legends indicate that Prithvi Narayan Shah had support of Hindu and Buddhist population of Nepal. It is stated that when Prithvi Narayan Shah encountered any difficulty, he used to make a vow to worship Goddess Manakamana, Kali, patron deities of Gorkha Durbar. He was a devotee of Shiva and Shakti. However, he had faith on *Adi* Buddha, Svayambhu, *Bodhisattva,* Matsyendra Nath, the Buddhist deities. This reveals his policy of religious toleration. Almost all the Shah Kings followed the same policy.

### 6.2.2. Lama's Meritorious Act on the Birth of Prithvi Narayan Shah

We have a religious belief that Prithvi Narayan was conceived on the merits of religious rites based on Vajrayana Buddhism. To summarize a traditional version, Narabhupal Shah had no issue for a long time. In the initial period, both his queens Chandra Prabhavati and Kausalyavatidevi had no issue. It was known that there lived a great *Lama* in Tibet named Deva Dharma. It was suggested if the *Lama* perform religious rites, the king would be booned with issue. On that, king Narabhupal Shah consulted his *Rajguru*

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(spiritual teacher) and as '*Purohitas*' (domestic priests). The first in the dignity is the spiritual teacher of the king (*Raja Guru).* He prescribes the rites of Hindu purity. He is known as *Dharmadhikari.* He penalizes the law breakers as per *Dharmashastra.* The priest Mauleswar taught *Veda* to Prithvi Narayan Shah".

11. The Department of Archaeology, HMG, Ministry of Education and Culture *Divya Upadesh,* (Kathmandu : 1921 A.D. (2038 V.S), p. 14.

12. Daniel wright, *History of Nepal,* (New Delhi, Madras : Asian Educational Services, 1993), pp. 197-198.

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(royal preceptor), ministers and courtiers on this matter. They advised the king to call the *Lama* for performing religious rites. With this advice, the king invited the great *Lama* by sending messenger to Tibet. At first the great *Lama* sent a message that he was too busy to come to Gorkha. Later on the king sent a *Sardar* to Tibet to bring the *Lama* to Gorkha insisting the *Lama* to visit Gorkha. The *Lama* came to Gorkha and performed sacramental rites. He made prophesy that with the merit of the sacrament, the king would have a son who would be a great ruler in the future. Being pleased to hear it, the king gave him a decree that whatever his son would earn in future, a part of the territory would be given to the Lama. In the reign of Rana Bahadur Shah, grandson of Prithvi Narayan Shah a representative of the great *Lama* of Tibet came with a decree (*Lal Mohar*) to the court of the king. Rana Bahadur Shah granted twenty plots of land which included fifteen to twenty villages to Tibetan *Lama* in 1786 A.D. (Saka Samvat 1708.). The great *Lama* of Tibet made Deva Dharma *Gumba* at Svayambhu to the west of Amitabha Buddha and Harati temple. Out of the royal grant, he created a trust for worshipping the *Gumba* from time to time. [13] Thus Prithvi Narayan Shah is referred in the account in the context of Tibetan Lama. Although, he was brought up in close association followers of Nath sect impact of Vajrayana Buddhism was there in Gorkha. The people of Gorkha during that time believed that worship of female divinities provides *Bhukti* and *Mukti* (enjoyment and salvation). While waging wars, Gorkhalis wished empowerment by the mother divinities and protecting deities. "*Jai Jai Kali, Jai Jai Gorkha, Jai Jai Manakamana*" (Triumph with Goddess Kali, Manakamana and Gorakha Nath) were the *Jayaghosh* raised by them. Gorakha Nath is regarded as the incarnation of Shiva and Kali as his spouse. They believed that victory in the battle is ensured only by devotion of Kali. The Gorkha army worshipped *Shakti* in the form of *Nisan and Maulo* sacrificing animals like goats, buffaloes etc. This sense of spirituality guided the army. Prithvi Narayan Shah waged wars in the name of the deities and made vow to worship the deities with animal sacrifices and endowment of land after getting victory. He became the devotee of Bhairava and Bhairavi after his conquest of Nuwakot. There is a tradition of worshipping Bhairavi of Nuwakot in the *Tantric* manner by Vajracharya of Jhwabahal, Kathmandu. Bhairava is worshipped as dispenser of evils. The objects of worship consisted of the rites and rituals of Vajrayana Buddhism in the *Tantric* manner. *Purascharan* is observed for

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13. Hem Raj Shakya, *Shree Swayambhu Mahachaitya*, (Kathmandu : Swayambhu Vikas Mandal, 1978 A.D. (1098 A.D.), pp. 267-268.

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self purification. *Bhakal* (vow to worship) the deity was made at critical time of the battle. After the victory of Nuwakot, the temple of Nuwakot Bhairava was embellished with golden gate, golden temple and sacrifice of 102 buffaloes. This indicates a particular form of appeasing the deity. Prithvi Narayan Shah respected the deities already established before him. Pilgrimage to *Gosain Kunda* was the tradition followed by *Gosains*, the followers of Shaivism in the medieval time. Prithvi Narayan Shah offered Dhaibung village and other lands for *Sadavarta Guthi* (trust for feeding the mendicants with supply of minimum food grains and fuel) after his victory of Nuwakot. It is stated that *Siddha* Avasti (Gulab Ram Siddha) performed '*Khadga Siddhi*' for victory of Prithvi Narayan Shah aimed for empowerment to conquer Nuwakot. After consecration the *Siddha* Avasti handed over *Khadga* (sword) to Prithvi Narayan Shah before his visit to Benares (Kasi). This enhanced the morale of the king. It is said that this particular sword is still preserved in *Kot Bhandar (*arsenal store) of Hanuman Dhoka. [14]

After the conquest of the Kathmandu Valley, Prithvi Narayan Shah exchanged *Khadga* (sword) with Pachali Bhairava and Bhadrakali in the classical dance which is performed once in twelve years. It is stated that he got divine empowerment from the deities. Bhadrakali is also known as Rudrakali. It is still practised in the Valley. He believed in the spirituality of divine empowerment. As mentioned earlier, Prithvi Narayan Shah, after his conquest of Nuwakot, extended hid his authority over the area of the forest where tall trees are available. For conservation of Svayambhu *Mahacaitya,* a central timber had to be replaced. Vajra Chhewang Norbu (Vajra Ayurismani *Lama*) proposed to conserve the *Mahacaitya* at the request of Jaya Prakash Malla. Prithvi Narayan Shah, the king of Gorkha offered central timber for conservation of Svayambhu *Mahacaitya.* As the conservation work was in process, the *Lama* had to rush hurriedly to Mayurti to avert Lahore's invasion. The conservation work was stopped for some years. In 1758 A.D. (878 N.S.), Megha Sarvajna Lama came to Nepal and continued the work. Regarding the offer of central timber for conservation of Svayambhu *Stupa* by the king of Gorkha, P. Landon commenting on this event remarks that he (the king of Gorkha) knew how to take advantage of every opportunity. [15] Landon tried to show that the offer of the central

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[14]. Vajracharya and Shrestha, f.n. No. 3, pp. 359-365.

[15]. Perceval Landon, *History of Nepal, Vol. I* (Delhi : Adarsh Enterprises, Reprinted, 2001 A.D.), p. 58. Summing up M.Levi's version Landon writes-" So far as he was concerned religion, priests and Gods

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timber to Svayambhu is not related with spirituality of the king rather it is his political manuvering. However, it is obvious that the inscription placed beside the temple of Harati, mentions the account of the liberal offer of both the kings of Gorkha and Kantipur during the time of conservation. The inscription inscribed on black stone is in *Ranjana* script in *Nepal Bhasa* and *Uchhen* script in Tibetan language. The inscription mentions that Vishnu helped in the form of Brahman in the selection of the timber to be used as central timber of *Mahacaitya*. It shows the cultural co operation of the time. It should not be interpreted in the distorted manner. Considering the remarks of Landon from cultural point of view, it seems to be prejudicial and negative interpretation. It may also be taken as the expression of the reverence to *Adi Buddha Svayambhu*. The act may not be taken as any shrewd attempt. Landon took the act from his own angle which seems to be prejudicial. He did not realize the cultural background of the time. He ignored the theistic attitude and policy of the great king. He did not visualize Gorkha venerated Vajra Bhairava since ancient time. Vajrayana Buddhism has tied Buddhism, Hinduism and Bonism. Dhanavajra writes that *Tantrism* has narrowed down the gulf between the two main sects i.e. Hinduism and Buddhism. Some scholars have also shown similarity between Hinduism and Bonism. Both the religions believe in Shamanism, devil worship and worship of natural objects. Vajrayana adopted all the deities into its sect. So it is also known as the latest form of Buddhism meant for the people with sharp intellect. Scholars remark that metaphoric approach of Vajrayana Buddhism is not limited to linear approach only. Therefore, the liberal policy of Prithvi Narayan Shah in any way should not be misinterpreted negatively. Prithvi Narayan Shah had great regard to Svayambhu. So, he made the noble offer. After his conquest of the Kathmandu Valley, he did not create any obstruction on the continuation of traditional festivals, mode of worship, rites and rituals. He revived the *Samyek* festival observed in every twelve years.[16]

Prithvi Narayan Shah constituted a tribunal for looking into affairs of *Samyak Mahadana Guthi*. In this festival, all Dipankar Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas* are taken to Bhuikhyo (*Bhoyekhyo*) at the fort of Svayambhu hill. Svayambhu is put at the top of the row. The reigning king is worshipped as *Bodhisattva*. This festival is continued. Shakya further

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themselves were nothing but instruments put at his service for the achievement of the empire, he coveted."

16 Hariscandra Lal Singh, *Buddhism in Nepal, A Brief Historical Introductio)*, (Lalitpur : Satish Singh, *1990), p. 58.*

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mentions that Prithvi Narayan Shah had signed a *Dharmapatra* with the Lamas of Kuti in 1755 A.D. (1812V.S) relating to the minting of gold coin to Tibet. In the *Dharmapatra,* "*Shree Simbhukshetra, Shree Buddha*" are mentioned as witness. This shows his devotion to Svayambhu. [17]

In course of victory campaign, Prithvi Narayan Shah in 1765 A.D. (885 N.S.) had posted the troops in the holy spot of upper part of Svayambhu hillock (Bhimdhunga?). This aroused suspicion on the design of the conqueror. Therefore, Palden Yeshe Tashi (Shreejnana Mangal) the incarnate *Lama* of Tibet had warned Prithvi Narayan Shah that his military operation should refrain from destruction of the Kathmandu city which belonged to Krakucchanda Buddha, prior Buddha to Sakyamuni Buddha. In his letter, he stated that he would not destroy Shantipur, the abode of Chakrasamvara and Mahasamvara and Svayambhu *Caitya*. He was warned that destruction of these holy sites would not be beneficial to his personal body. He also suggested not destroying other temples too. [18]

Prithvi Narayan Shah had deep respect to Svayambhu which is renovated according to the *Dharmapatra* signed with the Lama of Kuti. Prithvi Narayan Shah kept the cultural activities of Kathmandu intact. On the day of *Indra Jatra,* he occupied Kathmandu. He received *Prasad* from Kumari (virgin Goddess), Ganesh and Bhairava after paying homage to these deities. He continued the tradition. He made Kathmandu, his capital. However, he did not neglect Nuwakot. In a copper plate given to his daughter Vilash Kumari in 1766 A.D., Hakudeva, the *Dhami* of Nuwakot remained as witness. In the *Devijatra*, the ritual of *Nyas* (placing force) of Bhairava and Bhairavi on *Dhami* and *Dhamini* is performed. In other words Bhairava and Bhairavi are animated on the body of Vajracharya and his wife. On the day of *Vaisakh Krishna Chaturthi* (March), he had established a system of *Khatjatra* of Nuwakot Bhavagavati. It is brought to Hanumandhoka on the day of *Dwadashi.*[19]

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17. Hem Raj Shakya, *Samyek Mahadan Guthi*, (Kathmandu : Jagatdhar Tuladhar, 1990), pp.58:240-241. cf. Shree Panch Prithvinarayana Shahko Upadesh Vyakhya (Explanation of the great Preachings of His Majesty the great king Prithvi Narayana Shah), p. 956
18. Shakya, f.n.No13, pp.258-259, cf Biography *of Palden Yeshe Tashi, Part I*, 289; *Prithvi Narayan Shah's Career and conquest of Nepal*, p. 161.
19. Vajracharya and Shrestha, f.n. No. 3, pp. 111-112

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A copper plate relating to the endowment of land for (*Guthi)* trust mentions *Dhami* Krishnadeva, son of Hakudeva. Prithvi Narayan Shah had made land endowment for the *Jatra* of Salyankot Bhagavati, Nuwakot Bhairavi and other shrines of Nepal. From 1744 - 1768 A.D., he made Nuwakot his capital. During the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah Nuwakot practised Buddhism. The inscription of 1773 A.D. (893 N.S.) records that those two women donors made *Dharmadhatu Caitya* and established a *Guthi* (Trust) at Ashokbari *Caitya*. It was the *Guthi* of Vajracharyas. He had deep love for Nuwakot. It is obvious that even after he made Kathmandu the capital of Nepal, he made Nuwakot, a living city. He appointed a *Dware* (chief) over there for religious and cultural rejuvenations. [20]

Prithvi Narayan Shah had given the title of *Dharmadhikari* to one of the royal priests and *RajPandits* (royal scholars). The *Rajguru* (Royal Preceptor) assisted the king in administration of justice. The *Rajguru* acted as the *Dharmadhikari* (Chief Justice) also. He exercised his authority according to *Dharmashastra*. Shree Harsa Mishra was the *Rajguru* of Prithvi Narayan Shah. [21] He had expelled the Capuchin missionaries from Nepal in 1769 A.D. S.Levi mentions the policy of the king. [22] Levi's remark presents a dark picture of Buddhism during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah. But his remark regarding disgrace of Buddhism does not appear to be correct. Nepal followed Vajrayana Buddhism during that period because Vajrayana of that time seems to have assimilated Brahmanical deities also. Although, the Shah rulers were Hindus, they had equal respect for Vajrayana Buddhism. They continued the old age tradition of religious syncretism. The version of Levi seems to be the impact of colonial history writing. A scholar writes that Prithvi Narayan Shah used religion as a means to his political end. He writes that Bhaktapur revolted for eighteen times after the occupation of the city by Prithvi Narayan Shah. He brought eighty ascetics from Benares. Their heads were shaved and they were sent, from door to door wearing the yellow dress of *Bhikshus*. The *Bhikshus* told the

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20. *Ibid*, p. 111-112.

21. Tulasi Ram Vaidya and Triratna Manandhar, *Adhunik Nepalko Prashanik Itihas*, (Administrative History of Modern Nepal), (Kirtipur : Research centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1996 A.D (2053 V.S),p..9

22. Levi,"Nepal" *Ancient Nepal*, No 25, (*Kathmandu:* DOA, 1974 A.D), p. 69. Levi writes- "The Gorkhas did not change the policy of isolation. The Capuchins had found exceptionally favourable position under the dynasty of the Mallas. The road of Lhasa opened. Nepal welcomed Buddhism. The country was prosperous. Science and art respected. Literature well received. The country conquered by the Gorkhas was strictly closed. Buddhism disgraced and fallen, suspision, violence and brutality were all powerful."

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people that the new king simply wanted two letters to be added to his *Virudavali* (titles) i.e. (ma and ha) Maharaja. He would not remain in the city and would go back to Gorkha. The people expressed their view that they did not care for that. Since then there was no revolt. [23]

### 6.3.1. Pratap Simha Shah

Pratap Simha Shah (1775-1777 A.D.): Pratap Simha Shah, son and successor of Prithvi Narayan Shah was also a practioner of *Tantrism.* He was famous for composition of a treatise. He wrote *Purascharyanava* on the basis of *Tantra.* It is known as *Agam Shastra.*[24] *Tantrism* was very popular during his reign. In those days the Vandyas performed *Purascharan* for fulfillment of desired objective. DOA Chronicle mentions that he was astonished to see *Acharyas* performing *Yajna* at the court yard of his Durbar at *Trishul Davali* (a pavellion) He had idea that only the Brahmans perform *Yajna* (fire sacrifice). So he asked how the *Acharyas* not being Brahmans performed *Yajna.* He came to know that the *Acharyas* perform *Yajna* according to the *Tantra Shastra.* Then, he consulted the book of *Tantra.* As *Guru* was needed to practise *Tantra* for ordination, he made Kirtirajananda Upadhyaya of Patan as his *Guru.* Pratap Simha Shah and his uncle Bahadur Shah were ordained in *Tantra* invoking Guhesvari. [25] *Pandit* Vraja Nath and Shyam Lal Mishra gave coronation to Pratap Simha Shah. Vraja Nath was from Rishing of Western Nepal. Pandit Vraja Nath was appointed to train Pratap Simha Shah when he was a crown prince. However, he could not bring out any change in the attitude of the crown prince. The crown prince was much more inclined towards the *Tantrism.* Vraja Nath however, convinced Pratap Simha Shah on the devotion of Guheshvari. While practicing *Tantrism,* he came in contact with a young Newar girl, Maiju, a daughter of Dhanavanta Pradhan who joined Prithvi Narayan Shah during the time of Tejnarasimha Malla of Patan. A virgin girl was needed for practicing *Tantra. Tantrism* laid emphasis on *Panchamakar* i.e. *Matsya* (fish), *Mamsa* (meat), *Madira* (alcohol), *Mudra* (position) and *Maithun* (sex). Maiju was used in the ritual of *Tantra.* Gradually the prince was attracted

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23. Narayan Man Bijukchhen, "Bhautikvadi Darshan Ra Parivartan" (Material Philosophy and Change), (Bhaktapur : *Vidyarthi, Year, 34,* No. 9 *Kathmandu:* 2005, A.D. (2062 V.S.), p.16.
24. Buddhi Sagar Parajuli, "Shah Vamshaka Nareshharyko Sahitik Den" (Literary contribution of Shah Kings, Ancient Nepal, No 25, (Kathmandu : DOA, 1974), p. 45.
25. Department of Archaeology,"Nepal Deshko Itihas" (Histroy of the country Nepal) *Ancient Nepal,* No 23, (Kathmandu : 1973), p. 5.

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with Maiju. Ultimately, she became his *Rani* (concubine).[26] However, it is stated that the practice of *Tantra* was closer to Buddhism. Scholars say that *Tantric* practice has brought Buddhism closer to Hinduism. Some scholars opine that there is paradigm shift on *Tantric* practice in Buddhism and Hinduism. Pratap Simha was a devout Shaivite inclined to *Shakti* cult of *Tantrism* based on *Vamachar.* [27] Sridhar Rana clearifies that many writers consider Hindu and Buddhist *Tantras* are same but the two are basically different. Hindu *Tantra* is based on Hindu *Advaita* view (non duality) and the Buddhist *Tantra* is based on the basic tenets of Buddhism, especially those explained by Nagarjuna, his sons and Asanga and Vasubandhu groups. [28] Rana further writes that there is no concept of Panchamakara in Buddhism. It is only a concept of Hinduism. [29] Regarding the faith of Pratap Simha Shah on *Tantric* cult, Vaidya and Vajracharya's remark is worth considering. [30]

In 1775 A.D. (*Samvat* 895) Pratap Simha Shah concluded a treaty with Tibet in *Nepal Bhasa*. The treaty was signed between Pratap Simha Shah and Gyalchha Paribochhe Lama. *Buddha, Dharma, Sangha* (three jewels of Buddhism) and his *Istadevata* (Tutelar deity) remain as witness. The treaty deals with the minting of pure silver coins. As the treaty was concluded with Tibet, *Tri Ratna* (Three jewels of Buddhism) and *Istadevata* both remain as witness. Pratap Simha had faith in Buddhism. It is obvious that he was in touch with Buddhist country. It may be interpreted that he was not only influenced by Buddhism but practiced *Tantrism* based on Buddhism.[31] During the time of Pratap Simha Shah, Buddhist festival like *Naran* (offering nine kinds of metal gifts) was celebrated in Patan The festival was hosted by Nhuchhe Milha brothers of Yesodhara *Maha Vihara*

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[26]. T.R Vaidya, and B.R Vajracharya, "The Role of Swarup Singh Karki, During the Second Half of The 18th century", *Ancient Nepal, No 121-122,* (Kathmandu : *DOA,* 1990), p. 91.

[27]. Nepal Deshko Itihas, f.n.No. 20, p. 5.

[28]. Sridhar Rana, "Practice of Buddhist Tantra in Nepal" Shanker thapa (ed), *Newar Buddhism*, (Lalitpur : Nagarjuna Publication pvt. Ltd. 2005 A.D.), p .89.

[29] Sridhar Rana, "Dr. Sanu Bhaijyuko Lekhko Khandan, Khanda cha, (Contradiction of the article of Dr. Sanu Bhai, Part F.) Bauddha Itihaska Kehi Pristhaharu, Bauddha Dharmama Dekhapareka Vikriti ra Vichalanharu Sambandhama Ek Adhyan ( Some Pages of Buddhist History . A Study on deviation and anomalies that appeared in Buddhism ), (Madhyapur Thimi : Nagadesh Lyamha Puchah,2007 A.D.) p.40.

[30]. Vaidya and Vajracharya f.n. No. 26, p. 4. The authors write-"From the point of view of *Tantric* cult all the three persons (Maiju Rani, Swarup Singh and Vrajanath) worked together. Pratap Singh was the devotee; Pt. Vrajanath along with some Karmacharyas of Kathmandu became the *Guru*, Maiju was involved in as a virgin girl and Swarup Singh became the influencial provocative singer essential for cult".

[31]. *DOA* f.n. No.25, p. 6.

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(Boobahal), Patan, offering *Pindapatra* (*Gulupa*). King Pratap Simha Shah was presented a golden stick on that occasion. Kaji Swarup Singh and others courtiers were also invited on that occasion. [32]

### 6.4.1. Rana Bahadur Shah

During the reign of Rana Bahadur Shah (1777-1799 A.D.), the Gorkha army had strong faith on *Mahamaya Bhairavi* (spouse of Lord Shiva). Bhairavi was worshipped according to Buddhist *Tantra*. This gold plate inscription placed at the temple of Nuwakot Bhairavi dated 1792 A.D., testifies it. The gold plate dated 1792 A.D. (*Saka Samvat* 1714) records that golden gate and golden roof were offered to the temple of Bhairavi after Sino-Nepal war. In the critical time of war, the king made *Bhakal* (vow) to worship Bhairavi in 1792. After victory in the war, the king sacrificed 102 buffalos to Goddess Bhavani. The copper plate inscription of 1793 A.D. inscribes that Rana Bahadur Shah made land endowment to Nuwakot Bhairavi. The worship of Bhairavi was performed according to *Tantric* rites. The materials used in worship included soyabean, fish, ginger, alcohol, fried flat rice, local beer, egg of duck. It indicates that the worship of Bhairavi was done according to the Buddhist *Tantric* tradition. On this line, the Vajracharyas were worshipping Bhairavi during the time of the Mallas. They simply renewed their traditional style of worship. Rana Bahadur Shah also made land endowment for daily worship as well as special worship of Dolakha Bhimsen. Bhimsen is one of the sixty two names of Lord Shiva. The income of the land was used for restoration and maintenance of the shrine. Dolkha Bhimsen was also worshipped as Shiva in *(Raudra)* fearful form. [33] The shrine is also famous for practioners of black art. In 1795 A.D., Rana Bahadur Shah established Sveta Bhairava at Hanumandhoka on the occasion of *Indra Jatra*. King Rana Bahadur Shah had his favourite queen named Kantavatdevi. She was attacked by tuberclosis. For the speedy recovery of Kantavatidevi, King Rana Bahadur Shah had established Sveta Bhairava. In the beginning, he appeared as theist. He seems to have been influenced by the religious atmosphere of the contemporary society. He worshipped several shrines irrespective of Hindu and Buddhist deities He made land endowment to several deities in 1798 A.D. (Saka Samvat 1720). *Mahapuja* (great worship) was performed at the shrines of the

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32. Shakya f.n. No. 17. p .43.
33. Vajracharya and Shrestha, f.n. No. 3, pp. 193-198, 201-206, 214-217.

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different deities. The deities included Shiva, Vishnu, Shakti and Buddha. *Naimityapuja* (special worship) was also performed. [34]

. Rana Bahadur Shah differed with his uncle Bahadur Shah, who prohibited him to make Kantavatidevi as his queen. Bahadur Shah's reforms showed the respect to the Brahmans. He was of the opinion that Brahmans of different *Varna* should be distinguished. The laymen should respect his priest and the priest should carry on the religious rites and rituals of the laity.Rana Bahadur Shah was brought up in the orthodox society based on feudalism where the Brahmans commanded great respect

. Scholars remark that Rana Bahadur Shah was ahead of time. The gold and copper plates of his time reveal that heterogeneous sects existed during his reign. The gold plates issued in the name of the king. Rana Bahadur Shah shows that he was ordained as an ascetic by Vidhyakar Bhatta, descendent of Lambakarna Bhatta who was residing at Naradevi. He was the great *Tantrist* of the day. This shows his involvement in the *Agama* cult.

The chronicle published by DOA mentions that Rana Bahadur Shah even went to Pashupati with Kantavatidevi when she was ill. He lived there for three months. He made a big garden at Pashupati, giving compensation to the people whose houses were demolished in the area. He tortured the monkies and vultures by throwing carcases to them. These creatures had created trouble over there. As his wife became more serious, he went to Patan leaving Deopatan. There too, he tortured the vultures. He called the Brahmans and *Acharyas* as well as Gubhajus to recite *Japa* (mental prayer) and worship the deities. He performed *Gaudan* (donate the cows). He caused worship at different shrine. As his wife became acutely ill, he even sprinkled boiling oil over the Vaidyas and tortured them. Earlier, he had given *Bhandara* (feast) at Pachali for three times to Brahmanas, ascetics and mendicants wishing speedy recovery of his queen.[35]

According to a chronicle, some one told the king that Kantavati will get recovery from her illness if *Kalpurush Sadhana (a Tantric ritual)* is performed. The royal priest did not know the animation process. He invited Shreekanthananda Upadhyaya for animation of *Kalpurush*. Amritananda, son of Shreekanthananda, came to perform the ritual from

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34. *Ibid*, pp, 222-224.
35. DOA f.n. No. 25, pp. 6-7.

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Patan. The animation was successfully conducted. It was demonstrated to *Swami Maharaj* by Sardar Indra Bir Basnyat. The *Kalpurush* image was handed over to a *Bhata* Brahman of south India. As soon as he held the *Kalpurush* the *Bhatta* Brahman turned into black. The *Bhatta* could not suppress the deity. Then the *Guru* of the *Bhatta* took him to Vaishnavi shrine and recited *Mantra* (incantation) for eight days and pacified the deity. *Svami Maharaj,* being very pleased with Amritananda restored him the post of priest of Taleju of Patan and returned three plots of land confiscated earlier. The narrative of the chronicle testifies the practice of *Tantric* practice prevailing during the reign of the king. [36] During that time people were devoted to the Buddhist deities. The *Trikul Paubha* of Itumbahal mentions that Vishnudhar Tuladhar and others of Naradevi Tunchhen had offered *Pindapatra* (Gulupa) to *Dharmadhatu Vagisvara* Svayambhu and other deities at Svayambhu. On that occasion they made *Prativarad* (*Paubha*) of the Buddhas of three times in 1798 A.D. (918 N.S.).

In 1799 A.D. (919 N.S.), Chhatra Singh Tuladhar of Asan and his family celebrated *Pancadana* on the full moonday of *Magh* (January) inviting *Arya Sangh and* offered golden Vajrasattva image incised with jewels to *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu. This indicates the popularity of Vajrasattva, the titular deity of Vajracharyas and prevalence of Vajrayana Buddhism during that time.[37]

DOA published chronicle mentions that in his early career Rana Bahadur Shah was a theist. He had faith on Shiva and Shakti. He built the temple of Nuwakot Bhairavi with gilded gold, out of the property looted at Digarcha. He built a great mask of Bhairava in metal and poured local beer from the pipe fixed at the mouth of the deity on the day of *Indrajatra* and created a trust for it. This reveals his faith on Bhairava. Vamsavali mentions that *Svami* was so depressed and shocked by the death of Kantavatidevi in 1700 A.D. on Friday *(4th Kartik Sudi* N.S. 920) that he wished to die being shut by him. Out of fury, he ordered to uplift the image Taleju of Kathmandu. A Brahman named Shananda entered the Taleju temple. He lifted one of the images in the temple in darkness. Without properly identifying the deity, the image supposed to be of Taleju was thrown away. He blasphemed Gods and became so arrogant that he did not allow any body to enter Taleju

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36. Vajracharya and Shrestha, f.n. No.3, pp. 396-397
37. Shakya ,f.n.No. 17,p.44

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temple. The episode of Brahman entering Taleju and uplifting and uprooting the image gives rat smell or assault over Taleju cult by the Brahmans. Vamsavali further mwntions that he broke the image of *Betal* of Bhadgaon by axe and threw it in human excreta. He destroyed *Karabir Masan* (graveyard of Shobhabhagavati). He burnt incense of human excreta at Harati temple of Svayambhu and threw the image away. He caused to besmear human excreta at Kumbheshvar *Shivalinga* and stopped worshipping the deity. [38] He ordered to set fire on the house of Milan Vaidya of Gwala, Pashupati, Siddhananda and Jayanta, who performed the rites of *Purascharan* at Vajrayogini were executed along with the Vaidyas of Gwala..He insulted the priests of the deities.The Vaidyas of Gwala were tortured by putting them before blazzing fire. He made the bamboo thrust into the Guhesvari Kunda and broke the nose of Mahankal of Tundikhel. [39]

With the intention of setting fire on Shantipur, Rana Bahadur Shah is referred to as entering Shantipur, the shrine of deities like Mahasamvar, breaking the luck forcefully. Legend mentions that as soon as he put one step inside the cave one of his eyes became blind. As he put another step his second eye also lost sight. Hurriedly he came out. All the watchers were astonished. The priest of Shantipur and elders suggested him to beg pardon with the deity by offering one gold coin and *Kisali* (rice and *supari* put on clay plate). As soon as he offered one gold coin and *Kisali* as an atonement of his sin, one of his eyes gained sight. When he offered the second gold coin, both his eyes had vision. He became very happy at the restoration of vision. Although, the event appears as mysterious, Baudhacharyas of Shantipur state that the tradition of offering gold coin every year is continued. It is stated that after the episode in Shantipur Rana Bahadur Shah's faith on Mahasamvara became firm. His son made a *Guthi* (Trust) to worship Shantipur every year. Every year on the day of *Kartik Purnima (*November*)* and *Magh Purnima (*January*)*, the district office of Guthi Sansthan and Baudhacharyas of Shantipur worship the deities of Shantipur. The inscription of Harati temple of Svayambhu of 1801 A.D. testifies it .[40]

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[38]. DOA, f.n. No. 25, p. 6, 7.

[39]. Shakya, f.n. No. 13, pp. 261-262. cf. Maharshi, Madhav Lal Joshi's Biography pp. 56-59; *Thyasaphu* in the possession of Harsha Ratna Shakya Shakya mentions in the footnote that the statue of Rana Bahadur Shah and his queen Jayamaya (?) is preserved in the iconography museum of Svayambhuwith the inscription on its pedestal.

[40]. *Ibid,* p. 262.

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During the 1790s, the Tibetans of Maranala pitched a camp at Mahamandala, Nagarkot. They stated that there was a new incarnation of Buddha. As soon as the information was availed to the government, troops were despatched to the site. The Tibetans were arrested and executed. Some of them were hanged. The episode of the chronicle indicates the supression of the Buddhists of Tibet after 1792 A.D. (*Saka Samvat* 1714) It is a sad occurrence. [41]

During that time people were desperate with the orthodoxy of caste system and predominance of Brahmans in the contemporary society. The *Raj Guru* had advisory role in the administration of justice. The lack of judicial laws was supplemented by *Dharma Shastras*. To quote Janak Lal Sharma, Josman sect had influenced Rana Bahadur Shah. According to this sect, all cross sections of people including the Brahmans dine sitting in a common row. It may be taken as the impact of Vajrayana Buddhism. While dining together they eat *Khir* (rice pudding) irrespective high and low or without caste distinction. It was not agreeable to the Brahmans. Rana Bahadur Shah confisticated the *Kushvirta* land given to Brahmans. As the move affected the vested interest of the Brahmans they went against the king. The Sino-Nepal war had drained enormous resources. So Rana Bahadur Shah had confisticated the *Virta* land of the Brahmans in 1805 A.D. (1862 V.S.) His brother Sher Bahadur Shahi assassinated him in 1806 A.D. (1863 V.S.). This episode is known as maxim of "*Basathi Haran and Trisathi Maran*". In the traditional society Rana Bahadur Shah appeared as a revolutionary. He appeared as anti Brahman and an atheist. His earlier activities present him as theist but his behaviour and treatment to the deities mentioned above present him as an athest. During his reign new ideas were under current. The king expressed them in the form of *Josman sect*. He tried to challenge the traditional taboo but he could not be successful. He had to reconcile with *Agama* tradition based on *Tantrism*. He could not break the bonds of superstition. He had to take the aid of healers and treat his wife with the *Ayurvedic* medicine for treatment of T.B.disease. He entertained scientific approach by shifting Kantavati to Patan from Pashupati as to give new environment besides doing *Gaudan* at Pashupati. He challenged the deities, patron deities, reputed shrines as the idol breakers. The tradition bound theist society was invincible to him. He was ahead time. His linear approach went wrong and metaphoric ideas of society prevailed. Although he became *Svami Maharaj*,

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41. DOA, f.n. No. 25, p.3.

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he became amative. He married not only Kantavatidevi he had a Brahmani wife in his exile at Kasi (Benares). His faith on *Josman sect*, devotion to Jagannath presents him as armatures like Krishna. During his reign, heterogonous cult prevailed in society. Some scholars blame him as unbalanced king. In view of development of Buddhism, his reign presents the mixed religion. His unusual treatment to the deities, physicians and Brahmanis/worshippers was just a temporary activity out of great shock caused by the death of his most beloved wife. Inspite of his worshipping all the deities of the whole kingdom and special *Pujas* to certain deities suggested by the astrologers and priests, his wife expired. So he, out of temporary frustration had misbehaved to the deities, astrologers' priests and physicians.

DOA chronicle mentions that *Swami Maharaj* fed the poor in the name of his deceased wife, Kantavatidevi. This shows his philanthropic idea and society based on equality. It may be taken as the direct and indirect impact of the *Siddhas* and Vajrayana Buddhism. During his time, the Baudhacharyas of Shantipur could pacify his anger by idealizing the the worship of Mahasamvara. Shantipur thus, provided relief to restless young king, depressed by the demise of his most favorite queen.

In the year 1703 A.D. (1860 V.S), Rana Bahadur Shah issued a decree *Dharmapatra* after his return from Benares in favor of Kaji Bhimsen Thapa in Benares. Annapurna, Vishesvara, Vindavasini, Sankata, Siddhesvara and Kal Bhairava are mentioned in the *Dharmapatra*. . In the *Dhamapatra* both Hindu and Buddhist deities are included. This also exhibits his policy of toleration and theistic attitude. The Sindhuligarhi inscription of Girvanayuddha Bikram Shah dated 1804 A.D. (1861 V.S.) mentions that he assumed the title of *Mahaniravananda* after his return from Kashi changing his earlier title *Nirgunananda*.[42]

## 6.4. Girvanayuddha Bikram Shah

Some months after the birth of a son, Kantavati became ill in 1797 A.D. She wished her son Girvanayuddha Bikram Shah to be the king of Nepal. In compliance with her wish, Rana Bahadur Shah declared his son Girvanayuddha Bikram Shah as his successor in 1799 A.D. The copper plate inscription of Pashupati dated 1799 A.D. (1855 V.S.) records that Rana Bahadur Shah had authorized his elder queen Rajrajeshwari to act as Regent of

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[42]. DOA, f.n. No. 25,p.4

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Girvanayuddha Bikram Shah. He became *Svami Maharaj.* On the occasion of the coronation of Girvanauddha Bikram Shah in 1799 A.D. (N.S. 919), he called himself '*Nirgunananda Swami'* and Kantavati as *'Swamini.* The copper plate installed in the reign of Girvanayuddha Bikram Shah in 1799 A.D. mentions that 1300 *muri* lands of Purkot in Tanhaun were offered to *Mahamaya* of Kalika in Gorkha. In the year 1799 A.D., 530 *muri* lands were given to Changu Narayan for *Mahapuja* (great worship). In 1799 A.D. 268 muri lands were offered for the *Thapuja* (*Sthapatya Puja*) of Taleju of Kantipur. In addition to that 536 *muri* lands were offered for the worship of Taleju on the day of *Bhadra Krishna Ashtami, Marga Krishna Ashtami and Falgun Chaturdashi.* Girvanayuddha Bikram Shah offered 224 *muri* lands for *Maha Puja* (great worship) of the deity of Shantipur, Svayambhu on the day *of Kartik and Magh Purnima.* He offered that land for the *Guthi* (Trust of Shantipur). It is recorded in the copper plate placed at Shantipur dated 1799 A.D.(Saka 1721). Once every year the Vajracharyas congregate at Shantipur for performing Vajracharya *Guthi* which was said to have been created in memory of four great Vajracharyas of the Kathmandu Valley including Leela Vajra. In the same year 1799 A.D., 402 *muri* lands were given for *Thapuja* of Taleju of Bhaktapur. For daily and special worship of Dakshinkali on the day of *Baishakh Krishna Triyodashi and Bhadra Krishna Ashtami*, 504 *muri* lands of Pharping areas were offered in the same year. The copper plate of Pashupati records that Rana Bahadur Shah himself made endowment of 1260 *muri* lands of *Sphatikshila* 6000 *muri* land of Deupatan and Gokarna to Pashupati Nath for the speedy recovery of Kantavatidevi.[43] These epigraphic accounts also remind that Rana Bahadur Shah did not make any difference between Brahmanical and Buddhist deities. The impact of sentimental attachment of medieval period was apparent during his time His successor Girvanayuddha Bikram Shah was of peaceful nature and compassionate. The chronicle mentions that he was devotee of Vishnu. He worshipped cows and Brahmanas and devoted to religious scriptures like Shastras and Puranas. All the time, he was anxious to know the meaning of *Himavatsakhanda.* On the day of *Shivaratri,* he observed fasting and paid homage to Pashupati from southern gate which shows his devotion to Lord Shiva. In his reign, he prohibited animal sacrifice to the deities except where it was necessary. He did not allow killing the birds even the sparrows. Shooting of birds like sparrows and pigeons was prohibited in the Durbar

[43]. Vajracharya and Shrestha,, f.n. No. 3,pp.279-292,293-303.

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complex. He issued an order prohibiting chopping of the throat of the goats in the Durbar complex. He punished those who violated the royal order.[44]

The Shah Kings were devout Shaivistes. *Panchayanadevata* such as Surya, Ganesh, Kali, Shiva and Vishnu were worshipped in those days. According to *Panchayana* concept Shiva *Linga* lies in the centre. Ganesh is placed in *Nairityakon* (South West). Kali in the *Vayavyakon* (North West), Vishnu in *Ishankon* (North East) and *Surya* (Sun) in the *Agneyakon* (South East) exist. [45] It is also known that *Panchayana Devata* with sole Brahmanical deities is worshipped. In the same way, the Buddhist deities (four out of five *Panca* Buddhas placed on the four corners of Mandala) are also found during this period. This indicates the liberal policy of the Shah Kings. During that time, Bhairava and Bhairavi, Bhairava and Mahakali, were the popular deities. Buddhism developed theistic cult in the form of Vajrayana. *Tantrism* was more popular. Vajrayana Buddhism included Brahmanical deities too.

## 6.5. Bhimsen Thapa

It is mentioned that during the administration of General Bhimsen Thapa (1806-1839 A.D.), he intervened in the affairs of *Vihara*. He shifted Gana *Maha Vihara* to Bhote *Bahal* for extension of his complex inspite of the objection the the local Buddhist with the help of Tibetan Lamas. After he became General, he determined the annual expenses of the major deities of Nepal. Citing Hodgson's collection and courtesy of T.R Vaidya, Shakya mentions that in 1811 A.D. (931 N.S.) Bhimsen Thapa offered annual expenses to the different deities for their worship. The allocation of expenses for worshipping shows that Buddhist deities were in equal footing to Brahmanical deities. It also indicates the popularity of the Buddhist deities during that time.The amount of money allocated to different deities is as follows;

1. Pashupati Nath, patron deity of Nepal - 7000 Taka. (Taka means rupee)
2. Taleju Bhavani, 5000 *Taka*
3. Svayambhu, 8001 *Taka*
4. Matsyendra Nath, 5000 *Taka*

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[44]. DOA, f.n.NO. 25, pp.8-23.

[45]. Raja Ram Subedi, "Gorkha Pokhari Chaur Sthit Radha Ballaveshvara Mandirma Shree Panch Surendra Vikram Shah Dev le garidiyeko Lalmohar Ko Patra Ra Tyesako Vyakhya Ablilekh" (Royal Edict of His Majesty, Surendra Bikram Shah Dev established at the ground of Pokharithok Gorkha and its Interpretation) *Abhilekh,* No. 20, *year 20* ,K(athmandu: National Archives, 1959, pp. 28-34.

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5. Kalika of Gorkha, 2500 *Taka*

6. Nuwakot Bhairavi, 1600 *Ttaka.*

The list includes Shaiva, Buddhist and Shakta deities. These deities seem to have been worshipped according to *Agama* cult.[46]

## 6.6. Rajendra Bikram Shah

In 1816 (N.S. 936) the conservation of Svayambhu *Mahachaitya* was started. It was conserved as per guidance of Katho Rinpoche Lama of Tibet. The merchants of Jhikhachhen, Tibet contributed and supplied necessary materials. The conservation work was started with the good wishes of King Girvanayuddha Bikram and Rajendra Bikram Shah. The chief members of *Layeku Bahi, Tachhen Bahal,* the business men of Neta (Naradevi at present) and Neta Tunchhen actively participated in the conservation. *Kapardar* Bhotu Pandey and *Ditha* Laxman supervised the conservation work as the government representatives. The conservation was complete in 1817 A.D. (N.S.937). However, a great storm destroyed the pinnacle of Svayambhu *Maha- chitya* in 1818 A.D. (N.S.938.). It was reconstructed during the reign of Rajendra Bikram Shah. *Lakshyahuti Yajna* was performed on completion of reconstruction work in 1818 A.D. (N.S.938). In the same year, the devotees of Om Bahal Tole made the golden temple of side temple of Vairochan of Svayambhu *Maha Caitya.*[47] In 1822 A.D.(942 N.S.), Laksmi Narayan of *Vikramasila Mahavihara* celebrated *Pancadana* and created a Trust for celebration of the festival. He made a *Dharmashala* (inn) for *Pancadana* and offered its key to king Rajendra Bikrama Shah. In 1834 A.D. also, he celebrated *Pancadana* in which the King and Prime Minister were invited. [48] It shows the popularity of Buddhism and its effectiveness in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The.Buddhists and Hindus, the rulers and the ruled showed their veneration to Svayambhu, the cradle of Vajrayana Buddhism.

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[46]. Shakya, f.n. No. 13, p. 274. Shakya refers that the information was available through the courtesy of T.R Vaidya from Hodgson's collection.

[47] Shakya f.n. No. 9, pp. 275-277,290-291. Source, Saptamuni Vajracharya.

[48]. Shakya, f.n. No. 17, pp. 41-42.

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### 6.7.1. Buddhism in the Rana Period

The Rana government in Nepal feared that the principle of equality, brotherhood of mankind, non-discrimination of human being on the basis of caste, race and rank, high and low before religion and freedom of conscience as propogated by Theravada Buddhism would prove to be harmful in their policy of autocratc rule. However, they had supported Vajrayana Buddhism which is akin to Hinduism. The Vajracharyas had appeared just like the Brahmans who believed on different Hindu deities, although it has paradigm shift and classification of society on the basis of caste in which they represented the highest in rank.They also seem to have feared that their supremacy would be negatively affected if the social structure was disturbed by the spread of Theravada Buddhism. It is obvïous that a hundred years of Rana autocracy witnessed the set-back of Theravada Buddhism in Nepal. Moreover, they neglected freedom of conscience which they think would prove to be deterring factors in their policy of suppression. Some of the Rana administrators even ignored the valuable Buddhist cultural property of Nepal. But the scholars like Dr. Oldfield (1850-1863 A.D.) knew the valua of cultural property available of Nepal. He sketched the the landscape and monuments of the Kathmandu Valley and Dr. Wright (1860-1876 A.D.) collected original manuscripts one by one which Hodgson had exposed to Europe.[49] The European scholars are credited for their spade work in giving exposure on the rich cultural heritage of Nepal. Haris Chandra Lal Singh mentions that the Ranas followed oppressive policy from the very beginning.[50] Scholars point out the Ranas enacted laws which prohibited the conversion of people to Buddhism.[51] It is interpreted that this law applies only against conversion from Hinduism to Buddhism and or other religion. Kuladharma Ratna Tuladhar mentions the pessimistic

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49. S. Levi, *"Nepal" Ancient Nepal*, No. 23, (Kathmandu : DOA, 1973), p. 66. cf. Divya Vajra Vajracharya (edt), *Nava Sutra Sangraha*, Kathmandu: Bodhi Prakasan Kendra, 1990, (2047 V.S.), p.54 Satya Mohan Joshi in the introduction mentions that Hodgson discovered 381 packets of Buddhist manuscripts in the Kathmandu Valley while he was British Resident in Nepal from 1833-1843 A.D. Hodgson was in Nepal from 1820A.D.in different capacities.

50. Singh, f.n. No, 16, p. 56. Singh writes- "A century old Rana rule saw the fall of Buddhism in Nepal. The first Rana Prime Minister, Jang Bahadur raided Buddhist monasteries, confiscated valuable manuscripts there and thrown them in the streets." The British Resident's Doctor acquired permission to take them. He presented them to Cambridge University.

51. Kula Dharma Ratna Tuladhar, *Buddhism in Nepal*, (Kathmandu : Dharmodaya Sabha, 1956), p. 11. Kula Dharma Ratna, one of the chief protagonists of Buddhism writes - "The first Rana Prime Minister Jang Bahadur (1857 - 1877 A.D.) who codified laws according to which conversion was a serious offence punishable".

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remark of Oldfield.[52] The remarks made by Oldfield in his *'Sketches from Nepal'* indicate the threat which Buddhism had to make confrontation during Rana rule. In the century old Rana autocracy, Hinduism had sweeping influence over Buddhism (from 1846-1950 A.D.). The Ranas could not realize the fifth liberal ideas under current in contemporary society during that time. Nepal would never remain isolated without being affected by these currents.

### 6.7.2. Suppression of Theravada Buddhism during the Rana Rule

The exploration and research of European scholars on the Buddhist manuscripts of Nepal were very contributive in making exposure on Buddhism in the last quarter of nineteenth century inspite of suppression of Theravada by the Rana rulers. S. Levi writes - "In 1875 Minayaff, Professor of Sanskrit to the University of Petersburg (Petrogard) showed his competency and keen zeal in the study of Indian Buddhism. In course of voyage to India, he got permission to visit to Nepal. He acquired a great number of important manuscripts. He utilized them in his subsequent works. He gave deep impression to Buddhist studies. It was not slackened even after his death. Minayeff's student and successor made a request for collection of '*Bibliotheca Buddhica.*' It was on his request the Academy of Sciences of Petersburg created the work. It included unpublished texts of Nepalis Buddhism.[53] The notes of the voyage gathered in Nepal by Minayeff were compiled in an elaborate review on Nepal. It was published in *Vyestnik Europe.* It was republished in the "*Sketches of Ceylon and India.*" In 1884 A.D.the University of Cambridge trusted a mission to Cecil Bendall in undertaking research work of those manuscripts and inscriptions which were handed over by D.Wright. Bendal showed his expertise with the classification of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts of the University of Cambridge.[54] Bendall made a travel to Nepal during the winter 1898 – 1899 A.D. It was followed by a short report. Le-Bon (1885) and Captain Vansittart (1888 A.D.) had their missions in Nepal. In May 1897, Hara Prasad Shastri, one of the Secretaries of the Asiatic Society Bengal obtained permission to make his studies to Nepal. He made valuable services to

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52. *Ibid,* p.11, Tuladhar refers the version of Oldfield which says- "It (Buddhism) is now in last stage of existence; it is rapidly being supplanted by Hinduism; and before the lapse of another century, the religion of Buddha - after enduring for upwards of two thousand years will in probability, be extinct in Nepal as in the plains."
53. S. Levi, "*Nepal*", *Ancient Nepal* (Kathmandu : No 26, DOA 1974), p. 50.
54. *Ibid,* p.50.

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the studies of Nepalis Buddhism. He made catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit works of Nepal. He published it, in 1882 A.D. under the direction and name of Rajendra Lal Mitra. Hara Prasad Shastri again came to Nepal in 1898 A.D.[55] These studies during the Rana regime, contributed a lot in giving exposure on Nepalis Buddhism. Although, the Ranas followed anti Buddhist policy, the research of these scholars highlighted the essence of Buddhism in Nepal. The Ranas especially suppressed Theravada Buddhism where as Vajrayana was prevalent. They dit not count it as foreign religion from their view point. The Ranas were rigid in the caste system. If any body violates the rigidity of caste system, he had to take aid of '*Patiya*' (purification rite) from *Dharmadhikari*. After returning from London, even Jang Bahadur had to face strong opposition of his brothers Bam Bahadur, Badri Nara Simha and Jaya Bahadur. With the aid of Company government, he imprisoned Badri Nara Simha and Jaya Bahadur. Jaya Bahadur died in the prison in 1853 A.D.[56] Performing *Homa* (fire sacrifice) was regarded as a way of purification.

## 6.8. Celebration of Samyek, Naran and Pancadana

Buddhist rituals like Samyek and Naran were popular during Rana period too.

### 6.8.1. Surendra Bikaram Shah

During the reign of Surendra Bikaram Shah (1847- 1882 A.D.), Dhana Singh Tamrakar of Yetkha *Bahal*.Kathmandu installed a *Caitya* and Vajrapani at the ground floor of his house at Yetkha *Bahal* in 1862 A.D. (982 N.S.). He placed an inscription depicting the image of Vajrayogini. He also offered an image of Dipanker Buddha of gold which is worshipped in *Samyek* festival. He and his wife Daya Laksmi, his son Harsa Ratna and grand son Dan Bir Singh offered twenty *Pathi* of rice for the regular worship of Svayambhu *Caitya* and Vajrayogini installed over there. He named the *Bahal* as Dharma Singh Bahal.or Samanta Bhadra *Vihara*. He was a devotee of Svayambhu. Every day he paid homage to Svayambhu. With the aid of skilled craftsmen of China, he started the

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55. *Ibid*, p.51.

56. Jnanamani Nepal, "Jang Bahadurprati Danga Ra Gothu Basnyatko Avajna" (Revolt against Jang Bahadur and disobedience of Gothu Basnyat), *Ancient Nepal*, No. 89, (Kathmandu : DOA 1985), p. 7.

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conservation of Svayambhu *Mahachaitya* in 1863 A.D. (983 N.S.). After his death his son completed the conservation work. It was consecrated by Samanta Harsa Vajracharya of Surat *Mahavihara,* Punyapati of Layeku *Vihara* and Ratnachudamani of Suratshree *Mahavihara in* 1867 A.D.[57]

This shows the practice of Vajrayana Buddhism in Nepal during the Rana regime. To quote Hem Raj Shakya, Dhana Simha Tamrakar being confidential person of King Surendra Bikram Shah was appointed as the representative of the government to China. He earned a lot of money. He feared that his earning would be confiscated by the government. So he decided to use it in religious activities such as restoration of Svayambhu *Maha Caitya*. He could not fulfil this desire in his life time. However, after his death his son Harsa Ratna executed his will in 1867 A.D. (987 N.S.) It is further mentioned that Dhana Singh Tamrakar renovated the image of Dipankar Buddha of Onde (Hyumat) Buddhabari, Kathmandu in 1863 A.D. (983 N.S). The Buddha in *Vajrasana* posture is regarded as the greatest image of Dipankar in the Kathmandu Valley. In the same year, he celebrated *Naran* (*Navadana*) and *Pancadana* at Bhaskarkirti *Maha Vihara* in Yetkha. In 1878 A.D.,(998 N.S.) Dhiraj Muni Shakyavamsha and others celebrated *Samyek* at Lagankhel, Patan. In 1881 A.D. (1001 N.S.), Dharma Dhoj and his family celebrated *Samyek* over there in Patan. On both occasion, King Surendra Bikram Shah was invited. In 1879 A.D., Nanda Bir Singh of Asan and 1882 A.D., Jnana Bir Tuladhar hosted *Samyek* festival at Bhuikel, Svayambhu. These events mark the devotional feelings of the the Buddhists of the Kathmandu Valley.[58]

Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism were practised by the people for the merits of their ancestors and themselves. Drabya Ratna Tuladhar of Tyauda performed the recital of *Prajnaparamita, Panchavisati Sahasrika Saddharma* by the Vajracharyas at Svayambhu in 1880 A.D. (1000 N.S.). To commemorate this meritorious act, he inscribed the inscription located to the left side of the stair case of Svayambhu hillock. Svayambhu remained as the traditional shrine for all sects of people as a common religious shrine. In the first decade of the twentieth century, Nhuchhe Raj and Tirtha Raj Manandhar of Makhan Tole, Kathmandu built stone staircase at the eastern side of Svayambhu hillock to facilitate the devotees paying homage to Svayambhu. It consisted of 318 steps. Its

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57. Shakya, f.n. No.13, pp. 302-303.
58 Shakya, f.n. No. 17. pp. 49-50.

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height consisted 2100 feet with 10 feet width. Stair cases were also made on the western side down from Shantipur. The staircases were completed in 1914 A.D. (1034 N.S). On the eastern side of staircases, Chatur Maharaj, Tejasha Bhairava, Ganesh, Kumar were placed on the first resting place. Two Buddha statues in earth touching pose were also installed. In between the staircases Mahankal, vehicles of *Panca Buddha* such as peacock, horse, lion, elephant and *Garud* are placed. [59]

## 6.9. Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah

During the reign of Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah (1882-1911 A.D.) the Chitrakaras of Takshyapal Tole, Bhaktapur erected a *Mayurdhoj Stambha* (pillar with peacock) before Amitabha Buddha at Svayambhu shrine in 1883 A.D.(1003 N.S.). They installed a gold gilded image of *Prajnaparamita*. This shows the popularity of the theistic cult in Buddhism. On the left side of pillar is placed Sadakshyari Lokeshvara, a gold gilded image. The image was placed during the time of Ranoddip Singh. In 1887A.D. (1007 N.S.), Dhiraj Laxmi Maharjan of Dhyachalakhu Tole, Kathmandu installed the image of two Arya Taras before Amitabha Buddha. As per *Tarasatnama Strotra Arya, Tara* is regarded as Goddess who relieves the sufferings of the people and removes fear and danger. She is addressed as *Prajnashree, Buddhadharini* and *Yokjata, w*ho is supposed to give *Mahasukha* and *Nirvana*. (Enjoyment and Salvation) It shows the popularity of *Tara* in those days. In 1897A.D.,(1017 N.S.) Darshan Das Nepali of Ikha Pokhari, Kathmandu installed gold gilded peacock at Svayambhu before Amitabha Buddha. Earlier in 1896A.D.,(1016 N.S.), Bhani Das Chitrakar of Ason Tole contributed to the conservation of *Kachadega* (attached temple of Vairochana.).[60] In 1893 A.D. Dev Shamsher wished to cover the *Garbhagriha* (womb) of Svayambhu *Mahachaitya* with silver except *Triyodash Chakravali.* Due to the conspiracy of Chandra Shamsher, he had to leave for Dhankuta. So it was not realized. Thus Svayambhu was beautified and embellished with many beautiful images, *Caityas* and stone staircases. These activities show the devotion of people to Svayambhu, the main shrine of the Buddhists during that time In 1903 A.D. (1023 N.S.), Kulaman Vajracharya of Manisimha *Mahavihara,* Musum *Bahal,* Dharma Chakra *Mahavihara*) dedicated artistic Vajrasattva image in gold

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59. Shakya, f.n. No 13, p.314.

60 Shakya, f.n. No. 13, 9. 3o5' 307, 308-309.

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gild to Goddess Harati in front of Amitabha Buddha. Vajrasattva is regarded as *Adi Buddha* by the Vajracharyas. [61] In 1896 A.D. (1016 N.S.), it was made a customary rule that *Samyek* festival would be held once in twelve years. In that year, *Samyek* was celebrated jointly by the Otu *Bahal*, Itum *Bahal*, and Lagan *Bahal*. King Prithvi Bir Bikaram Shah graced the occasion. In 1898 A.D., Jog Bir Sthapit celebrated *Samyek* and extended Bhuikhel as it was narrow. In 1906 A.D. Kul Bir Singh Tuladhar organized *Samyek* and installed Dipankar Buddha, Shakyamuni Buddha and Maitreya, the Buddhas of three times at Marma Lhokhang monastery in Svayambhu.

## 6.10. Tribhuvan Bir Bikaram Shah

During the reign of Tribhuvan Bir Bikaram Shah Narman Shakya *Bhikshu* of Bhaktapur celebrated *Samyek* in 1924 A.D. The king graced the ceremony. In 1947 A.D., Moti Man Shakya, and Khadga Simha Maharjan celebrated *Samyek* and *Pancadana*. Thus *Samyek* and *Pancadana* are the great festivals of the Buddhist community of the Valley. The tradition of *Samyek* is continued by Bhatta Narsingh Tuladhar. He organized *Samyek* in 1952 in which millions of people including the king and courtiers attended the ceremony wishing to get merits. [62] When Dev Shamsher was the Commander in chief of Nepal, Sylvain Levi had visited Nepal from January to March for two months in 1896 A.D. He was given accompaniment by a Buddhist *Pandit* named Todarananda who knew nothing about the Buddhist literature including *Navadharma*. Captain Bhairava was the other person who accompanied him. Dev Shamsher supported him in his research by providing manuscripts and inscriptions. Levi studied manuscripts preserved in Durbar Library. Durbar Library (present National Archives) has collection of 500 *Tantras*. It is a rich collection of manuscripts. In those days, the manuscripts in the possession of private individuals were prohibited for sale. It was obligatory to deposit the manuscript in that library. However, Levi got privilege to buy the manuscripts by favor of Dev Shamsher. Levi met *Pandit* Damaru Ballava in this library. He bought manuscript entitled *Abhisamayalankar*, a commentary of *Ashtasahashrika* by Hari Bhadra, *Nepal Mahatmya*, from his associate Mitrananda. He got *Ashtasahashrika*, *Pancha Raksha* and translation

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61. *Ibid*, p.310, Cf. The first chapter of *Gunakaranyavyuha* mentions that Vajrasattva imanated from *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu *Dharmadhatu* which exists in the form of *Panca* Buddha.

62. Shakya, f.n. No 17. pp. 55-57.

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of *Vajrachhedika.*[63] S.Levi says that Mr. Cecil Bendall had mission from Cambridge to Nepal during the winter 1884-1885 and in 1893 - 1899 A.D.[64]

As mentioned above European scholars heralded a new chapter in the history of Buddhism in Nepal in the field of exploration and research. Besides the Anglo German scholars, the French and Russian scholars also carried on scientific research on Buddhism in Nepal. The source materials were taken out to their countries during those days. In the third decade of the 20th century, Buddhism made inroads into the hill tribes in western Nepal. Ratna Gupta Shakya *Bhikshu* of Jamalgranthi *Vihara* went to Jumla, the remotest part of Nepal to propogate Buddhism.[65]

### 6.10.1. Restoration of Gumba Marmelhakan of Svayambhu

A great *Mane* was built by Deva Dhan Shakya *Bhikshu* of Tarumul *Mahavihar* in the *Gumba* of Maremelhakan in 1901 A.D. (1021 N.S.). In 1908 A.D., the *Gumba* caught fire. Tashi Namgyal, queen of Sikkim, had come to Kathmandu and made friendship with spouse of Chandra Shamsher (1901-1929 A.D.) and became her mate. On the deplorable condition of *Gumba*, Sikkim provided financial assistance for reconstruction of it. Kul Bir Singh Tuladhar of Asan Tole donated Dipankara Buddha, Shakya Muni Buddha and Arya Maitreya. Man Bir Manandhar donated Amitabha Buddha and Bhaisajya Buddha in 1915 A.D. (1035 N.S.). The *Gumba* has many beautiful images of Buddha, *Bodhisattva*, Lokeshvara and *Tara* on the ground floor. [66]

During the reign of Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah in 1918 A.D. (1038 N.S.), the main beam of Svayambhu *Mahacaitya* was replaced. Sahu Dharma Man Singh made estimate for conservation of it in consultation with Yog Bir Singh. The sons and disciples of Shakyashree Lama of Tibet came to Nepal. Fund was raised in Khamdo, eastern region of Tibet. In Svayambhu *Mahchaitya* the image of Vairocana was replaced. Pratappur and Anantapur temples were demolished and newly built. In course of conservation, *Jiva Nyas* (giving force) rite was performed. *Kshemapuja*, *Agnisthapan* rites were performed. Harati, Purana Svayambhu, Manjushree, Yogambara, deities of Shantipur were

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63. Levi, "*Nepal*" Ancient Nepal, No. 83-89, (Kathmandu : DOA, 1984-1985), p. 34.
64. *Ibid,* "Nepal", *Ancient Nepa*l, No. 26, (Kathmandu : DOA, 1974), p. 50.
65. Harsamuni Shakya, "A Few Words", Bhuwan Lal Pradhan's Shakyamuni, The Buddha And Shakya Heritage, (Kathmandu : the Shakya Foundation, Nepal, 2005 A.D.), p. XV.
66. Shakya, f.n. No. 13, p. 316.

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worshipped. *Homa* (fire sacrifice) was made. Vajracharyas performed these rites. In course of conservation of temples, *Caityas*, *Sattal*, staircase, ring below the tree, inn, well, ponds, stone spouts were repaired. Kumari (virgin girl) was worshipped and new *Torana* (tempanum) was offered. Nine *Kachadega* (attached temples) were built. Ram Sundar and Puspa Sundar built these attached temples of *Tara* and *Pancha* Buddha in gold gild copper. With all these new addition, the Svayambhu *Mahachaitya* came to the present form. Out of the remaining fund, Namo Buddha *Caitya* and Shakya memorial of Kham (eastern province of Tibet) were renovated. [67] These conservation activities were conducted by the people and funds provided by Tibetan Lama. It indicates that Vajrayana Buddhism was popular in Nepal and Tibet during the Rana period. The Vajracharyas became hereditary priests as the Brahmans. They are said to have neglected the profound meditation which was the main basis of Vajrayana Buddhism.

### 6.10.2. Leaders of Theravada Revival

When Svayambhu *Mahachaitya* was being conserved between 1918-1921 A.D., Nepal was in touch with Tibetan *Lamas*. In 1926 A.D., Tsering Norbu of Tibet came to Nepal. He meditated at the *Mahasiddha* grotto of Nagarjuna. He preached *Saddharma* [68] and *Bodhijnana*. Tsering Norbu's emphasis was on *Pravajya* (monkhood). He propagated that there is no restriction in ordination of non- Buddhist. Only Buddhists were ordained in Nepal. His view opened the eyes of the devotees of Buddhism. He ordained Prem Bahadur Shrestha, a non-Buddhist. The other persons ordained by him were Buddha Ratna Shakya, Jnana Ratna Shakya, Dalchini Manandhar and Bekha Raj Vajracharya *Bhikshu*. They were given the name Mahaprajna, Mahachandra, Mahakshyanti, Mahajnana, Mahavirya respectively. The act of Tsering Norbu was reported to the Rana government. Tsering Norbu became eye shore to the government. The Lama and five *Bhikshus* were expelled from the country. Tsering Norbu was not allowed to make conservation of Svayambhu *Maha chaitya*. Tsering Norbu's role proved to be noteworthy in the revival of Buddhism in Nepal. The five monks ordained by Tsering Norbu were wearing *Chivar* (saffron dress). It was not tolerable to the Vajracharyas. Chandra

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67. *Ibid*, pp. 327-329.
68. B.R Abbedkar, *The Buddha And His Dharma*, (Nagpur : Buddha Bhumi Publication, 1997), pp. 71, 291, 317. Ambedkar defines that *Dharma* consists of work of *Prajna* and *Karuna* and *Dharma* to be *Saddharma* must promote equalitybetween man and man.It teaches *Vidya* and *Pradanya* (knowledge and inasight). Saddharma promotes *Pradnya Bodhijnana* (enlightenment).

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Shamsher took advantage of it and exploited the situation in his favor. He adopted the policy of divide and rule. He created a split between two important Buddhist communities, the Vajracharyas and the Udas. The Udas, being involved in business, arts and crafts were rich. The Vajracharyas considered themselves as higher to them in caste. The root of the split is generally attributed to Chandra Shamsher's action which demanded imposition of Hindu rites by Vajracharyas. The Vajracharyas did not like the Lama's popularity. They considered that the *Lama's* action undermined their own position and authority as traditional religious leaders and the family priests of the Newar Buddhist community. During the Prime Ministership of Chandra Shumsher (1901-1929 A.D.), the law of Nepal prohibited conversion from one religion to another. Moreover, he enacted the law prohibiting the conversion of Nepalis women into nuns. He expelled the five persons ordained by the *Lama* from the country by issuing a *Sanad* (circular). The expelled monks went to Mahabodhi Society at Calcutta (India) for moral suppor. [69] To support the expelled monks, the Mahabodhi Society sought clarification from the Rana rulers. But Chandra Shamsher replied that he had done so in accordance with the laws of the realm to suppress the conversion of Nepalis into Lamaism, a religion foreign to Nepal.[70]

In Calcutta the expelled Buddhists were received by Dharmaditya Dharmacharya. He helped them and publicized the news of injustice done to the expelled monks in the Indian newspaper. Later on the expelled monks went to Tibet and Burma. It is stated that Tsering Norbu later on came to Manichud hill at Sankhu and died while performing meditation. In 1924 A.D. (1981 V.S.) Tibetan *Lama* Kyangtse came from Kham (the eastern province) of Tibet all the way prostrating and praying. He came to pay homage to Svayambhu. His sojourn from Kham to Nepal took four years. In 1925 A.D. (1045 N.S.), he reached Nepal. *Shahu* Dharma Man Singh Tuladhar hosted him. *Lama* Kyangtse preached the gospel of Lord Buddha at various places in the Valley. He gave discourses on *Samanta Bhadra Mukha Darshan* (philosophy of Samanta Bhadra). In a short span of time, five or six thousand listeners congregated to hear his preaching. His preaching was translated by Bekha Ratna Tuladhar of Yetkha Bahal and explained by Buddhi Raj Shakya of Uku Bahal. Soon he became popular. His preaching aroused consciousness

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69. Singh f.n. No. 12, pp. 57, 61.

70. *Bhikshu* Amritananda, *A Short History of Theravada Buddhism in Modern Nepal*, (Kathmandu : Ananda Kuti *Viraha* Trust, (Third Edition) 1956 A.D), p. 2. *Ibid*, p. 57.

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among Nepalis in favour of *Saddharma* in Nepal. It was not liked by the Vajracharyas. Prompted by the Vajracharyas, *Raj Guru* instigated Chandra Shamsher. He ordered the *Lama* to leave the Kathmandu Valley. The Newars who had eaten food distributed by the *Lama* were ordered to take *Patiya* (purification rite). At that time Yog Bir Singh composed and published a poem entitled "*Sansara Sagar Biche*" (in the midst of the Universe in Nepal Bhasa). Chandra Shamsher fined Rs. 10/- to the composer of the poem, Bhavani Bir Singh and the publisher. On the one hand, Chandra Shamsher ordered to take *Patiya* to those who took *Prasad* from Kyantse while on the other, he invited Siddha Dikpa *Lama* Sherab Dorje Prajnavajra to perform religious rite for curing Juddha Shamsher who was suffering from venereal disease. The *Lama* recited *Mantra* of Tara along with other monks and nuns (*Anis*) before Dharma Chakra *Gumba* at Manjushree shrine. It seems that the Vajracharyas prompted the Ranas to oppose *Saddharma*. It was also temporary random action. *Lama* Dukpa also worshipped different *Caityas* (*Chhopuja*) and worshipped different deities. Being pleased with the *Lama*, Juddha Shamsher (1932-1944 A.D.) later granted Rs. 1200/- annually for worshipping *Sahasrabhuja* Lokeshvara.[71] During the time of Chandra Shamsher, a drama on Buddhism based on the story of *Lalitvistara* was performed in Patan at Rudra Varna *Mahavihar*, Uku Bahal. The title of the drama was "*Sarvarthasiddha*". The Vajracharyas enjoyed the privilege of practicing Vajrayana Buddhism. Nisthananda Vajracharya of Kathmandu translated *Lalitvistara* into *Nepal Bhasa*. It deals with Buddha's life and career. *Siddha Lama* Dukpa Sherav Dorje (*Prajnavajra*) came prostrating and praying from Chungumba to pay homage to Svayambhu. He ordained Harsadeva Shakya and given him the name Triratnavajra. Local people call him Dharma Guruju.[72]

Although the Ranas were opposed to the Theravada Buddhism they were supporting Mahayana Buddhism especially the Vajrayana Buddhism. The visit and interaction of the Lamas and Buddhist scholars inspired the people. The local Vajracharyas also were benefited themselves having exposure from them. Moreover, they also contributed for the promotion of the creed. Rahul Sankrityayana taught the local laities to be monk. *Maha Pndita* Rahul Sankrityayana of Ajamgarh, India had come to Nepal on the 7th April 1936 A.D. (1056 N.S.). He was the son of Govardhan Pandey and Kalavanti. In the beginning,

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71. Shakya, f.n. No. 13, pp. 336, 338, 341-345.
72. *Ibid*, pp. 344-345.

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he was a Vaishnavite and became *Mathadhish* (chief of Vaishnavite monastery). He studied *Vedanta*, *Bible* and *Quaran*. In Srilanka, he studied Buddhism. Later, he became monk and renowned as *Tripitakacharya*. He was instrumental in the spread of Theravada in Nepal. He was a scholar of Hindi, Pali and Sanskrit. Later, he followed Vajrayana Buddhism. In Svayambhu, he discovered the inscription dated 1349 A.D. (470 N.S.) which account for Shamsuddin's invasion. From Nepal, he went to Tibet and discovered many manuscripts which included the colophons with the names of the rulers of Nepal. He is credited for making exposure that many Buddhist Mss. and scriptures are available in Tibet. His visit to Nepal and interaction with the Vajracharya became very fruitful for the promotion of the Buddhism. Binayatosh Bhattacharya, the Director of Dhaka University visited Nepal in. 1922 A.D. (1042 N.S.)during the time of Chandra Shamsher. He studied many icons of Mahayana, Vajrayana at Svayambhu. He learnt Vajrayana Buddhism from Siddhi Harsa Vajracharya of Suratshree *Mahavihara,* Kathmandu. With him, he discussed about *Nispannayogavali* written by Abhayankara Gupta of Vikramsila *Mahavihara*. *Nispannayogavali* deals with Buddhism. The visits of oriental as well as oxidental scholars as mentioned above are the marked feature of the Rana period. Their visits proved to be very useful for the promotion of religion, which have great significance in the history of Buddhism in Nepal. [73] The local and foreign scholars have great role in the Theravada movement in Nepal. They are as follows.

### 6.10.2.1. Ratna Bahadur Vajracharya

The Vajracharyas of Nepal were renowned for their scholarship. Like Amritananda of Patan and Siddhi Harsa Vajracharya of Kathmandu, Ratna Bahadur Vajracharya of Yeasodhar *Mahavihara*, was the great scholar of those days. He is credited for establishing Punnyashram Vidyalaya at Hiranyavarna *Mahavihara*. He published a journal "*Punyangraduta*". In this school he taught the rites and rituals of Vajrayana Buddhism to his disciples. These rites and rituals deal with *Sanskaras* (rituals) from birth to death. In 1944, he explained the meaning of each original hymn of *Svayambhu Purana* in *Haritalika* (laminated Nepali paper). Rahul Sankarityayana studied with him for three months. He learnt Sahajayana and Vajrayana based on *Tantrism*. Such persuits of

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[73]. *Ibid,* pp. 350-351.

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learning in the Rana period reveals the importance given by the people in Vajrayana Buddhism which was very popular during that period.

Ratna Bahadur Vajracharya wrote 24 treatises in *Nepal Bhasa*. He preached Mahayana Buddhist philosophy at different places. *Shristikram, Bodhicharya, Bauddha Prasthana Shiksya* is his original works. He was a great scholar of Bir Library. He was expert in ancient script. He had interaction with Tibetan scholars. After his return from Tibet, he preached *Bodhicharya*. He preached and explained *Arya Guna Karanda Vyuha Mahayana Sutra*. He involved himself in copying religious scriptures after his return from Tibet. He skillfully translated Mahayana Vajrayana philosophy based on *Sutra* and *Tantra*. It is stated that he is second to none in Mahayana Vajrayana Buddhism in Nepal.[74]

### 6.10.2.2. Buddhi Raj Shakya

Buddhi Raj Shakya spread Buddhism as early as 1920 A.D. (1040 V.S.). He preached *Svayambhu Purana, Lalitvistara, Vichitra Kanikavadan* and thirty two *Jatakas*. [75]

### 6.10.2.3. Dharmaditya Dharmacharya

Jagat Man Vajracharya was the earlier name of Dharmaditya Dharmacharya (1932-1963 A.D.). He was the youngest son of Vrisha Man Vaidya of Saptapur *Mahavihara*, Patan. It is stated that when he arrived in Calcutta, he was influenced by *Anagarik* Dharmapala. He began to study Theravada Buddhism, changed his name to Dharmaditya Dharmacharya and began to spread the words of the Buddha. As regards his academic career, he had his higher study in commerce after his matriculation. Then, he went to Landon for further study. Later, he studied Pali and Buddhist texts. He became active member of Mahabodhi Society, Culcutta. When he came to Nepal in 1923A.D. in vacation, he formed a trust, Nepal Buddhist Promotion Association in Lalitpur and the Buddhist Relief Association in Kathmandu. Buddhist Relief Assosation included Khadga Raj, Triratna Man, Buddhiratna, Kuldip and Chittadhar Hridaya as members. He published a magazine '*Buddha Dharam Ra Nepal Bhasa*' from Calcutta in 1925 A.D. In that magazine he wrote - "It is sad thing that in Lumbini where Lord Buddha was born

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74. *Ibid*, pp. 380-383.

75. *Ibid*, pp. 330-331.

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and where there are thousands of *Buddhamargis*, *Buddha Jayanti* is not observed. It is therefore necessary that a worship procession is held on auspicious occasion of *Vaishakh Purnima (Buddha Jayanti day)*. Let us start the worship of Lord Buddha at the main Buddhist sites like Manjupatan, Ashokpattan and Lumbini. The observation of the same in Lumbini is indispensable as it is the most important place where prince Siddharta was born". He also published an English journal entitled "*Buddhist India*". In Hindi and Bengali, he established *Himalayan Buddhist* mainly focusing on Buddhism. He also organized many Buddhist conferences in India. In his efforts, he got all co-operation, help and inspiration from Mahabodhi Society of India. Its founder was *Anagarika* Dharmapala. The religious journal attempted the renaissance of Buddhism in Nepal. However, the journals were banned in Nepal."[76]

When he came to Nepal, he went to Kimdol. He was moved by the deplorable condition of *Vihara* which was covered by herbs and shrubs. He showed the deteriorating condition of *Vihara* in his journal "*Buddha Dharma*". He pleaded for its conservation with the support of the businessmen of Kathmandu .He restored the *Vihara*. The *Vihara* was built in the medieval period by Malla King Parthivendra Malla in 1687 A.D. (807 N.S.) The inscription of the time mentions the name of *Vihara* as "*Kirtan Vihara*". Dharmaditya organized the *Vihara* well. In 1924 A.D. (1044 N.S.), he devoted his time in removing evil customs of Shakya *Bhikshu*, Brahmacharya *Bhikshu* and Vajracharyas. He established the system of celebrating Buddha *Jayanti* on the day of *Vaisakh Purnima*. He established associations of both male and female laity. He spread *Nepal Bhasa* and its literature in western society. He established Nepal Bhasa Sahitya Mandal at Dharmarajik *Vihara*. He used *Nepal Bhasa* for propagation of Buddhism. He was the Secretary of Bengali Buddhist Association at Dharmakar *Vihara*. He published the journal *Himalaya Baudha* in Nepali. He proposed to bring relics of Shaliputra and Maudgalayan from Britain. He pleaded that the temple of Baudhagaya should be returned to *Baudhamargis* from the *Mahanta* (head of the monastery). He also formed the Buddhist India Association, Kalingpong Buddhist Association and All India Buddhist Association. He went to Burma and Srilanka for getting support. He convened All India Buddhist Conference in December 1928. He was invited to be the Secretary of the organizing

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[76]. Tuladhar, f.n. No. 51, p.12; Singh, f.n. No.16, p. 62.

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committee of International Buddhist Conference in Japan.[77] He stopped animal sacrifice at Mayadevi temple of Lumbini, Nepal. He also worked as a temporary Lecturer of Pali in Tribhuvan University, Department of Ancient History and Culture.[78] Kesar Lal writes that the *Sangha* (fraternity of monks) in Nepal was quite small during the beginning of the 20th century but it was quite active one.[79] To sum up his version, (during the Rana regime) a number of persons had become monks seeking ordination either by Tibetan Lama in Tibet or by Burmise monk residing in India. Although there were never more than a dozen monks, the Rana government tried to suppress the revival of Theravada Buddhism in Nepal by expelling them from the country. These expulsions tarnished the image of the government of Nepal in India, Burma and Sri Lanka. The monks were welcomed and they were helped by fellow Buddhists and by their own compatriots living in these countries. Causes attributed for the suppression of Theravada Buddhism are seen from different angles. The ruling Ranas aspired the stability of their rule and they saw Theravada teachings based on equality, fraternity and liberty are restricting factors in their policy. The Vajracharyas feared that their supremacy and their priest craft would be adversely affected with the spread of Theravada Buddhism. They do not attach more importance in Buddhist education rather they give importance to the traditional rites and rituals.

During the Rana regime, Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism were popular. Celibate monks were out of scene. Dharmaditya Dharmacharya, *Bhikshu* Dhamaloka, Mahaprajna, Prajnananda, Amritananda and others were the protagonist of Theravada movement. *Lama* Kyantse of Kham who used to preach in Kimdol *Vihara*, Svayambhu is also credited for his contribution in the revival of Theravada in Nepal. In his sermon, he tried to awaken the listeners. It paved the way for Theravada revival in Nepal. With the instigation of *Raj Guru* (royal preceptor), Chandra Shamsher had ordered the *Lama* to leave the Valley. It created discontentment among the Theravada Buddhists and stimulated them.

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77. Singh, f.n. No 16. 62.
78. Shakya, f.n.No. 13, p.334.
79. Kesar Lal, *A Brief Biography of Ven. Bhikkhu Amritananda,* (Kathmandu : Ananda Kuti Virhar Trust, 1985), p. 33, K. Lal writes-There were no more monks living in the *Viharas* or monastries in Kathmandu Valley then. But in this *Viharas* there were mural paintings of monks. Pointing to the paintings one old man told to the boys undergoing limitations "There are no living monks. They can be seen only in the picture like these".

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### 6.10.2.4. Mahaprajna

Mahaprajna's (1901-1978 A.D.) emergence marked the beginning of new era in the history of Buddhism in Nepal. Mahaprajna was the first monk ordained in 1924 A.D. by Tibetan Lama Tsharing Norbu, who came to Kathmandu in 1924 A.D. from Lhasa. As the law of Nepal prohibited conversion from one religion to another, Mahaprajna was expelled from the country along with four other persons who likewise had become Buddhist monks. [80] He was charged with wearing *Chivara* and begging on the streets. Mahaprajna, born in a Shrestha family, was opposed by priestly class including Brahmans and Vajracharyas. Buddhism was no longer considered the monopoly of a certain caste. Mahaprajna's ordination was an unusual phenomenon in contemporary society which was based on rigidity of caste. The Vajracharyas, Shakyas and other *Bauddhamargis* such as Manandhar, Udas, Chitrakaras and Jyapus being the professional divisions of medieval Nepal were supposed to be entitled for monkhood. *Vamsavali* mentions that Krakuchhanda Buddha ordained the Buddhists of the same stock. Those who wished to remain in the household became laity and those who wished to be monks were ordained by Krakucchanda Buddha. Therefore, they lived in complete harmony for a long time. In the beginning of twentieth century, Buddhism no longer remained as an exclusive right of Vajracharyas and Shakyas. After expulsion from Nepal, Mahaprajna went to Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. From there, he made his way to India and in 1928 A.D., he was again ordained a *Thera* Buddhist monk at Kusinara by U. Chandramani. After getting exposure abroad, he claimed that he was entitled for monkhood. He had practical education in India and Burma. He attracted many youths of Nepal to become monks. Later, he led a married life for some time. After the birth of a son and daughter, he again returned to the life of a monk. This event eventually proved to be an eye opener to all who were aspiring to be monks at their own sweet will. [81]

### 6.10.2.5. Persecution of Eleven Persons

In 1930 A.D. (1987 V.S.) eleven persons , Yog Bir Singh, Manik Man, Karuna Ratna, Siddhi Ratna, Dash Ratna, Khadga Raj, later *Sthavira* Dhammaloka, Manju Harsa, Mandas and Chittadhar Hridaya were persecuted on charge of spreading ostentatious

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80. Bhikshu Amritananda, *A Short History of Theravada Buddhism in Modern Nepal*, (Kathmandu : (Third Edition ) Ananda Kuti Virahara Trust, 1886 A.D), pp. 2-3.
81. *Ibid*, p.3

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(alien) religion. They were deported out of the Kathmandu Valley because they preached non-violence and exhorted the people not to sacrifice animals or eat meat or drink, true to the tenets of Buddhism. Before deportation, they were whipped personally by the then Prime Minister Bhim Shamsher. [82] Thus the Ranas followed anti Buddhist policy and suppressed Theravada. However, Buddhism sustained many persecutions, but it did not become extinct in Nepal.

### 6.10.2.6. Bhikshu Dhammaloka

*Bhikshu* Dhammaloka was the first monk of Udas community. It is stated that he was inspired by Rahul Sankrityayana to become a monk. He practised Buddhism in Kimdol *Vihara* after his return from Sri Lanka. The Rana rulers imprisoned him and fined Rs 50/ on charge of propagating alien religion. He published his works in Benares criticizing anti-Buddhist law in Nepal. He changed his name as Dhammaloka. Then, he decided to wage full fledged struggle against suppression and exploitation for the cause of Buddhism. He went to Burma with his spiritual guide Chandra Mani Mahasthavir. After his return from Burma, he was again arrested and presented before Juddha Shamsher. With Rahul Sankrityayana, he went to Tibet via Kalingpong. In 1935 A.D, he went to China from Calcutta through Penang, Singapore, Hongkong and Thailand. After his return from China, he spent the rest of his life in Kimdol.

### 6.10.2.7. Prajnananda

**Prajnananda:** (1900 A.D.) was one of the leading revolutionaries instrumental in reviving Theravada in Nepal. His early name was Kula Man Singh Tuladhar and Vaidya by profession. He was the son of Harsa Bir Singh Tuladhar and Mohan Maya. Renouncing domestic life, he went to Tibet and then to Sarnath. He got initiated as *Shramanera* (first step of monkhood) by Ven. Chandramani Mahathera in accordance with Theravada tradition in 1930 A.D. He was was also ordained in 1930 by *Guru* Forankha Rinpoche and was given the name Karmashila. He was the first monk of Nepal who openly wore the yellow robe of a monk in accordance with Theravada tradition and visited Nepal in 1930 A.D. He made unventing efforts to preach the teachings of the Buddha in Theravada tradition. He was threatened and jailed for a number of times. He

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[82]. Tuladhar, f.n. No, 51, p .15.

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tried to establish Theravada Buddhism. In 1943 A.D., he was expelled along with his seven other colleagues from Nepal on charge of propagating the teachings of the Buddha. He spent three years in exile and came back to Nepal in 1946 A.D. Prajnananda represented Nepalis Buddhist in regional and international gatherings in India, Burma, China and other places. He worked for the development of Kimdol *Vihara*. In 1951 A.D. (2007 V.S.) after the establishment of democracy, Prajnananda became the President of All Nepal Bhikshu Mahasangh. For three decades, he held this position and dedicatedly propagated and promoted Buddhism in Nepal. Later in 1984 A.D., he was conferred the highest title of "*Arya Dharma Rakshita Nepal Buddha Vamshalankara Shree Sangha Mahanayaka*". For long time, he became *Dharmanushasaka* of *All Nepal Bhikshu Mahasangha* (confederation). He published 21 books on various aspects of *Dharma* besides composing a lot of songs, hymns and prayers. He was skilled artist in painting and free arts. Most of the monks in Nepal were ordained by him. Thus, in the first half of the twentieth century, Nepal witnessed the movement of Theravada Buddhism. [83] It was the period of departure from tradition.

### 6.10.2.8. Amritananda

Lal Kaji Shakya (1918 A.D.) born in Palpa, became a leading monk of Nepal who was ordained in 1936 A.D. as *Shramaner* (1st step of monkhood) in Kusinagara by Ven. Chandramani Mahasthera. He was then given the name Amritananda. When the Ranas were at the peak of power, Lal Kaji was born from a Shakya couple- Hirakaji and Motimaya. [84] In his childhood, he revived education from a Brahman Chakrapani in 1929. When he was ten years old, he lost his parents. His uncle Moti Kaji Shakya took care of him. He was mischief in his childhood. He often took *Ganja* (hemp) stealing money from the shop of his uncle. His uncle got him married at the age of 14 to control him. But he could not do so. He often ran away. Once he went out as far as Culcutta. Then he went to Kalimpong in India then to Bhojpur in 1937 A.D. Following a religious function the governor of Bhojpur came to know that Mahaprajna had previously been expelled from Nepal, Mahaprajna was arrested .Lal Kaji was asked to go away from Bhojpur. He told the Governor - "I was born Buddhist and I would not leave my

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[83] R.B. Vandya, "The End of Glorious Chapter", *Ananda Bhumai*, (Kathmandu: 1933), pp.30-33.

[84]. Lal, f.n. No.79, p 18.

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teacher."[85] After three months, two policemen escorted Mahaprajna and the boy to the Nepal- India border. The event took place during the Prime Ministership of Juddha Shumhsher (1932-1944 A.D.). His biography mentions the episode of his becoming the monk earlier than this. While on the way from Kushinagar to Tansen, Lal Kaji saw a monk at Kushinagar. Being impressed with the monk, he made a vow to be monk on the day of *Vaisakh Purnima.* While in Tansen, he read some books such as *'Life of Buddha'* by Rahula Sankrityayana, *Lalitvistara* by Nisthananda Vajracharya. When his wife was conceived to be pragnent, he became restless. He was afraid that his desire to become monk was not going to be fulfilled. On the fifth month of his wife's pregnancy, he went to Kushinagar. He was attacked by malaria. Any how, he managed to get permission of his uncle to become monk and he was ordained as *Shramanera* by Chadramani Mahathera on August 2 1936. [86]

In 1937, Amritananda went to Moulmain in Burma where he met Ven. Anirudra and Ven. Shakyananda. Earlier, he learnt Pali in Kalimpong. In Colombo, he studied Pali, Singali and English at Vajiramaya Bambalapitiya. On January 25, 1940, he got his *Upasampada* (higher ordination) from Vajiramaya *Mahanayaka Mahathera.* At the end of 1942 A.D., he came to stay in the woods of Svayambhu hill where *Bhikshu* Dharmaloka was trying to build a *Vihara* which later became famous as Anandakuti *Vihara.*[87] He was active in Theravada revival. At that time, Dhammaloka Mahathera and Sumangala *Shramanera* were living in Kimdol *Vihara.* He preached the *Dhamma* in public every morning for a month in Svayambhu hill and at the end there was a night long chanting of *Mahaparitrana.* It was great success. Many people came to the *Vihara* and observed *Panchashila.* Thus, he carried *Dhammaduta* mission until 1944. He published some books during thiat period- *Triratna Vandana* (salutation to Triple Gem), *Pathya Sutra* (Text for recitation), *Dhammapada*, *Buddhajivani* (a short life story of the Buddha), *Grihavinaya* (rules for laymen). The Rana government confiscated all these books later. Some other Theravada monks also returned to Nepal from abroad after completing the study of *Dhamma,* Karmashila Mahathera was one among them who had been ordained by Chandramani Mahathera.at Kusinara. Karmashila Mahathera was the

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85. Amritananda, f.n. No. 70, p. 4.
86. Lal, f.n. No.79, pp. 20-21.
87. *Ibid,* pp. 22-23.

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first Theravada Buddhist monk in the modern history of Nepal who appeared in the streets of Kathmandu immediately after his ordination. Later in 1940 A.D., Nepalis Buddhist of Vajrayana tradition started to observe Theravada rituals instead of observing Vajrayana rituals. Theravada Buddhism had the *Bhikshu* organization and a well organized *Pariyati Shikshya* (traditional Buddhist education) programme. In 1944, Prajnanda *Mahathera* tried to ordain a lady as a nun, but the then Prime minister Juddha Shumsher summoned all the eight monks living then in Kathmandu and told them not to preach the *Dhamma*. But the monks did not agree it. On the 30th July 1944 (2001 V.S), the Prime minister ordered them to leave the country within three days. At Sarnath, all the monks coming from Nepal formed a Buddhist Society of Nepal on 30th November 1944 A.D. called Dharmodaya Sabha under the chairmanship of Chandramani Mahathera. Amritanda became the Secretary of the Sabha. As Secretary of Dharmaodaya Sabha, he visited each and every Buddhist Society in India and appealed to them to protest the government of Nepal against the expulsion of the monks. Amritananda also wrote letters to influencial people in Theravada Buddhist countries for their support. Then he went to Sri Lanka.[88] Amritananda played a vital role in the initiation of Theravada movement. He travelled widely and made extensive contacts with the Buddhists of the world. He got Ph. D degree in Pali, from the Nalanda Institute. He wrote over sixty major and minor works by translating texts in Nepali and *Nepal Bhasa,* in a simple style. He was active in propagating Theravada Buddhism in Nepal. The other monks who contributed to the movement were Mahanama, Kashyapa, Ashvagosh, Shakyananda, Anirudra, Sushobhana etc. Anagarika Dharmachari Vimukha, Yasodhara, Dhammavati, Gunavati and others also contributed in this movement. In 1941 A.D., Amritananda returned from Sri Lanka. He published his works in Benares criticizing the anti- Buddhist laws in Nepal. After his study in Sri Lanka, he went to Kusinagar to fetch the image of the Buddha.[89]

### 6.10.2.9. Arrest of the Members of Jnana Mala Bhajan Khalah

The news of the expulsion of *Bhikshus*, *Shramanas* and *Anagarikas* created sensation. Juddha Shamsher was very harsh in his treatment with the monks. The expelled monks were assisted by *Bhikshu* Sarnankar and *Mahasthavir* Chandramani. About a dozen

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88. Amritananda, f.n. No. 70. pp. 6-8.
89. Singh, f.n. No.16, p. 68.

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*Bhikshus* were in *Varshavas* (monsoon repairs). They were expelled from Nepal. The nuns however, were permitted to remain in *Viharas* during *Varasavas* (rainy season repairs) on condition that they were to return to lay life at the end of the period. As they decided in contrarily to that order, they faced expulsion. In 1945 A.D. (3rd *Falgun* 2002 V.S.) the members of Jnana Mala Bhajan Khalah (a group of chorus prayers) were arrested in Svayambhu for singing Buddhist songs. Their offence was regarded as equal to that of *Bhikshus*. Hem Raj Shakya writes – "One day before their arrest, Padma Shamsher in consultation with Kaishar Shamsher told that he had read their songs. They are at liberty to practice their *Dharma* (religion). However, the members of chorus prayers were arrested on the next day. They were surprised to see the double standard of Rana Prime Minister". Jnana Mala was formally established in 1951 A.D. (2008 V.S.) [90]

The news of the expulsion of the *Bhikshus* was received with great grief by the Buddhist world. Meetings were held in several countries to protest against treatment meted out to the *Sangha* in Nepal. The Mahabodhi Society of Sri Lanka expressed - "It gave a great shock to hear that Nepalis Thervadian *Bhikshus* have been driven away from Nepal. The monks in exile conceived the advisability of offering a society in order to maintain some sort of cohesion amongst themselves to do some service as they could possibly render to the *Shasana*."

On the 20thNovember 1944A.D., a meeting was convened at Sarnath by the *Bhikshus* and some Nepalis philanthropists living at that time in India. Dharmodaya Sabha was founded with venerable Chandra Mani *Mahasthavir* and *Vadanta* Ananda Kausalyayana as the President and Vice President respectively. *Bhikshu* Amritananda became General Secretary of Dharmodaya Sabha.

The Sarnath Centre also announced "If those who are exiled have no place to stay, they are welcome to our Sarnath Centre". The exiled *Bhikshus* had gone to India, Burma and Srilanka. The expulsion proved to be blessing in disguise because the surge of the rebellions enthusiasm and fervor culminated in the establishment of Dharmodaya Sabha.[91]

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90. Shakya, f.n. No.13, p. 357.
91. Tuladhar, f.n. No. 51, p.15

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### 6.10.2.10. Buddhist Goodwill Mission to Nepal and Development of Theravada

In April 1946 A.D, on the request of *Bhikshu* Amritananda a goodwill mission from Sri Lanka visited Nepal. The mission met Padma Shamsher (1945-1948 A.D.), who had just become Prime Minister. The mission included *Bhikshu* Amritananda, *Bhikshu* Priyadashi, Dr. Ratna Surya and Prof. Aryapal. The mission was successful in securing permission for one monk among the exiled monks to return to Nepal. Dhammaloka *Mahathera* got permission to return to Kathmandu. In 1943 A.D., he founded Anandakuti *Vihara*, the first Theravada monastery at Svayambhu hill. It was consecretated by Narada Maha Thera of Sri Lanka in 1948A.D.. It was the token of assurance that the ban on the return of the monks will be lifted soon. Besides this, Ven. *Mahathera*, leader of the mission got permission to build a *Caitya* at Anandakuti in Sri Lankan style. [92] In 1946 A.D Amritananda came home only after declaration of amnesty by Nepal government. Later in 1951 A.D, he founded the Akhil- Nepal Bhikshu Maha Sangha (All Nepal Council of Monks) and he was elected its President. Later in 1952 A.D, Amritananda founded Anandakuti Vidyapeeth. In 1952 A.D. (on the day of *Vaisakh Purnima* 2008 V.S), King Tribhuvan, the then Crown Prince Mahendra visited Anandakuti *Vihara*. In 1954 A.D. (2010 V.S.), King Tribhuvan presided over a public meeting at Anandakuti *Vihara*. Earlier Ven. Narada *Mahathera* paid a second visit to Kathmandu in April 1947 with the sacred relics of Lord Buddha and a sapling of *Mahabodhi* tree from Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka for Anandakuti *Vihara*. Then in June 1948 A.D., Ven. Narada *Mahathera* paid a third visit to Kathmandu to inaugurate the newly made Sri Lankan *Caitya* at Anandakuti *Vihara*. He also established *Uposathagara* (place for observing austerity) in the same *Vihara*. [93] Meanwhile, the liberal Prime Minister Padma Shumsher resigned and Mohan Shamsher succeeded him in 1948 A.D. Being a very conservative autocrat, he was desperate and seeking allies far and near. So he was emenable to a suggestion to make *Vaishakh Purnima* a public holiday in Nepal. Accordingly, Buddhists in the government employment were given a holiday that year, but only in the Kathmandu Valley.[94]

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92. Amritananda, f.n. No. 70, pp. 8-9. Singh, f.n. No. 16, p. 62.
93. *Ibid*, pp. 9-12.
94. Lal, f.n. No. 79, p. 24.

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### 6.10.3. Dawn of a New Era

The overthrow of the Rana regime in 1950-51 A.D, brought about new changes in Nepal. King Tribhuvan restored an ancient tradition of the kings of Nepal by taking keen interest in Buddhism and in the affairs of Buddhist subjects. He restored Nepal's prestige in the Buddhist world. The damage done by the Rana regime by expulsion of monks from the land of Buddha's birth was repaired. He granted audience to *Bhikshu* Amritananda along with the Ven, M. Pannasila Mahathera who had come on a visit from Sri Lanka. During that time, the sacred relics of Lord Buddha's two foremost disciples Sariputta and Maha Maudgalyana were brought from Maha Bodhi Society in Calcutta. A committee was formed to receive the sacred relics. King Tribhuvan was the chairman and *Bhikshu* Amritananda was Secretary of the committee. The sacred relics were received at the airport by His Majesty the King Tribhuvan with a 31 gun salute.[95] King Tribhuvan personally involved himself in the promotion of Buddhism and followed bold policy. Accompanied by *Bhikshu* Amritananda, he personally participated in the procession to receive the relies of Sariputra and Maudgalayana on Nov. 8, 1951 A.D. Chairing the mammoth gathering at Tundikhel, he spoke highly of Lord Buddha's teachings and their relevance in the world full of tension. [96] The relics were kept at Narayanhity Royal Palace for one night. The next day a grand procession accompanied the sacred relics from the palace to Ananda Kuti *Vihara*. Hundreds of thousands of Nepalis paid their respects to the sacred relics for a forthnight. At the end of which they were returned to the Mahabodhi Society in Calcutta. On the auspicious birthday of King Tribhuvan, *Paritrana* was recited for 24 hours in the palace and His Majesty gave *(Dana)* donations to the *Bhikshu Sangha* of Nepal. Since 1951, *Paritrana* has been recited at Anandakuti *Vihara*

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95. *Ibid*, p. 27: The relics of the Buddha were stolen in 1997 A.D from Ananda Kuti *Vihara*. A Nepalese delegation consisted of Ram Krishna Tamrakar, the former Minister of Commerce, Laxmi Bahadur Manandhar, *Bhikshu* Maitreya of Lumbini, the author, then Joint Secretary Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture went to Sri Lanka to fetch the relics of the Lord Buddha. The relics were enshrined in Anandakuti *vihara*. On every *Vaishakh Purnima* the relies are displayed at Anandakuti *Vihara* amid Buddha *Jayanti* ceremony in the presence of a large number of Buddhist devotees. The ceremony is also graced by the presence of royalty or the Prime Minister of Nepal. A portion of Lord Buddha's relics has been enshrined by *Bhikshu* Maitreya in Lumbini. A shapling of sacred *Bodhi* tree from Anuradhapur of Sri Lanka which was supposed to be offshoot of *Bodhi* tree taken by Sangha Mitra, daughter of king Ashoka in the third century B.C. to Sri Lanka has also been planted in Lumbini.

96. T.R. Vaidya,"Lumbini the Peace Shrine and Place of Pilgrimage", *Ancient Nepal*, No. 143. (Kathmandu : *DOA*, 1999), p. 5.

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on the king's birthday annually.Thus Amritanada could get the support of His Majesty the King of Nepal for the promotion of Buddhism. [97]

T.R Vaidya writes- "Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher, although persecuted the Thervadian movement and expelled the monks from the country, he stopped animal sacrifice at Mayadevi temple in 1926 A.D."[98] It was the gesture of Rana regime towards Buddhism. Thus, gradually Theravada Buddhism gained ground in Nepal. The monks returned home. Many *Viharas* were built at Kathmandu, Patan, Bhojpur, Pokhara and Palpa, Tansen in Nepal."[99] In the task of building *Viharas*, Nepalis merchants living in India and Tibet greatly helped. Dharmodaya Sabha shifted it's headquarter to Kalingpong in 1947. After the advent of democracy, it was removed to Kathmandu. In 1951 (2007 V.S.), Dharmodaya Sabha was able to extend its activities with the advent of democracy in Nepal. Democracy and Theravada Buddhism developed in Nepal side by side. Nepalis Buddhists got liberty to profess their religion freely. A number of Tibetan monasteries were also built in Svayambhu hillock.

In the wake of democracy, King Tribhuvan participated in Buddha *Puja* on *Vaishakh Purnima* in 1951. The age old tradition which forbade the Gorkhas to worship Buddha in (Theravada tradition) was broken. On the occasion of *Vaishakh Purnima* Bishveshvar Prasad Koirala, the then Minister of Home Affairs announced *Vaishakh Purnima* as national holiday. [100]

The *Samyek* festival of 1954 A.D. (2011 V.S.) was very important to the Buddhists from community point of view to bring about harmony among them. It marked the end of mutual rivalry between the Vajracharya, Shakya, and Udas communities of Nepal. Since the time of Rana Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher in 1926 A.D., there was rift among them. The conflict of Udas and Vajracharyas that existed for twenty eight years came to an end in the great congregation. Prof. Surya Bahadur Shakya, Lok Darshan Vajracharya, and Daya Bir Singh Kansakar stressed more on the harmonious relationship of the Buddhist community. The revolutionary meeting was attended by the then Home Secretary Nil Raj, Acting Secretary of State Affairs Manik Lal Shrestha, Acting

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97. Lal, f.n. No. 79, p. 28.
98. Vaidya, f.n. No. 96, p.5.
99. Tuladhar, f.n. No.51, p.15.
100. *Ibid*, pp. 16-17.

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Commissioner of Kathmandu Valley Devi Prasad Upadhyaya, Acting Magistrate Badri Prasad and Inspector General of Police G.B Yakthumba. In the *Samyek* festival, the sword of the king was worshipped by placing it on the throne of the *Samyek Mandap*. The festival was graced by the Chairman of the Royal Council, Prime Minister Bishveshvar Prasad Koirala, other ministers and distinguished guests.[101]

[101]. Shakya, f.n. No. 17, p. 4: The Gorkhapatra, 1954 A.D (Magh 4, 2011 V.S) p.1.

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### 6.10.4. Lumbini Developed As Sacred Buddhist Shrine

After the discovery of Lumbini pillar of Ashoka on the 1st December 1896A.D., the importance of Lumbini was realized even during the Rana regime. Kaishar Shamsher cleaned the site and built a temple of Mayadevi on the nativity site on the remains of several temples built in Maurya, Sunga, Kushana and Gupta periods dating back to the third century B.C.

Tuladhar mentions that the discovery of Lumbini pillar located by the side of Mayadevi Temple aroused world wide interest. King Tribhuvan and the then Prime Minister Matrika Prasad Koirala handed over the archaeological site to a committee for its development in 1952 A.D. Dharmodaya Sabha had three nominees in the committee. The Sabha had the immediate programme of developing Lumbini with the provision of a residence of *Bhikshus*, construction of roads to the visitors and lodging for the pilgrims. He has given the detail account of it.[102]

## 6.11. Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah

King Mahendra (1955-1972 A.D.) visited Lumbini on the, 19th February1956 A.D (the 7th of *Falgun* 2012 V.S). He highlighted the importance of the holy site as a birthplace of the great person like Lord Buddha. He also spoke in appreciation of Buddha's teachings. He declared - "As *Vaishakh Purnima* is a birthday of Lord Buddha, I wish it to be observed throughout the kingdom without any animal being sacrificed."[103] He further adds-"the government will stop animal sacrifice on that day". His speech reveals that a guest house, garden, a bridge and the road construction had been started. He laid the

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[102]. Tuladhar, f.n. No. 51, p. 17, Memorandom of Dharmodaya Sabha, May 26, pp 50, p. 6. Tuladhar writes – "Since the discovery of the Asokan pillar and the temple of Mahamaya, the mother of Lord Buddha, world wide interest has been aroused. And thanks to the late H.M.King Tribhuvan and His Ex- Prime Minister, the Hon'ble Sri M.P. Koirala, the sacred site has been handed over to a committee cissisting of two government officials (the adjoining district *Dada Hakims*) one local non official representatives and three members of the Dharmodaya Sabha in the year 1952 A.D. The immediate programme of the Sabha in regard to Lumbini is to make provisions for the residence of a *Bhikshu*, to construct roads and to provide facilities for the visit and lodging of pilgrims" In a Memorandom submitted to the World Felloship of Buddhist Conference held at Colombo, Ceylon, May 26, 1950 it was stated the management and upkeep of Lumbini, Kapilvastu and other such ancient *Viharas* in Nepal should be entrusted to a committee of Buddhists.

[103]. Vaidya, f.n. No. 96, p .6.

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foundation of Mahendra pillar at Lumbini garden.[104] King Mahendra started the system of celebrating *Vaishakh Purnima* as a national festival. It is being celebrated as national festival from 1951 A.D. (7th of *Falgun* 2007 V.S.).

### 6.11.1. The Fourth Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists

In November 1956 A.D., the fourth conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists (WFB) was organised in Nepal on the occasion of 2500th anniversary of the *Mahaparinirvana* of Lord Buddha. It was considered most appropriate to hold the conference in the Land of Lord Buddha's birthplace.[105] It was organized under the auspicies of Dharmodaya Sabha. World Fellowship of the Buddhists (WBF), an international organization was founded with the pious wish of Dr. G.P. Malalasekara of Sri Lanka on 1950 A.D. Its first general conference was held in Colombo, Sri Lanka in the same year. Amritananda was invited to the conference. He led Nepalis delegation to Colombo. It was regarded as the turning point in the history of Buddhism in Nepal. Nepal formally became a member of the community of the Buddhist countries in the world. Dharmodaya Sabha was recognized as the regional centre of the World Felloship of Buddhists for Nepal. *Bhikshu* Amritananda played active role in the conference. Since then, he attended all the general conferences of WFB besides attending the Asian Buddhist Meeting and the world Religious Conference. [106] In the first conference of WFB, many nations of the world participated which adopted its objectives and regulation. Twice a year its conference was scheduled. A memorandum on Buddhism in Nepal submitted by Dharmodaya Sabha at the World Felloship of Buddhists Conference held at Colombo Ceylon on May 16 1950 give the features of Buddhism in Nepal and refers Dharmaditya Dharmacharya as well known Buddhist association of Nepal throughout the world.[107] The second conference WFB was held in September 1952 A.D. at Tokyo,

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104. *Ibid*, p .6. Vaidya writes-" According to Shree Lok Darshan Vajracharya, the then Principal Private Secretary, the whole expenses of the construction of the pillar," Mahendra Sthāmbha" was borne by royal palace."
105. Tuladhar, f.n. No. 51, p. 18.
106. Lal, f.n. No. 79, p. 29.
107. Dharmodaya Sabha, *Buddhism in Nepal(* Colombo, Ceylon: A memorandum presented to the World Fellowship of Busddhists Conference, May 26, 1950) pp. 2-3: The memorandum mentions -" But what the Buddhists of Nepal practice today is neither Theravada nor Mahayana Buddhism. It is peculiarly blended with non Buddhist elements to the great extent. Caste system and other other evels quite foreign to Buddhist society are rampant among them".

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Japan. 123 representatives of 21 nations of the world participated in this conference. The third conference of the WFB was held at Rasanguha in Rangoon in 1954 A.D.[108]

In that conference King Tribhuvan and the then Prime Minister Matrika Prasad Koirala sent message of good will and invited the World Fellowship of Buddhist Conference to be held in Nepal. The conference unanimously accepted the proposal.[109] In between the third and fourth conference, Kula Dharma Ratna Tuladhar attended the World Religionists Conference held in Tokyo, Japan in August 1955 A.D.. The third conference decided to convene the fourth conference in Kathmandu on the auspicious occasion of 2500 Buddha *Jayanti* in 1956 A.D.[110] The then Prime Minister Tanka Prasad Acharya assured to support for the successful conduction of the fourth World Fellowship of Buddhist Conference. Dharmaodaya Sabha proposed a budget of 189,000 N.C and 177,250 I.C. The government provided 100, 000 I.C and 50,000 N.C. to the Sabha. For the successful organization of the conference a committee was formed under the chairmanship of Lok Darshan Vajracharya, Principal Private Secretary of His Majesty the King.[111] Twelve Committees were formed for the organization of the conference.from Nov.15 to 21, 1956 A.D. One hundred and fifty scholars from about forty countries were invited in the conference.[112] In the Fourth Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists (WFB) in 1956 A.D., King Mahendra fully supported for the successful organisation of the conference. Eight head of the states were invited to attend the conference. The aim of the conference was to make it, the conference of culture and promote mutual co-existence and good will among people of different faiths. The conference was successful in its aim and objectives with full protection of His Majesty the king. Various representatives presented papers on various aspects of Buddhism. A report presented by K.S. Fung, Chief deligate of Hongkong refers activities conducted by Hongkong for promotion of Buddhism within two years. They included joint celebration of Buddha Jayanti in Hongkong, Buddhist communal memorial services, series of public lectures on Buddhism, planning of new schools on Buddhism, organization of orphanage

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[108]. Dharmodaya Sabha, *Chaturtha Vishva Bauddha Samelan* (Fourth World Buddhist Conference) (Kathmandu : Nepal, No date).

[109]. Tuladhar, f.n. No. 51, p. 18.

[110]. Sabha, f.n. No.107, p. 3.

[111]. Shakya, f.n. No.13, p. 390.

[112]. Sabha, f.n., No. 107, p. 6.

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and homes for the aged women, study of the *Vijnaptimatrata Siddhi Shastra*, English translation of *Yogacara Bhumishastra*, *Dharma* meetings, Abbot Fatko's Buddhist mission in Honolulu and maintenance of contact with the Buddhists of many countries etc.[113] The other papers highlight the different aspects of Buddhism.

Bhikshu Amritananda and Mani Harsha Jyoti played active role in the first WFB Conference. In the second Conference Amritananda and Kesar Lal and in the third Conference, Amritananda were delegates of Nepal. After conclusion of the Fourth Conference, Amritananda participated in the 2500 Buddha Fellowship *Jayanti* (celebration) in India at the invitation of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, the honorary chairman of the working committee. The celebration lasted for three weeks from 23rd Nov. 1956 A.D. In a symposium at New Delhi, *Bhikshu* Amritananda delivered lecture on the message of Lord Buddha. Thus, with the active support of the King of Nepal and active role of *Bhikshu* Amritananda, Theravada became popular in Nepal. It is rightly remarked that the advent of democracy in Nepal coincided with the renaissance of Theravada Buddhism, Hinayana, Mahayana, Vajrayana *Viharas* and monasteries flourished in Svayambhu. All the three sects of Buddhism appeared in integrated form. Syncretism became the feature of the days. Svayambhu and Vajrayogini shrines were worshipped and visited by both Hindus and Buddhists.[114] Generally Nepalis people never differenciate between Hindu and Buddhist shrines. Keshar Lal writers –"Buddhism and Hinduism coexisted in Nepal for centuries". [115] The observation of scholar is laudable.

Scholars have taken the period from the eighteenth century to the first quarter of twentieth century as the dark period in the history of Buddhism in Nepal. Causes attributed are the dominant influence of Hinduism, lack of vigor in the Buddhist *Sanghas* and the corruption in the monasteries.[116]. Rishikesh Shah writes- "Nepal, became a

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[113]. K.S. Fung, *Report of Hongkong and Macau Regional Centre, 1954-1956,* (Hongkong : Reprot presented in the Fourth World Fellowship of Buddhists Conference, Kathmandu, 1956.

[114]. Tuladhar, f.n. No. 51, p.18.

[115]. Lal, f.n. No. 79, p.12 Kesar Lal writes –"In the valley, for centuries strongly but truely Buddhism and Hinduism had coexisted just as Confucianism and Taoism and Buddhism had done in China or as Sintoism and Buddhism in Japan,influencing one another and in the process strengthening the nation. The Nepalese did not fight each other in the name of religion. They drew inspiration from both Buddhism and Hinduism and led a life of peace not conflict; of religious freedom, not bigotry.

[116]. Singh, f.n. No. 16, p. 32.

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melting pot of different kinds of religious thoughts and rituals which transmigrified the Nepali version of Vajrayana." [117]

With the dawn of democracy in Nepal, Theravada Buddhism came into prominence. In Nepal monasteries had became the centre of married monks. Buddhism of the present day Nepal had the quaintessence of the three schools of Buddhism- Theravada, Mahayana and Vajrayana. *Bhakti* (devotion) cult synchronized all the three cults. It is also stated that Buddhism of Krakuchhanda Buddha regarded as pure sect that went into oblivion still persisted. Krakuchhanda Buddha, who is believed to have built the first *Vihara* in Svayambhu, became the centre of veneration of all sects - Shravakayana, Mahayana and Vajrayana. Svayambhu appeared in the apex axis among the Buddhas, *Bodhisattvas*, *Pratyek* Buddhas and *Arhats* in the cosmogony of Buddhism.[118]

Singh has not furnished any evidence to prove that the *Vihara* of Svayambhu was established by Krakucchanda Buddha. It seems that he simply reflected on the religiosity of the Buddhists of Nepal .Religiosity is related with spirituality and faith of the people. It has no limit. It is regarded as infinitive. It cannot be judged in any laboratory. People observe *Vrata* (austerity) on *Ashtami and Purnima* for merit and worship the deities at holy shrines of Svayambhu and Lokeshvaras. It has become the cultural persuits of Nepal. It cannot be changed which is deep rooted in the minds of the people. Vajrayana Buddhism exists in Nepal as the essence of the virtues and traits of Shravakayana or Theravada, Mahayana or Buddhayana or Bódhisattvayana with special emphasis on the Buddhas's teachings. It is regarded as three in one. Lumbini, the birthplace of Lord Buddha, exists as holy shrine and place of pilgrimage. The.Lumbini Development Trust has been set up for the development of Lumbini, the birthplace of Lord Buddha. Lumbini, at present, is being developed as the Fountain of World Peace and the holiest of the holy Buddhist sites for all the peace loving people of the world. Even the atheists say that love and compassion is God. Work for humanity is the greatest merit. Work not only for self but also for others is regarded as devine. It is also the ultimately reality of the world.

The Ashokan pillar of Lumbini which was discovered on the 1st December 1896 A.D., commemorates the site as the holiest of the holy pilgrimage centre since the third Century B.C. So 1st December is celebrated today in Lumbini with different activities. Scholars

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[117]. Rishikesh Shah,"Religion in Medieval Nepal," *Rolamba*, Vol III, No.1 (Lalitpur : 1983), p. 26.
[118]. Shakya, f.n. No. 13, p. 196.

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mention that in the third decade of 20th century Prajnananda started the movement for reestablishment of Theravada after the lapse of six centuries. According to them, Theravada declined in Nepal from the first half of the thirteenth century. It was revived only in the second half of the twentieth century. Analysis of religious phenomena in the nineteenth century shows that Buddhism developed on the basis of *Bhakti* cult influenced by Hinduism during that time. Although its *Sunyata* concept was overshadowed, it existed in the Himalayan region where Vajrayana was practised with more emphasis on meditation, including *Mahamudra*. At present the young Buddhists think that Theravada is the only most scientific religion but Buddhist scholar Sridhar Rana is of the opinion that Vajrayana Buddhism based on meditation and mysticism is not less important. As remarked by some scholars, there are no doubt some deviations and anomalies.in Vajrayana Buddhism crept in but it is not corrupt in itself. Had it been a corrupt sect, it would have been abandoned long ago. It would not have survived for so many centuries and its traits would not have been challenged by other sects. Its survival proves its validity as a pure sect. Although, it has to make compromise with other sects, it did not lose the altruistic ideas of Buddhism such as respect the other as oneself and attain *Bodhicitta* through *Vipassana* (introspection) and mental purification. A scholar states that the westerners also regard Vajrayana as phycho-theracy. An American scholar mentioned this in his paper entitled "Value System of East and West" presented in a seminar held at Philadelphia U.S.A. It served the humanity as panacea of all diseases. Vajrayana Buddhism existed in Nepal for many centuries as pure sect. It should not be taken as a corrupt sect as mentioned by some scholars. Only the extremists say so. It is obvious that no religion in the world exists as corrupt in true sense.of the term. It is practised according to geophysical condition of a particular country. This concept applies to Nepal too. It aims at purity in mind, body and speech. Therefore, scholars attach more importance to a right view of all the sentient beings.

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# CHAPTER VII

## Conclusion

From the studies in the preceding chapters, it is quite evident that the Buddhist tradition of Nepal is very old. According to the Buddhist tradition, Buddhism starts from Svayambhu in Nepal. *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu, a self emanating light in the lake known as Naga-vasa-daha in the Pleistocene Age is the view of geologists. Scholars write that the Himalaya Mountain, the hills and lakes emerged as a result of drift of ocean. Before that, this region including Bihar and Utter Pradesh was submerged into water. The natural process drained the water and a lake was formed in the primordial period. The lake water was also drained in due course with the denudation of mountain or by volcanic eruption. Thus emerged the natural light and that might have been worshipped as *Adi* Buddha, primordially pure.

The Buddhist tradition as mentioned in the Buddhist chronicle, glorifies *Adi* Buddha, Svayambhu. It mentions that *Adi* Buddha, Svayambhu was created by the great *Ishvar* (God) known as *Sachchit* Buddha in the Naga-vasa-daha (tank of holy serpent) that descended from *Akanista Bhuvan* (heaven) on the pericap of a lotus. Thus, we have the conception of spiritual or divine Buddha according to Nepalis tradition. The *Svayambhu Purana,* SvP (myth) describes Svayambhu, self born, self originated, supreme God created five *Dhyani* Buddhas (transcendental or celestial Buddha) as an embodiment of five traits free from ego, pride, possession, aggression, and ambition five evils such as *Rish, Raga, Moha, Dvesha, Irshya, Vajrarati* (lusts, jealousy, envy, slanders and finally self ego or deep attachments)). The five Buddha remain in the state of *Samadhi* (concentrated meditation). They are the also taken as embodiment of five cosmic elements such as water, sky, earth, light and air. It is remarked that all living beings are made of these cosmic elements and after life they disappear in those elements itself. These cosmic elements are taken as transcendental, celestial or supernatural Buddha.

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These are assumed by Hindu-Heritage Endowment of America, HHFA(USA) and exit as the Buddha Nature. These cosmic elements are deified in Mahayana Buddhism. Svayambhu remains as universal ideal of Buddhism in real sense of term.

The *Gunakarnda Vyuha Sutra*, a holy scripture like *Svayambhu Purana* mentions that the universe was empty except *Prabhavasvara* when *Adi* Buddha appeared. There were no physical elements like water, earth, air and fire. *Adi* Buddha meditated with a view to create the universe. He emanated Arya Avalokitesvara. Then the latter meditated deeply on *Samadhi* (meditation) called *Lokadbhava* (creation of the earth). He created moon from his right eye, sun from his left eye. Then the system of day and night evolved. He emanated Mahadeva from his fore head, Brahma from his shoulders, Narayana from his heart, Sarsvati from his upper and lower teeth, Vayudeva from his mouth, Varuna Nagaraja from his abdomen, Mahalaksmi from his left knee, and Prithivi (mother earth) from his sole. He also emanated four heavenly kings and many other important deities. The myth indicates that Nepalis Buddhism adopted the Hindu deities in its own and reveals syncretism. However, the Buddhist scholars take Svayambhu *Caitya* as the symbol of *Sunyata* (void).

Scholars refer a term *Silankush* (cloth for filteration of water by *Bhikshus*) inscribed in one of the ancient inscriptions of Svayambhu which indicates that Svayambhu was a holy shrine even to the Theravadians in the beginning. It is thought that there was no deviation on the basic concept of Buddhism when Mahayana and Vajrayana gradually developed on the basis of *Tantras* and *Sutras* (teachings of the Buddha). The *Sutras* begin with the word *Maya Shrutam* (as I have heard) which conveys the meaning that the *Sutras* belonged to the teachings of the Buddha himself.

Svayambhu is represented symbolically in the form of *Mandala* guarded by deities and Dharmapalas in the gates on all the four sides. *Yoshin* (a timber pole that goes into the *Garbhagriha*) and Guhesvari, considered as the root of *Caitya* denote symbolic meaning. Guhesvari refers the concept of *Sunyata*. Svayambhu *Caitya* is not only taken as the mound of the dead only. All the parts of *Caitya* including the *Tacha* ( nose or question mark like form between the two eyes) and *Urna* (circular mark) taken as the perfectly enlightened Buddha), symbolizes *Prajna* (wisdom), *Upaya* (skillful means) and a key to Buddhist philosophy. The *Garbhagriha* of the *Caitya* represents all human Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas* including Vipasvi Buddha and other human Buddhas of the past. The four corners of *Hermika* represent the Four Noble Truth. As the sun illuminates the whole world, the Buddha illuminates the world. The *Torana* above *Hermika* in the east

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symbolizes or indicates *Jati* (birth), the western *Torana-Dharmachakrapravartana* (turning the wheel of Law), the southern *Torana*, *Sambodhi* (Enlightenment) and the northern *Torana* symbolizes *Nirvana* (the final stage of liberation). *Trayodash Bhuvan* (thirteen spires of gold plated tiers) represent the thirteen stages of *Nirvana* (salvation).They also represent ten mystical powers of the Buddha as per *Angutara Nikaya.* The spire is crowned by *Chhatra* (wheel) which covers the tree of earth or tree of life. Above *Chhatra* is *Usnish Chudaman* (a jewel). Svayambhu *Caitya* is thus amorphied symbolically expressing in *Mandala* style. Scholars explain that *Sunyata* is *Yethabhuta Jnana* (knowledge of realization of the object as it is).

However, a scholar writes that the legend of Svayambhu is the distortion of the basic tenets of Buddhism which is based on atheism and principle of *Sunyata* (void or voidable), *Anitya* (impermanence) and *Anatma* (nonsoul) theory. In this context, he writes that Shakyamuni Buddha's basic teachings are replaced by Svayambhu; the King of Yakshya. This version is opposed by the Buddhists of Nepal in consideration of religiosity.

It is explained that *Adi* Buddha, Svayambhu concept is based on monotheism or monism or *Advait Darshan* (non dualistic philosophy) as propounded in *Upanishad.* Whereas, it is also advocated that Nepalis Buddhism is influenced by Kapilmuni's *Sankhya* philosophy interpreted as *Dvait Darshan* (dualistic philosophy) and *Sunyavada.* According to this philosophy union of male and female provides bliss. Scholars say that there was no deviation on basic Buddhism and Buddhism develoved as Buddhayana later on. Theravada is based on *Sutras* (teachings of the Buddha). Mahayana and Vajrayana developed as a result of the introduction of *Tantras* and *Mantras* in addition to *Sutras.* It lays emphasis on *Sunyata* Voidness).

Historical development of Svayambhu cult shows that *Adi* Buddha concept was developed around the 6th century. It is stated that it developed in germ stage around third or fourth century A.D. in Nepal during the time of Asanga. Arya Asanga tried to refute the concept of *Adi* Buddha in his *Mahayana Sutralankara.* According to Asanga, it would be complete misconception to consider *Adi* Buddha as another version of Creator God. It would be an absolute reversal of the Buddhist point of view which essentially denies the notion of a Creator God. *Adi* Buddha never meant the first Buddha. *Prabhasvara* is rendered as "Clear Light" and it indicates empty mind of human beings. It is explained that human mind is empty and it can cognize every thing. As it is cognizant, it realizes Buddhahood. This nature being inherent in all human beings, it can be taken as

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primordially pure or Buddha Nature. *Adi* Buddha in this sense is primordially pure. It is stated when one's veil of obstructions are removed, Buddha Nature is simultaneously revealed in him. Thus, *Adi* Buddha is meant to express the nature of mind i.e. empty but cognizant. *Prabhavvara* according to Buddhist *Sutra* is explained in two ways i.e. definitive and conventional. If the conventional meaning denotes theistic sense to convey monotheism, the definitive meaning signifies *Adi* Buddha as *Sunyata* (void).

The local tradition also conveys the conventional meaning of *Prabhasvara* denoting supreme God. Theravada denounces the concept of supreme God as well as the concept of Creator. To testify it, the Theravadians quoting accounts of *Digha Nikaya. Visuddhi Magga* (pure path) clearly mentions that there was no *Brahma* "Maker or Creator" and only empty phenomenon rolls on depending upon the principle of causation. A scholar however, writes that *Adi* Buddha, Svayambhu shows the characteristic of Buddha incarnate, Almighty, *Devadhideva* (God of Gods), omniscient, omnipotent, and symbol of eternity. Scholars say that these are all misleading and this concept is reversal of all types of Buddhism. These expressions may be taken as extreme idea. The devout Buddhists deny it. Religiosity of the general mass has made the Svayambhu cult a permanent feature of Nepal. It is stated that *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu exists as a source of *Dharma* practice and new system of Buddhist Trinity evolved by the Buddhists of the Kathmandu Valley. Buddhist intellectuals regard *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu as the ultimate reality or infinitive which may be visualized through *Vipassana* (introspection). *Guhya Samaja Tantra* of the 3rd century also mentions the account of *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu as *Sunyata* (void). Theravada believes on the existence of 28 human Buddhas. Shakyamuni Buddha is referred as 28$^{th}$ human Buddha.starting from Dipanker Buddha. It is stated that Maitreya Buddha as future Buddha. It also believes on the concept of metempsychosis and worship of *Caitya* of the great *Gurus* (teachers). *Digha Nikaya* mentions six past Buddhas prior to Shakyamuni Buddha namely Vipashvi, Shikhi, Vishvabhu, Krakucchanda, Kanakmauni and Kashyap Buddha. Mythology like *Svayambhu Purana* narrates a legend which states that all these past Buddhas had came to pay homage to *Adi* Buddha. The sense of religiosity of the Buddhists of the Kathmandu Valley can be marked in this version.Thus SvP shows the existence of *Manushi* Buddha prior to Shakyamuni Buddha.

The period before Shakyamuni Buddha is known as proto historic period or in other words it may also be called as the age of *Manushi* (human) Buddha. Some scholars say that this fact is based on legends. Moreover, on the basis of archaeological exploration

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and excavation, existence of the *Manushi* (human) Buddhas prior to Shakyamuni Buddha has been traced. But in fact, it is a general notion that Shakyamuni Buddha was the only one historical Buddha. In this context, scholars like Binoytosh Bhattacharya point out that the historicity of mortal Buddha is still uncertain except that Kanakmuni and Krakucchanda Buddha are really historical personages. Archaeological remains indicate that Krakucchanda and Kanakmuni Buddhas lived and preached their religion before Shakyamuni Buddha.It is attested by the Ashokan pillars in Gotihawa and Niglihawa remains of *Caityas* and artifacts.. *Upaya Kausalyayana Sutra* mentions Kashyap Buddha and Shakyamuni Buddha as *Bodhisattva.* These Buddhas existed and preached their sects when Shakyamuni Buddha lived as *Bodhisattva* during that time. *Majjhima Nikaya* also gives accounts of Krakucchanda Buddha.

Taking it from historical point of view, it may be noted that Mahayana came into existence from the Ist century A.D during the reign of Kanishka, after the 4th Buddhist Council held in Kashmir.The community of monks who identified themselves as "Maha" represents an event. In 383 B.C., the community of progressive monks held a council under the patronage of king Mandali in Kausambi. The council was led by *Bhikshu* Mahadeva. During that time the Sthaviravadins and Mahasanghikas were divided into two sects. The objective of Thaviravadins was to be *Arhats* (to be pure.). The Mahasanghika *Bhikashus* gradually followed the ideals of *Bodhisattva.* The ideals of *Bodhisattva* need to practice *Bodhisattva Charya* and live the life free from all defilements and finally generate *Bodhicitta* to be the Buddha. Thus, Mahayana was developed from Mahasanghikas. However, the Buddhists in Nepal believe that Mahayana was developed during the time of Buddha himself and it was the popular sect in Nepal during the time of the Buddha. Considering it from historical perspective, Nepalis tradition needs further evidences to prove this fact. Only mythological and literary facts are not enough to prove it.

We have the reference of *Gun Vihara* in the Hadigaon inscription. It has made the scholars to draw the conclusion that the *Vihara* was the oldest *Vihara* of Nepal and Buddhism begins from *Gun Vihara.* They say that *Gun Vihara* belonged to the Kirata period. On this basis, scholars assume that Buddhism was followed by the Kirata rulers as well as some Kirara tribes such as the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley. The *Caitya* of Sankhu Vajrajogini belongs to *Gum Vihara.* Thus, scholars' points out that the antiquity of Svayambhu *Caitya* dates back to the Kirata period. So far as historical evidences relating to it are concerned, no concrete evidences are available so far about it except the

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interpretation of the term *Gun Vihara* which is a non Sanskrit word prevalent in ancient time.

Historians believe that the ancient *Stupas* of Patan have been constructed in the Ashokan style by the disciples of the *Sthaviras* who came to the Kathmandu Valley under the leadership of Kashyap Sthavira. Kashyap is referred as coming to the Valley on Ashoka's *Dharma* Mission. Archaeological evidences give some indications that Krakucchanda and Kanakmuni Buddha were born in Gotihawa and Niglihawa. Their Buddhism was well established even during the time of Ashoka who is said to have come on pilgrimage to Nepal and worshipped Kanakmuni *Caitya*. An archaeologist points out that some brick remains of Kanakmuni *Caitya* is still extent there. *Stupas* erected in the birthplaces of those Buddha and artifacts discovered in course of archaeological excavations testify the historicity and antiquity of these sites. Future research and exploration will bring about more information about it. At this time inference can be drawn that Nepal remained as the birth place of three *Manushi* (human) Buddhas such as Krakucchanda, Kanakmuni and Shakyamuni Buddha. On the basis of the evidences mentioned above if detail archaeological exploration and excavations are made in Kapilvastu, where Siddhartha had passed his best twenty nine years of youth in the royal palace located at Tilurakot, many hidden treasures will definitely be discovered in addition to the *Stupas* and artifacts so far found. At this time Dhamaniya *Stupas* discovered to the northern complex of Tilaurakot palace are referred as the *Caityas* constructed in the memory of Suddhodana and Mayadevi. Thus Shakyamuni Buddha is established as a historical personality and two other Buddhas such as Krakucchanda and Kanakmuni Buddha as proto historic human Buddhas of Nepal on the basis of archaeology as well as Buddhist literature.

It is also pointed out that *Adi* Buddha, or primordial Buddha, Svayambhu is supposed to be the link between prehistoric and historic period. Myths and legends fabricate many interesting stories which glorify *Adi* Buddha. SvP illustrates such myths and legends. *Bhakti* cult, referred to have its origin in the third century B.C. seems instrumental in glorifying Shakyamuni Buddha's visit to Svayambhu and Mauryan Emperor Ashoka's homage to the Kathmandu Valley. All these accounts are of religious nature and are proved to be fictitious.

E.A. Burt, a western scholar explaining the terms *Dharmakaya* and *Sunyata* (Voidness) mentions that Void and *Dharmakaya* do not differ from each other. Ordinary people look at outwards while the followers of the way look into their own minds. They do not know that void is really void but realm of *Dharma*. Explaining *Dharma* as meritorious

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achievement, the scholar points out –"spiritually enlightened nature is without beginning or end, as old as space, neither subject to birth, nor destruction, neither existing nor non existing, neither defiled nor pure, neither clamorous nor silent, neither old nor young, occupying no space, having neither inside nor outside nor form, color or form." *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu is interpreted in different way by the Buddhists and other scholars. In this context .S. Radhakrisnan also explains *Sunyata* in theistic way. Opinion of the scholars differs in it. But it is clear that Buddhism in true sense of term is atheistic in nature. Thus, *Adi* Buddha, Svayambhu is the embodiment of *Panca* (five) Buddha, *Pancha Jina*, and Buddha-Nature, pure from all defilement. Svayambhu exists as the cradle of Mahayana, Vajrayana Buddhism. Mahayana is known as *Bodhisattva* practice. It aims at attaining *Bodhicitta* which generates compassion, conducive for development of human beings. So Buddhism came to be known as humanistic in its nature for the promotion of Buddha Nature .Shravaka (disciple) discipline lays emphasis on *Samyek Sambodhi* (highly enlightened one). It is stated that Shravakayana or Sthaviravada or Theravada being directed towards Arhathood of a single individual became agonistic and unpopular. Mahayana (greater vehicle) or Bodhisattvayana lays emphasis on altruistic motive, is geared towards popularity of Buddhism. In the first century A.D. it popularized mysticism to attract people towards Buddhism. In Nepal Shravakayana, Mahayana and Vajrayana developed as *Samyek Sambodhiyana*. Vajryana in brief is known as Mantrayana. It integrates all these schools and lays emphasis on Anupam Vajra's (1098 A.D.) teachings known as *Adhikarmika Bodhisattva*. The main features of Vajrayana in Nepal are-"taking refuge to Triple Gems, recitation of *Namasangiti, Bhadracharya Pranidhana, Prajanaparamita* and other texts of *Mahayana Sutras* inclding *Danagatha*, perform *Guru Mandala*, meditate on titular deities, study Buddhist scriptures, offering prayers to Triple Gems and titular deities, offering fivefold prostration to the Buddha of ten directions etc". Later, Atisa Dipankara popularized *Adhikarmika Bodhisattva* by writing *Bodhisattva Karmadimargavatara* and *Caryasangrahapradipah*. In this context, Atisha Dipankara is greatly venerated by Vajracharyas of Nepal.

A scholar believes that the relics of Vipashvi Buddha exist in the *Garvhagriha* of the Svayambhu *Caitya*. One another scholar surmises that Krakucchanda Buddha had his *Vihara* in Samhegun hill or Svayambhu hill. These thoughts seem to be merely guess of scholars. A German scholar, Niels Gustschow points out that Svayambhu is not only the monument of the dead; it is an important holy site in Nepal. It clearly reflects the feelings of devout Buddhists and the Buddhists are sentimentally attached to its sanctity. Scholars

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mention that Shakyamuni Buddha appears in *Dharmakaya* (transcendental form) in *Caityas*. A *Caitya* is never reduced exclusively to funerary monument; it is imbued with cosmic energy. The Vajracharya priests perform *Busadha* (a ritual) during which *Homa* (fire sacrifice) is performed then *Pranapratistha* (original rite of consecration) takes place. But it should be kept in mind that the Buddha in his basic teachings, all the time stressed against animal sacrifice and destruction of food grains by burning in the fire.

SvP mentions Mahamanjushree as the architect of *Nepal Mandala. Manj*ushree appears in *Nepal Mandala* as Mahamanjushree who came from MahaChina. The other was *Bhiksu* Manjushree of India who is supposed to have composed *Saddharmapundarika Sutra* in the 1st century B.C or 1st century A.D. A western scholar, Eugene Burnouf writes that *Saddharmapundarika Sutra,* written in the beginning of the 1st century A.D. includes accounts of supernatural Buddhas as Vairochana, Amitabha and *Bodhisattva* Avalokiteshvara. Historians guess that the historicity of *Bhikshu* Manjushree is very probable on the basis of the manuscripts. Existence of Manjushree *Caitya* to the west of Svayambhu hill makes us think that Manjushree might be a great scholar *Bhikshu*. People pay homage to the footprint of *Guru* Mahamanjushree placed to the southern side of the *Caitya,* on the day of *Shree Panchami* (January). Bhuvan Lal Pradhan assumes that *Bhikshu* Manjushree lived in between the 1st century B.C and 1st century A.D. and he was a historical personage. Pradhan's observation is based on historical fact and seems correct.

Manjushree of *Tretayuga* is divine rather than human being. Pradhan assumes that *Bhikshu* Manjushree might have introduced Mahayana Buddhism in Nepal in the beginning of the Christian era as suggested by Rhys Davids. According to Rhys Davids *Bhikshu* Manjushree, who lived in Orrisa, India composed *Saddharmapundarika Sutra* in the 1st century B.C. and 1st century A.D. The principle of Manjushree might have taken shape of Mahayana. He was the first Mahayana Buddhist who came to Nepal for the first time. But SvP is a *Purana* not history. Manjushree *Bodhisattva* referred as the one who come to Nepal in *Tretayuga* and is depicted in *Manjushree Mulakalpa* of the second /third century appears as the disciple of Lord Buddha. In this context, it is stated that the reference of Manjushree *Bodhisattva* is not reliable. It appears simply as mythological account. It is guessed that Manjushree *Bodhisattva* is the creation of Mahayana Buddhism. He might have been imagined during the time when *Dhyani* Buddhas were imagined about the third/fourth century A.D. Scholars write that supernatural Buddhas such as five *Dhyanai* Buddhas, Manjushree and Aryavalokiteshvara were imagined in the

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4th century A.D. In this context the fact that Manjushree *Bodhisattva* of *Tretayuga* spread Buddhism is simply the expression of religious feeling of the people rather than historical fact.

Many recessions of SvP are available in the Kathmandu Valley. The shortest form of it is regarded as the oldest *Purana*. Yajnamanpati writes that SvP is the oldest scripture among the Buddhist texts. SvP written in Patan in the sixteenth century after Muslim invasion glorifies Shakyamuni Buddha who possessed all the good traits of *Panca Dhayani* Buddha or *Jinas*. His *Dharmakaya* form is apparent in Svayambhu *Caitya*. Svayambhu is regarded as the divine abode of supreme or highest God. Besides this, Shakyamuni Buddha appears as the main actor in SvP who narrated all the accounts of *Purana*. The site known as Purana Svayambhu at present is supposed to be the citadel of the Buddha in narrating the stories which are imaginative in nature. So SvP is also taken as *Nepal Mahatmya* of Svayambhu. It is also apparent that SvP written in the 16th century enhances the glory of Shakyamuni Buddha. This recession of the SvP eulogizes Shakyamuni Buddha with many epithets which are mentioned in chapter II. In true sense of the term SvP highlights the virtues of Shakyamuni Buddha and *Uposhada Vrata* which is observed in Svayambhu Hill for attaining merit by the devotees. So religiosity has great importance in it.

*Adi* Buddha Svayambhu was venerated as *Sadguru* during the Licchavi period. During later medieval period, the term Svayambhu evolved as *Svabhu* then finally Shambhu. Svayambhu was also venerated as power shrine of Goddess Guhesvari or *Nairatmadevi* or Vajradhatesvari during the Malla period. At present, Svayambhu exists as symbol of *Sunyata*, spiritual centre, embodiment of cosmic forces, ultimate reality of the world, shrine of *Sadguru*, *Dharmakaya* form of Shakyamuni Buddha, *Sadchchit* Buddha and also the shrine of celestial Buddha and *Bodhisattvas*.

The term *Guru* consisted of two letters *Gu* (darkness) *Ru* (light) meaning thereby is from darkness to light. So a *Guru* is one who takes men and women from darkness to light. The Buddha of past, present and future are all *Gurus* who remove ignorance of the people to arouse *Bodhicitta* in them and make them enlightened. Thus it is clear that *Guru* or Buddha is a title. Thus it appears that many *Guru* or Buddha existed in the past before Gautam Buddha.

The *Adi* Buddha concept of later period shows Svayambhu cult related with Kalachakrayana that developed in the 10th century A.D. It gives the flavor of *Bhakti* cult. *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu appears as Vajrasattva, Vajradhara, Shamantabhadra,

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embodiment of *Bodhisattva*. According to a scholar, Vajrasattva appears as sixth *Dhayani* Buddha embressed by its Shakti (spouse).

Recitation of *Namasangiti* text, pilgrimage to holy Buddhist sites such as Svayambhu, Namobuddha, Astavitaragas and Guhesvari and bathing at the twelve *Tirthas* are the monastic rituals of lay Buddhists in Nepal. The cult of Manjushree features the monastic rituals. All these developments feature after the beginning of the Christian era.

A scholar comments that Svayambhu has been made a shrine of a Yakshya who possessed supernatural power. It is stated that these activities are against the principle of Four Noble Truth, Eight Fold Noble Path and *Pratityasamutpad* (conditioned origination). These activities are also taken as distortion of Buddhism. Vajrayana Buddhism lays emphasis on religiosity. The Vajracharyas say that the followers of Vajrayana Buddhism invoke different deities as to make *Kaya, Vaka* and *Citta* (body, mind and speech) pure and the deities are worshipped with the sense of *Sunyata*.

Another feature of Vajrayana practice in Nepal appears as caste ridden.It is stated that it is against the spirit of the movement lunched by the Buddha in the 6th century B.C. It is clear that the Buddhist monks of India cut the tuft of their hair and resort to ascetic life while undergoing *Chudakarma* rites. Such ascetics have no caste in India where as the Buddhist monks of Nepal are household monks abandoning celibate life and are caste ridden. The Buddha directed his efforts against it. But the Vajracharyas have made Vajrayana as a closed system accessible only to their lawful issues. It appeared as parallel to the Brahmin priests. It is taken as the abuse of Vajrayana Buddhism in Nepal.

Scholars called Nepalis Buddhism as a melting pot. Some say it is a Hinduized Buddhism. It is obvious that Vajrayana believed in mysticism and Vajracharyas regard all deities as imaginative and they are used for *Upayakausalya* (skillful means). This system worked well for more than fifteen hundred years in caste based Hindu society of Nepal. Buddhism in Nepal survived relatively following secret *Mantra*, even maintaining the language and styles of the Sanskrit and made compromise with the followers of other sects for its survival. This aspect however should be properly noted and should not be overlooked.

Proper study of Vajrayana tradition will definitely be contributive in promoting peace. Eliminatin of the evils of Vajrayana Buddhism that appeared in courses of time should be properly studied and importance should be given on its good traits. No doubt, some abuses might have crept in it. If such evils are removed, it will certainly appear as pure

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perfect sect. In a seminar at U.S.A., it is remarked that Vajrayana Buddhism of Nepal is practised as psychotherapy and it is not like old shamanism and it is not a corrupt sect as the westerners presume. Avoiding black art and it prefers white art for mental purification.

According to mythological account, Svayambhu *Caitya* originated before the commencement *Kaliyuga* (which begins in 3101 years B.C.). The Svayambhu inscription of the fourth century A.D..relating to the conservation of Mahacaitya.mentions that Vrisadeva, the great grand father of Manadeva of Licchavi period renovated Svayambhu *Caitya* around the fourth century A.D. At that time, there was a *Vihara* where the *Arya Bhikshu Sangha* existed. Historians have taken Svayambhu *Caitya* as the starting point of the history of Buddhism in Nepal. Percy Brown, expresses his view that Svayambhu *Caitya* may be two thousand years old. Tradition shows that Svayambhu *Caitya* was highly venerated in the Valley both by the Buddhists and the Hindus in the last two thousand years.

Scholars mention that Theravada is preserved in Pali and Mahayana is intact in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit Buddhist literature is not thoroughly studied as Pali literature by the westerners. More research works will certainly expose its significant aspects. .

Mythological accounts are referred as not based on reason and are traditional in nature. SvP mentions that Ashoka came to the Kathmandu Valley and paid visit to Svayambhu. Native historians strongly refute this view. They say that no historical evidence is available to support this view. Therefore, it is purely based on imagination and it is not attested by solid evidences.

*Digha Nikaya* gives detail accounts about the life, career and achievements of Vipashvi Buddha. These appear as the mere copy of Gautam Buddha's life and career. It proves that the events are all fictitious. Except some legendary stories about Kashyap Buddha, we do not get more authentic records of Kashyap Buddha. However, *Upayasausalyana Sutra* mentions Shakyamuni Buddha as Jyotipala *Bodhisattva* during the time of Kashyap Buddha. It is stated that Bauddhanath *Stupa* of Kathmandu has relics of Kashyap Buddha in the *Garbhagriha.* It appears as imaginative. With regard to Lumbini as birthplace of Shakayamini Buddha the Ashokan pillar catagirically mentions-"Heda Buddha Jate. ...Lumbini Game". It is a solid proof.

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*Mulasarvastivada Vinaya* mentions that the traders and *Bhikshus* from Shravasti used to visit the Kathmandu Valley during the life time of the Buddha. The Shakyas of Kapilavastu and Shakyavamshis of Ramagrama are referred as taking asylum in the Kathmandu Valley to be safe from the onslaughts of Virudhaka, the King of Kosala. So it is mentioned that Buddhism entered into the Kathmandu Valley in the life time of the Buddha himself. The epigraphic evidences of Licchavi period testifies the fact that the Shakyas and Shakyavamshis came and settled in the valley. Some scholars indicate that the existence of Kanakamuni *Caitya* in the Seto Matsyendranath temple complex may be taken as the indications of the Koliyas following the sect of Kanakmuni Buddha.They are referred as coming to the valley as refugees. The temple complex and area around it had the inhabitants of the Koliyas. Scholars have different opinion on it. More evidences are required to prove this fact.

Some scholars write that Theravada was introduced in the Valley only during the time of Ashoka's *Dharma* mission. Historians mentions that Kashyap *Sthavira* came to the Kathmandu Valley around 236 and 234 B.C. His coming to the Kathmandu Valley may be taken as the indication of imbibing Buddhism by the aboriginal inhabitants of the Valley. Before that it may be assumed that some forms of Buddhism such as free thinking Buddhism or pure Buddhism or *Bodhisatvayana* was prevalent in the Kathmandu Valley. In this connection, the view of the modern scholars is also worth considering. It is mentioned that monastic Buddhism slowly gave way to more popular version of Buddhism which emphasized not so much on right knowledge and right conduct as devotion and benevolence The Vajrayana Buddhism of the Kathmandu Valley has become more ritualistic.worshipping Hindu deities. The celibate monks gradually have become household monks and they attached more importance to *Dasha Sanskara* (ten rituals) than scholarship and learning. It may be due to the long attachment with the Hindus.

The Licchavi period shows the popularity of Buddhist deities as Mahankala, *Pancha* Buddhas, *Bodhisattvas* including Manjushree, Padmapani *Bodhisattva*, female deities like Guhesvari, Tara, Vasundhara, Vajrayogini and Bajrabarahi. *Viharas* and *Bahalas* such as Gun *Vihara*, Svayambhu *Vihara*, Tukan *Bahal* and *Bahis* such as Cha *Bahi*, Yampi *Bahi*, Kutu *Bahi* were developed. *Caitya* worship brought about more and more tribes into Buddhist fold. The chariot festival of Avalokitesvara / Matsyendranath, (Bungadyo) was

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begun during this period. Licchavi inscriptions indicate that the popularity of "Nine Dharma text including *Prajnaparamita*, *Sadharmapundrika* texts in ritual manner and *Guhya Samaj Tantra*, the fundamental text of Vajrayana. Finally Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism were developed during this Licchavi period. Reference of devout Buddhist rulers during this period is available.

Svayambhu inscription of Shankerdeva credits Vrisadeva of the fourth century as a pious king and promoter of Buddhism. He daily worshipped Vajrayogini, built Manju *Bahal* and several other *Viharas*. He repaired Dhando *Caitya* and placed *Panca* Buddha near Godavari at Bandegram. He erected an image of *Dharmaraj Lokeshvara* and *Yemantaka Agama*. The king and people plunged themselves in the ocean of Buddhology. Vrisadeva is also mentioned as renouncing the world and became *Bhikshu*.

Pashupati inscription of Jayadeva II dated 733 A.D. (*Samvat* 157) mentions him as *Sugatasasanapaksapati* (devoted to Buddhism). In the same way, he is mentioned as a man of destiny. He is also referred as constructing *Svayambhu Caitya* but it is mentioned that he only renovated *Svayambhu Caiya* as directed by Shantishila *Bhikshu*. On the basis of these evidences as well as the Chabahil inscription which incises the account of *Kinnari Jataka*, scholars mention that *Bhikshus* had not to go for alms as the endowment of land were donated to feed *Bhikshus*. We find many inscriptions which show the endowment of land for feeding *Bhikshus*.The fourth century A.D., therefore is taken as the landmark in the history of Buddhism in Nepal in view of change in monastic system.

It is obvious that all forms of Buddhism were practised during the Licchavi period. The ancient inscription of Sankhu and Chyamasimha inscriptions of Bhaktapur inscribes *Mahasanghika Bhikshuni Sangha*. The Licchavi inscriptions of *Musum Bahal*, Kathmandu and Chapa Tole, Patan incise the term *Bhikshuni Sangh*. Narendradeva's Vajraghar inscription of Pashupati mentions *Arya Bhiksu Sangh* and Shivadeva *Vihara*. The Gajadhar temple inscription of Gokarna of Amshuvarma incises the emblem of *Chakra* (discus) and deer. Another inscription of Gokarna, on a stone used for sandalwood paste mentions the term *(Svayam)bhu Caitya* and *(Va)jrayana*. Although this inscription was found in mutilated form, it is assumed that Svayambhu *Caitya* and Vajrayana were popular during the 7th century A.D. The Tyagal inscription mentions the currency of *Saddharmapundarika Sutra* in the valley during the time of Amshuvarman, His Svayambhu inscription mentions *Adi* Buddha Svayambhu as *Jagadguru*. His Tyagal

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Tole inscription alsoshows the popularity of Akshobhya, Amitabha, Manjushree *Bodhisattva,* Padmapani Lokeshvara and Samantabhadra during that time.. Thus these epigraphic evidences reveal that *Viharas, Bhiksus* and *Bhikshu* and *Bhiksuni Sanghas,and* popularity of Mahayana Buddhism during that time. Sankhu inscription reveals that Mahasanghikas were the popular during the Licchavi period.

. During the reign of Shivadeva II, Vajra Bhairava cult was popular not only in the Kathmandu Valley but also in Gorkha. Vajra Bhairava is also referred as 15th Bhairava among sixty four Bhairavas. Licchavi period is regarded as the golden age in the history of Buddhism in Nepal.Vajrayana Buddhism had become very strong and was fully developed in the later part of Licchavi period as per epigraphic evidences.

Buddhism had to face the challenges of other religionists.during that time. Some fictitious accounts as elaborated in *Vamsavalis*. They need to be testified by epigraphic evidences. Licchavi rulers not only showed respect to Buddhism but also patronized it. They played significant role in the development of the Buddhism. Buddhism appeared as the faith equal in status with other religion in Nepal. Although the Abhir Guptas after the time of Manadeva during the reign of Vasantadeva 512 A.D. (*Samvat* 434) were envious to Buddhism.Buddhism survived making compromise with other creeds in Nepal. Scholars like G. Verardi mentions that the Buddha was popularized as an incarnation of Vishnu. It is stated that the Guptas, being defacto rulers during that time were staunch supporter of *Vedic* religion. They denounced the Buddhists as atheist and illogical.

It is stated that the Licchavi rulers had come from Vaishali. They needed public support for their survival. So they patronized the creed most popular at the grass root level. Religion was used as a means to fulfill their political end. The priests being influential in the society, the rulers used their influence to gain their favor.

The other important features of Licchavi period are the growth and spread of Buddhism in Tibet in the first half of the seventh century. Shilamanju is credited for spreading Buddhism in Tibet during that time. He went to Tibet along with Bhrikuti. It is mentioned that Bhrikuti took the image of Aksobhya Buddha of sandalwood, Tara and Buddhist scriptures to Tibet. Scholars like Hiranya Lal Shrestha write that the sandal wood icon of Buddha is supposed to have been taken to Tibet in the 7th century by Bhrikuti. At present it is found installed at Igitui *Gumba* in Buriyat republic of Russia. It might have been

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taken to Russia from Tibet because the Phagspa was the Guru of the Mongols. In the same way, Chinese princess Wienchen brought image of the Buddha which was installed in Ramache monastery and the image taken by Bhrikuti in Jokhang monastery of Lhasa With the influence of the two princesses Srong Tsang Gampo followed Buddhism in spite of the opposition of the Bon religionists. He was regarded as *Bodhisattva* and the two princesses were worshipped as *Harita Tara* and *Sweta Tara* in Tibet. Buddhism brought about a great change in Tibet. Srong Tsang Gampo sent Thonmi Sambhot to learn Buddhism in India. Nepali, Indian and Kashmiri scholars adorned the court of the Tibetan Emperor. This cemented the tie of friendship between Nepal, Tibet, India and China. It had great impetus even in the time of the successors of Srong Tsang Gampo. .It opened a new chapter of interaction between Nepal and Tibet. .After the demise of Amshuvarma, Udayadeva and Naredradeva had taken asylum in Tibet. The cultural tie, on the basis of Buddhism and matrimonial relationship between the two countries made it easy for Narendradeva in getting support of the Tibetan ruler and local people. on regaining the lost power of his ancestors In return Narendradeva showed his obligation to Tibet China and local people by providing military aid to the Chinese ambassador against Arjuna, who usurped power after Harshavardhana of Kanauj and humiliated the Chinese envoy. Buddhism played prominent role in strengthening the relationship between Nepal, Tibet and China.

In ancient Nepal, the earliest inhabitants of Nepal *Mandala* followed Buddhism.The Kiratas.The Limbus. Lepchas and Nepars followed Buddhism. The Licchavi rulers gave good moral support to the Buddhists in this. period. During the time of Shivadeva II, Nepalis traders had trade relation with Tibet. In the trading commodities the cultural goods captured the lucrative market of Tibet. The art work of Nepal became popular in Tibet Buddhism provided sound base for developing cultural relationship with Tibet.

Towards the beginning of the eight century, the *Siddhas* and preachers like Santarakshita (705-762) Padmasambhava (717-775 A.D.), Kamalasila (720-780) of India went to Tibet via Nepal. Nepali Buddhists equipped them to be acquainted with the Tibetan way of life. These Indian preachers also prepared themselves to be acclimatized with the temperate climate of the high mountains, food habit and way of life. The Tibetans also learnt Sanskrit and basic knowledge of Buddhism in Nepal for the advanced learning in India. Sudden exposure of excessive heat of India was not tolerable to the Tibetans. The climate

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of Nepal was suitable to them. So the Tibetans learnt Buddhism with Nepali *Siddha* Vajracharyas. Thus Nepal served as an interaction or orientation point for both the scholars from north and south.

The period from the 8th to 12th century is known as the age of the *Siddhas.* The *Siddhas* openly adopted *Tantric* practice openly. They were *Hathayogis* no doubt. In addition to this, they took *Madhya, Mantra, Mudra* (woman for practicing *Sadhana*). One century before Sarahapad is taken as the compromising period between Mantrayana and Vajrayana. From the 8th century A.D. to the coming of Muslim is taken as the period which marked the momentum of Vajrayana Buddhism.The impact of the *Siddhas* became apparent during that time.

*Among the Siddhas,* Sarahapada, the founder of *Sahajayana* came to Nepal. The *Siddhas* used to teach in the *Apabhramsa* languages to the common people. They were very popular during that time. *Doha* and *Caryas* were very popular in Nepal. The native Vajracharyas too composed them. It is stated that Bhusuku, who used to teach mystic ideas in the analogy of rats and deer's is said to be no other than Santarakshita.

During the reign of Shivadeva II, *Viharas* were embellished with rich art architecture and sculpture. Among the eighty four *Siddhas*, Leela Vajra Vajracharya (741 A.D.) was notable. He composed *Carya* and he is said to have started *Mhapuja.* He wrote commentary on *Guhya Samaja Tantra.* It is said that he was influenced by his *Guru* Laksmikamadeva, one of the propagator of Sahajayana. It shows the popularity of Sahajayana during those days.

Scholars have taken the period from 750-1200 A.D. as the Thakuri period. The Thakuri rulers built many *Viharas* in Patan. Those *Viharas* became the centers of celibate monks. Mary Slusser therefore, writes that the *Viharas* of Patan worked as the Buddhist Universities like those of Nalanda and Vikramasila. The medieval period was hey days of Buddhism. The period marked the development of Buddhism in Nepal. .Many learned Vajracharyas scholars appeared. Leela Vajra of the first half of the 8th century had great reputation in Nepal and India. The period from the 9th to 12th centuries also marked the free flow of information between the Buddhist scholars of Nepal India and Tibet. In the early medieval period *Guru* Bharo, Phanthinpa were the renowned Vajracharya scholars of Nepal.

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Buddhism had to meet the challenge of the Shavites. Chronicles make reference of Shankarcharya and his conversion of Nepalts Buddhists into Hinduism in the 5th century A.D. This account is not reliable. Reference of Shakaracharya (788-850 A.D.) of India is found only in the 9th century. Nepalis scholars denounce the visit of Shankaracharya in the 5th and 9th centuries, whereas the inscription of National Museum Chhauni testifies the visit of Shankaracharya during the reign of Ananda Malla (1147-1167 A.D. (267-287 N.S.). Historians mention that Vajrayana spread rapidly in the eight century. Its four main elements are referred as *Mantra, Maithuna, Yoga and Madya* (incantation, sex, profound meditation, and alcohol). Among the *Siddhas, Adi* Nath, Matsyendra Nath, Mina Nath, became more popular in the early medieval period. *Jogicakra* was worshipped both in private and public rituals to ward off the evil spirits and for maintaining peace. Mysticism was developed during the period. The Nath sect being related with the *Siddhas* seems to have influenced the Buddhism in Nepal.

The renowned Tibetan scholar, Marpa came to Nepal to get education from Vajracharyas of Ratnakara *Mahavihara* also known as Layeku *Vihara* of Patan. *Guru* Marpa got his initiation in that *Vihara,* Patan. The Kumari of Patan lives in that *Vihara.* The tradition of *Barchhuiyegu* and *Acaluyegu* Abhishek was practiced in that *Vihara.* The *Vihars* were the citadel of the rituals where *Dasha Sanskaras* (ten rituals) were performed.

The Tibetan scholar Dharmasvami's account is taken as the first hand information about the time. His account as an eye witness is taken as the account of Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited India in 636 A.D. Dharmasvami (1197-1264 A.D.) describes the chariot festival of Matsyendra Nath of Patan. According to him the chariopt festival of Matsyendranath was a great festival in Patan. People made shower of flowers from their houses when the chariot was pulled on the street of their respective houses. In the festival, the king and people actively participated

The 13th century is marked as the turning point in the history of Buddhism in Nepal. The period showed sharp change in the monasticism. Consequently celibate monasticism was transferred into married household monasteries. Elaborate study of Buddhist treatises and Buddhist philosophy was almost renounced. From the 13th century the texts were worshipped rather than studying. Scholarly tradition almost ceased. Charya and *Kriya Tantras* dominated all other forms of practices. A number of sacraments came into existence. Nepalis Buddhism became secular in nature. It had direct and indirect impact

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on Nepalis Buddhist tradition in later years. The house hold *Bhikshus* (monks) required keeping *Bodhisattva* vows. Vajrayana Buddhism became ethno-centric.

The Khasa Malla rulers promoted Vajrayana Buddhism in the Karnali region of western Nepal and is said to have made Buddhism as their state religion. However, the epigraphic evidences show that the Khasa Mallas were tolerant to other religion. In the early years of 12th century Nagaraja, the Buddhist king from Tibet established his kingdom in the Karnali region which became the centre of Buddhism in those days. Many kings, the descendants of Nagaraja spread Vajrayana Buddhism. It is attested by the inscription of Dullu. It is stated that Kakre *Vihara* exists as the remains of the Buddhist architecture at present. The art works of the *Vihara* are in the shape of cucumber. So it is known as Kakre *Vihara.* It is also stated that that Nepal was famous Centre of Buddhist learning from 11th century. Nepalis scholars were *Pandits* (scholars) in the Nalanda and Vikramasila monasteries. To add to this the 12th and 13th centuries produced a number of manuscripts which are preserved in National Archives and other archives as Aasha Saphu Kuthi at present. After the Turkish invasion in the Nalanda, Vikramasila and Jagadal University in India in 1193 and 1197, the Buddhists monks living in these monasteries fled to Nepal to escape persecution carrying thousands of volumes of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts with them. Nepalis Buddhist scholars living there also returned. Scholars mention that the fugitive Buddhists were monk scholars, craftsmen and artisans. They not only carried Sanskrit texts but also various designs to Nepal. The Buddhist *Viharas* provided safe shelter to them. Those who would not accommodate themselves in the *Viharas* lived in private houses too. So the Buddhist manuscripts are also found in the possession of private individuals.

After the 13th century celibate monasticism transferred into ritual Buddhism. Celibate monks became household Buddhists. They do not study about doctrine and its texts Scholarly tradition almost ceased. *Kriya Tantra* dominated all other forms of practices. Consequently celibate monasticism was transferred into married household monasteries. A number of sacraments came into existence. They had direct impact on Nepalis Buddhist tradition in later years. The house holder *Bhikshus* required keeping *Bodhisattva* vows. A Vajracharya who receives *Acarya* initiation was not supposed to obtain higher knowledge. He simply required knowing rituals to act as *Gurubhaju* priest. A Vajracharya becomes *Bodhisattva* not by practice of *Paramitas* but by performing rituals.

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All the *Viharas* have *Sanghas* and a group of consecrated *Acharyas* were known as Vajracharyas. The senior member was called *Aju* and the senior most was known as *Cakreshvara*.

It is stated that *Tantric* Buddhism flourished in between the 8th to the 14th century. By the 10th century *Kalachakrayana* became popular. Thus, it marked the degeneration that started in the *Vihara*. It is stated that Atisha Dipankara tried to correct the abuses that crept in *Viharas*. He denounced *Guhyabhisekha* and *Prajnabhisekh* which according to him would make the monks devoid of the right view that was the inherent part of Vajrayana Buddhism. After the fall of the Nalanda and Vikrmasila monasteries in India, some positive impacts appeared in Nepal. The fugitive monks took shelter in *Viharas* of the Kathmandu Valley. Hundreds of Vajracharyas of reputed fame appeared in the *Viharas* of the Kathmandu Valley. The tradition maintained by Vakavajra (550 A.D.) Vandhu Datta, Vacasiddhi, Advayavajra known as Maitipa, Sasvatvajra, Leelavajra, Suratvajra and others in the ancient and early medieval period continued. The Tibetan scholar Mahakaruna (Trugs-rid Chenapo) had his education in Nepal under Kanakashree. The Buddhist community observed *Samyek Mahadana*, *Pancadana*, *Naran* (*Navadana*) *Mataya* as the great Buddhist festivals. In the medieval period, Dipankara Buddha was greatly venerated. Vajracharyas exhibited their feats and necromancy. Even the Malla rulers like Pratap Malla showed his feats under the instruction of his Vajracharya *Guru*. The Malla rulers showed their respect to Buddhism.

Matsyendra cult was the most popular in Patan during medieval period. Almost all the Malla rulers of Patan minted coins in the name of Loka Nath. The festival of Matsyendra Nath was celebrated in a colorful manner. *Caityas* were worshipped with pomp and pleasure for the merit of the deceased. Fire sacrifice (*Homa*) was performed all over the night. Rituals played important parts in the medieval period .Holy texts as *Namasangiti* were recited. Scholars mention that the Buddhist *Sangha* which had the tradition of celibate monks until the end of the thirteenth century was transferred into a caste community in which members were admitted to the Buddhist *Sangha* only by virtue of ones own birth. Scholars blame Jayasthiti Malla for it. Although they blame him as creating caste based community in Nepal, it seems to be assumptions of the scholars in view of his liberal policy towards Buddhism. However, the nature of Vajrayana

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Buddhism showed the impact of Hinduism during this period. However, it appeared as syncretic cult.

The Malla period is a turning point in the history of the Buddhism in Nepal. Monasticism virtually declined. Conventional celibacy in the community ceased to exist. Celibacy was multiplied by the ritualistic practices associated with the female principle *Prajna*. Learned *Yogins* and *Siddhas* often appeared as the solitary wanderers. Caste like hierarchy evolved in the *Viharas*. It is taken as one of the abuses of Buddhism which was mainly directed against the caste based society. Vajracharyas emerged as "Master of Thunderbolt" "Master of Absolute Power". Priestcraft developed in the Buddhism of Nepal during this period. The Buddhist manuscripts copied by the persons used the title of "*Vajracharya Bhikshu*" and "*Shakya Bhikshu*" in the twelfth century A.D. This indicates the beginning of caste like hierarchy which already began in the early medieval period. *Triratna* (three jewels of Buddhism) was worshipped in the form of Shakyamuni as *Buddha*, *Prajanaparamita* as *Dharma* and *Avalokitesvara* as *Dharma Sangha*. Vajrayana laid emphasis on welfare of the sentient beings. *Samyek* festival was celebrated as the Buddhist festival with pump and pleasure. The Buddhist monks and laities participated in it.

Jayasthiti Malla made the internal organization of the *Viharas* in Nepal. About the mid fourteenth century, it is stated that the Buddhist community began to drift progressively into the Hindu fold under the state coercion. Jayasthiti Malla is blamed by some writers to have used official pressure with the advice of the orthodox Brahmans. It is also stated that Jayasthiti Malla did not originate caste system in the Buddhist community. They say that caste system was already in existence in the past. Jayasthiti Malla simply reorganized the society according to professions, the Buddhists follow. Opinion of the scholars differs in it. Some say that he was held responsible for the inter-marriage of the Buddhists with the Hindus. They blame him as an orthodox Hindu and he Hinduized Vajrayana Buddhism. But Jayasthi Malla appears in different way. He was tolerant to Buddhism. He is described as incarnation of Buddha in the *Gopalarajavamsavali*. He is also compared with *Ashta Lokapalas, Ramavatara* also. He seems to have continued the tradition of the Buddhists in an established manner. He codified the laws and organized the socio-religious condition of Nepal like other progressive rulers. During his time, he seems to have properly organized the heterogeneous society in keeping with the need of the time.

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Among the Malla rulers, Shiva Simha Malla was very much devoted to Buddhism. He made conservation of Svayambhu and Tukan *Bahal Caitya* (of Licchavi period). The artifacts including icons, coins and other objects kept inside the *Garbhagriha* of the Tukan *Bahal Caitya* exhibit the tradition of *Caitya* worship during Licchavi period. In addition to it, the artifacts found inside the *Caitya* consist of more than one thousand ancient coins which included Kushana coins, Manaka coins, Pashupati coins, coins of Amshuvarma, Shiva Simha Malla and coins of Shah Rulers too which are the evidences to prove the antiquity of the *Caitya*. Besides the artifacts, the epigraphic evidences of different period and the typology of the objects such as *Dharma Chakra*, in between two deer's, *Vishva Vajra*, natural symbols of Taras testify that the *Caitya* belonged to Licchavi period.

Siddhinarasimha Malla (1620-1661 A.D) also made rules and regulations of the *Viharas* of Patan. He was the most tolerant ruler. Siddhanarsimha Malla is mentioned as Hindu ruler who shifted the original *Vihara* of Mangal Bazar to the west of it for the extension of the palace. Therefore Ratnakar *Mahavihara* is called Layeku *Vihara*. He did not destroy the *Vihara*. He simply shifted it. The Malla rulers of Patan showed their great regards to Lok Nath, also called Matsyendra Nath. The Christian missionaries visiting during the time highly appreciated religious condition of medieval Nepal and termed it as the golden age in view of religion.

During the Malla period, majority of the *Vandyas* had become secularized although they dwelt in the *Vihara* buildings, a few were preaching monks. There was little teachings and less learning. The followers of the Buddhism contented themselves with the rites and rituals based on *Tantrism* although the Buddhist and Hindu *Tantras* are different in paradigm. The Buddhists and Hindus had equal faith on *Tantrism*. It is obvious that the Malla rulers were much tolerant to the Buddhism.

It is mentioned that Bhupatindra Malla got the five storied temple of Bhaktapur being designed by the Buddhist priest residing in the *Chaturbrahma Vihara*, located by the eastern side of the palace. Although Bhaktapur was a stronghold of Hinduism, many Buddhist *Viharas* were developed during the Malla period. It is taken as the best model of syncretism in the medieval period.

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*Jogi Chakra* was worshipped for wishing peace in the country according to the *Tantric* ritual. We have the reference of *Jogi Chakra* worship at Kasthamandap, in the temple of Gorakha Nath. The Nath sect became popular in the Kathmandu Valley in medieval period because they belonged to *Siddha* tradition. The Nath sect seems to have been adopted by the Buddhists also. Lokeshvaras were worshipped in the form of *Adinath, Matsyendranath and Minanath.* The *Siddhas* of Nath sect seems to have been deified and many legends appeared about it relating the sect with different religions popular in medieval Nepal. It is the best model of syncretism. *Jogi Chakra* worship is also performed for pacifying the spirit of the dead on the seventh day of the demise of a person by the Hindus and on the fifth day by the Buddhists. It is a common *Tantric* ritual of the Buddhists and the Hindus. This also shows the breach of the Buddha's basic teachings of the Buddha

Nepal remained as land of different ethenic groups and communities. She provided safe shelter to all socio-religious communities. They included the Gopalas, the Mahispalas, the Kiratas, the Licchavis, the Thakuris, the Mallas, the Karnatakas, the Khasa Mallas, the Shahs rulers and so many other tribes from the north in different periods. .The common people followed Buddhism from the very ancient time. The rulers who came to Nepal as refugees captured power and consolidated their rule with popular support. Although they had faith in Pashupatism, Shaivism, Vaishnavism, and Shaktism, they followed the policy of toleration to Buddhism. Buddhism being deep rooted in Nepal, the people of grass root level could not be ignored. Irrespective of the creed they practice, they supported Buddhism. The Licchavis patronized Buddhism to get support of the general mass. All the ethnic groups were accommodated in a small country. Every sect with some changes according to flavor of the soil was accommodated in the country. Respect to each others cult made syncretism as the main feature of Nepalis religion. It was the uncommon feature of Nepalis religion.The act of give and take made a single shrine common to all Therefore, Nepal never had to experience religious struggle in India. So unity among diversity became the main feature ofNepalis culture.

Among the Malla rulers of Kantipur, Pratap Malla is credited for constructing Pratappur and Anantapur temples in Svayambhu and offering gold plated *Vajradhatu Mandala* and *Vajra* there. Pratap Malla installed Vajrayana deities in these temples. These *Sikhar* style temples are in presentable form at present. The *Vajradhatu Mandala* includes the

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cosmogony of Buddhism based on *Nispannayogavali*. It shows the faith of the Vajrayanists on polytheism too. Pratap Malla is also referred to have entered Shantipur and brought the text *Mahamegha Sadhana* written in blood of snakes and exposed it to the sun so that he was able to remove the drought in the country. He had a renowned Buddhist tutor Jamana Gubhaju of *Manisimha Mahavihara* who was skilled in *Tantrism and* necromancy. He is also regarded as a incarnation of Manjushree for his wealth of learning.

In the same way Jaya Prakash Malla made conservation of Svayambhu *Mahachaitya*. Prithivi Narayan Shah, the king of Gorkha, provided a tree from the forest of Nuwakot, the newly conquered territory from Kantipur for changing the central timber of Svayambhu. Scholars compare the act as the act of sending Trojan horse in Greek history. It is also stated that the central timber was given in 1756 A.D. under the clock of religious enthusiasm after he had been successful in the conquest of Nuwakot. The inscription relating to this restoration mentions that Vishnu himself is reported to have assisted the restoration. Scholars in this regard, take as the desire of amalgamation of the two creeds Hinduism and Buddhism in those days. It also indicates the spirit of toleration as well as impact of *Bhakti* cult in Buddhism..

Prithvi Narayan Shah was also tolerant to Buddhism. Pratap Simha Shah, the son and successor of Prithvi Narayan Shah, was attracted to *Tantric* practice. The kings like Rana Bahadur Shah, Girvanayuddha Bikram Shah and Rajendra Bikram Shah showed their respect to the Buddhism. The Shah Kings got blessings and *Tika* from Goddess Kumari every year and they were worshipped as *Bodhisattva* in the *Samyek Puja* by the Buddhists of Nepal.

The Ranas were opposed to the Theravada Buddhism. It was due to the mechanism of the Vajracharyas the Ranas called Vajrana Buddhism as ostentious religion and expelled the Theravadi *Bhikshus* from the country. So Vajrayana Buddhism and Vajracharyas became closer and favored by the Ranas and the Theravada Buddhism was looked down upon. For coexistence between the Buddhist and Hindu Vajrayana religionists made compromise in course of time as such both the sects developed syncretic approach. Consequently many Hindu deities were/ are worshipped by the Buddhists and vice versa.

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Moreover, Vajracharyas wanted to maintain their sole authority and hold power in Buddhism. Later the revolutionary youths were inspired by the Buddhist ideas to revolt against the Ranas in Nepal. With the fall of the Rana regime, Theravada Buddhism also revived. There after Theravada Buddhism and democracy developed hand in hand. Worship of Dipankara Buddha was continued in this period.

One of the other special features of Buddhism is the worship of Mahankal swince Licchavi period. We have the establishment of Mahankal or Mahakala shrine in Tundikhel in the thirteenth century A.D. Padmantak Bhairava known as Sankata is worshipped in Tebahal irrespective of the followers of all religion. On the ground floor of Sankata temple the image of Padmapani Lokeshvara is installed. It shows the antiquity of the site which belongs to Licchavi period and related with Avalokiteshvara, the best model of synretism. Mahankal is the Buddhist deity with Aksobhya Buddha on its crown.. The deity symbolized all the traits of Buddhism. It is regarded as the protector of the *Dharma* (Buddhism). So on the entrance of every *Bahil,* an image of Mahankal is embellished. Mahankal is also worshipped by Hindus as *Sanideva* to ward off the evil effects of the nine planets. The other feature of the *Vihara* is the establishment of Guheshvari and Goddess Harati. Harati is enshrined for the protection of the children as mother Goddess. Guheshvari is worshipped as *Nairatma* or *Sunyata* as mentioned above. These deities are common deities among the Buddhists and the Hindus. *Mokshyada* (Sarsvati) is referred as the consort of Manjushree, incarnation of *Prajna* or wisdom. Worship of Manjushree *Bodhisattva* represents popularity of Manjushree cult which reminds the popularity of *Prajnaparamita*, the main holy text of Mahayana Buddhism.

The cult of Vajra Bhairava is also popular in Nepal including Gorkha. Vajra Bhairava is also regarded as the 15th Bhirava among the 64 Bhairavas. This cult is related with legends of Tibet, India and Nepal as discussed in the earlier chapter of this dissertation. The Buddhist and Hindu and mythologies tie them. In different parts of Nepal, the Bhairava cult has great influence due to influence of *Bhakti* cult. Pilgrimage to these religious shrines was common practices. *Kumari* is regarded as the distinguished living Goddess selected from among the Shakyas only. She is worshipped by all irrespective of the Hindus and Buddhists. She is regarded as daughter of Bhairava. This is exhibited in

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the classical dance of the Kathmandu Valleyperformed during Kumari *Jatra*. Exchange of *Khadga* (sword) with Bhirava and Bhadrakali is regarded as empowerment. It was more popular in modern Nepal during rule of Shah Kings. *Tantricism* is more related with the Bhairava cult.

Symbolic expression is one of the features of Nepalis religions. The four wheels of the chariot of Matsyendranath symbolize four Bhairavas. The *Naga* (snake) represents provider of rain. The *Ghama* (steering of the chariot) of the chariot of Matsyendranath has the face of Bhairava and the *Ghama* itself represents Karkotaka *Nagaraja* (King of the snakes). To cite a legend relating to the festival of Matsyendranath, the best model of syncretic feature of religions practiced in the Valley will be clear. The legend runs like this "Bandhudatta Acharya brought *Aryavalokitesvara* Matsyendranath in a *Kalas* (auspicious pitcher) in the form of a bee to save from Gyanadakini, the mother of the deity from Kamarupa to Nepal. From Kotpala Mountain the *Jatra* proceeded on the bank of Vagmati. In the *Jatra* (procession) the *Kalas* in which *Avalokiteshvara* was carried by four Bhairavas namely Hayagriva, Harisiddhi, Lutahava of Pachhilu village (on the road between Kotpal and Patan) and Tyanga Bhairavas as four wheels of the chariot. Brahma swept the road reciting *Vedas*, Vishnu blew *Sankha* (conch shell), Mahadeva sprinkled *Kalas* water on the road, Indra held an umbrella, Yemaraj lighted incence, Varuna sprinkled water from *Sankha* and rain fell; Nairitya removed obstacles, Vayu held the flag and Ishana scared away devils. In this manner all Gods showed their respect while bringing Aryavalokiteshvara- Matsyendranath. These Gods however, were not visible to any except Bandhudatta and Narendradeva. The people saw only Badndhudatta, Narendradeva, the Mali and Malini and Gods in the shape of birds and beasts". The legend is the best example of syncretism between Hinduism and Buddhism. Thus Buddhism adopted syncretic cult. It glorifies Matsyendra Nath, the deity venerated by all irrespective of any other religion.

In the same way, *Lalitavistara*, one of the scriptures of nine texts mentions the accounts of the birth of Siddhartha Gautama in Lumbini. This account tallies with the accounts of the chariot festival of Matsyendranath from Kotpala Mountain to Patan. It goes like this- "Brahma brooms the ground, Vishnu sprays *Jala* (the pure water) and Shiva beats the

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drum, Goddess Laksmi and Sarasvati laid red carpet and other deities shower flowers at the time of the procession of Siddhartha to Kapilvastu. This popular legend seems to have been fabricated to glorify the birth of Siddhartha. Thus Mahayana Buddhism is syncretic in nature in Nepal. Nepalis Buddhism integrates all the essence of the three schools of Buddhism. Theravada attaches importance on the *Sutras*, Mahayana on *Bodhicitta* and Vajrayana on *Dyana* and *Mahamudra* Buddhahood and purity of mind, body and speech with due emphasis on right attitude. Therefore, Nepalis Buddhism also known as Newar Buddhism integrates Shravakayana with emphasis on Shravaka *Shila* (discipline), *Bodhisattvayana* with emphasis on *Bodhisattva Charya* to arouse *Bodhicitta* and generate compassion and Vajrayana on *Samyek Sambodhi* (supreme enlightenment) for Buddhahood or Buddha Nature through *Vipassana* (self introspection) for *Nirvana.* It is regarded as the shortest way to attain Buddhahood which is inherent in every sentient being. It is a regarded as pure sect. It is also taken as the melting pot.

We have such rare icon of stone which depicts Vishnu as the vehicle of *Lokeshvara*, located to the north west of Svayambhu in front of *Agnipur* known as *Shri HariHari Bahana Lokeshvara.* Changu Narayana best illustrates Shree Shree Shree Harihara Vahana Lokeshvara. The Vijayasvari *Caitya* and many other *Caityas* in the Kathmandu Valley are in the shape of the *Shivalinga* (phallus of Shiva). The seventeenth century *Paubha* (tapestry) preserved in National Museum, Chhauni depicts Amogapasha Lokeshvara, one of the 108 *Lokeshvaras* in the *Mandala.* The *Paubha* contains five Buddhas, five Taras and Amogapasha Lokeshvara in the center surrounded by the 16 deities. It best represents cosmogony of Vajrayana Buddhism with four gates in the *Mandala.* The *Mandala* depicts the Buddhist deities venerated by the followers of Vajrayana Buddhism. Vajrayogini, Khadgayogini, Vijayasvari, the embodiment of *Prajna* are also the power shrines of Vajrayana Buddhism which are frequented mainly by Buddhists, Hindus and followers of other religions. This shows that Buddhism and Hinduism lived side by side. The reiging king was honoured as *Bodhisattva* in the *Samyek* festival of the Buddhists. The Buddhist culture is the living culture of Nepal. The religious-cultural history of Nepal is the testimony of the most cordial religious harmony between Buddhism and Hinduism. The Hindus and Buddhists lived together in harmony

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without any discrimination since last many centuries. It is the main speciality of Nepalis religion, culture and polity. Nepal has become the safest shelter from this point of view. We have never witnessed any religious conflict in Nepal even when India experienced the bitter conflict. Nepal is heavenly land with the religious syncretism. Although the image of Bhagavati dominates a *Caitya* in the Shobhavagavati shrine, we have *Caitya* on the backside. It indicates the sense of toleration. The best model of syncretism is visible in the *Caitya* of Nhyayekan *Bahi* of Lagan Tole, Kathmandu. The *Caitya* in the *Bahi* placed upon *Jalahari,* shows clearly Shiva and Vishnu on the southern and northern sides, Amitabha (one of the five celestial Buddhas) and Devavatar on the western and eastern sides of the *Caitya*. Some scholars take them in negative way as breach of the Buddhas's teachings but we cannot forget the religiosity of Nepalis tradition which is linked with the long tradition of Buddhism as a living religion in Nepal.

*Samyek* festival represents the act of merit for all the Buddhists .Vegetarian food is served as *Prasad* during this festival, participated by all cross sections of the population. It is the congregation of the Buddhist community. According to the rules of the festival all the monks and laities participate in the festival. At the end of the festival, there is a special feast for the women. .One of the laudable features of Buddhist community is its emphasis on equality and fraternity of all. *Pindapatra* (*Gulupa*) is offered to the deities like Dipankar Buddha and other human Buddhas including *Adi Buddha*. This festival has not only religious significance but also social and political importance.

The colorful Buddhist fairs and festivals are the long honored glorious tradition of Nepal. The *Viharas* and *Bahils* are the Cultural Centres of Nepal and repositories of rich arts and artifacts as well as manuscripts. In the exhibition of *Viharas* and *Bahils,* arts and artifacts, age old holy texts like *Prajnaparamita*, *Saddharmapundarika Sutra* and other hand written Holy Scriptures which exists in the form of the valuable manuscripts are also exhibited. They also contain exquisite and unique paintings. The splendid architecture of *Viharas* also is the rich cultural treasures of Nepal. Indeed, the Buddhist cultural heritage such as *Gunla Bajan* (instrumental music) played at the time of *Gunla* (August) and.*Charya* dance are the uncommon intangible cultural heritage of Nepal. It is obvious that the Buddhists perform mental prayer and mental worship. They perform austerities, recite *Namasangiti*, *Chacha* (*Charya*) songs perform *Charya* dance as song

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and dance while performing *Tantric* worship in *Aagam*. It is stated that *Charya* dance was publicly performed only after 1956 A.D. in honor of the delegates of the Fourth World Buddhist Conference held in Nepal.in 1956 A.D. Since then it has become the custom of performing the dance in public.

The chariot festival of Matsyendranath is unique festival of Nepal in which the mass participate irrespective of the distinction between the rulers and the ruled. This presents the best model of syncretism of religions of Nepal. Music is played in course of the festival even at the time of state mourning. It has the tradition of more than one thousand years. *Namasangiti* is recited during this festival. People make illumination by burning lamps and worship *Mandala* at Jaulakhel above which the chariot of Matsyendranath is placed. It is observed as a public holiday in Nepal. The Buddhist festival has great significance in the glorious heritage of Nepal. This festival is celebrated with mass public participation.It shows the *Bodhicitta* of the Buddhists of Nepal and their humanitarian behavior. Although some western scholars remark that Nepalis Buddhism is corrupt, it is not true. No religion in genuine form is corrupt. Nepalis Buddhism which has survived for more than two thousand years in its pure form can never be corrupt. Although some abuses have crept in course of time, the religion which aims at *Bodhicitta* (awakened thought) or enlightenment or *Prabhasvara* (Clear Light) or primordially pure ground observing austerity, following right view and right attitude can definitely be termed as pure sect. Vajrayana Buddhism in itself is not corrupt but some evil practices or misuse made it apparent that it is said to have been deviated with the teachings of Lord Buddha. But in true sense of term, Vajrayana Buddhism sticked to Lord Buddha's basic tenets and followed the *Triratna* concept or Buddhist Trinity in a new way with emphasis on *Sunyata* (voidness) *Anityata* (impermanence) and *Anatma* (nonsoul)*concepts*. It also gives emphasis on meditation of *Vajradhatumandala* and *Dharmadhatuvagishvara* as the Buddha with more emphasis on respect to Mahamanujshree *Guru* (teacher). It gives more values to *Navagranthas* including *Prajnaparamita* as the *Dharma* which teaches *Sunyata, Anityata , Nairatma* concept of *Dharma* and Lokeshvara *Uposatha* rites and rituals as *Sangha* attaching more importance on purity of mind, body and speech (action) for *Bodhicitta* or enlightenment for generating compassion and get *Nirvana* (salvation). It emphasizes Buddha Nature and the Buddha way of life and it is known as *Samyek Sambodhiyana* (way to perfect enlightenment). Thus Buddhism has made a very effective

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and political impact on the religio-cultural, social, economic, political aspects of life in Nepal, because of which it has become the most appreciable and praiseworthy cultural heritage of Nepal, the land of Buddha and the cradle of all religion. Nepalis feel very much proud of it.

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# Appendix 1.I

Transliteration of the inscription of Shankaracharya exhibited in National Museum Chhauni:

(१) ॐनमः शिवाय ॥
गणानां नाथो वःस दिशतु शिवं यस्य विकटे
कटेलीनां लीनावलिरलमलङ्कारविधये ।
प्रयाता सौहित्यं मदमधुरमद्यैः प्रमुदिता
।ऽऽऽऽऽ ।।।।। (२) सूर्भाति सवला ॥१॥
यस्माद्विश्वमिदं न भिन्नमथवा भिन्नं चिदानंदत-
स्त्रैलोक्यं किल लीयते तम इव व्रघ्नस्य यस्योदये ।
यस्याहंकृतिरेवमंधनिहतिर्हेतुः प्रकाशस्य स
श्रीमान् (३) वोधमयः शिवः शिवकरः संसारिणां पातु वः ॥२॥
प्राणादीन्मरुतो निरुघ्य मनसो वृत्तिं निवार्य स्थिरां
शुद्धां बुद्धिमुपास्य यांति यतयश्विवत्स्थामनिद्रां परां ।
रागोत्सा (?) (४) रितमूर्तयोऽमृतरसां नादिं द्विमन्तः कदा -
प्यासन्नोदय एव यत्र स शिवः श्रेयांसि दिश्यान्नृणां ॥३॥
मायाजालमुदस्य रागदहनन्निवप्यि स्तकीर्तिता (?)
ऽऽऽ।।ऽ।ऽ। (५) नियतेर्लीनां च कृत्वा कलां ।
शक्तिर्यस्य सदोदिता गुरुवचोद्वारा पतंती पशून्
शान्तं धाम नयत्यनन्तमहिमा पायात् स वः शङ्करः ॥४॥
मायाजालकलंकमर्द्द कतया (६) सोभू (?) दिहामर्द्दकः
श्रीमानग्निमठः शठैरसुलभो योगापगानिर्गमः ।
यत्र क्रोधकलंकितोपि स मुनिः क्रोधं विहाय स्वकं
दुर्वासाश्रिवरमीश्वरार्पितमनास्तस्थौं स किं वर्ण्यते ॥५॥

(७) शान्तस्वान्तादमलनिखिलज्ञानपूर्णात्ततोऽपि
प्रापद्यत्रोरगपरिबृढोऽनुग्रहं वासुकिः प्राक् ।
धन्याश्रान्ये धरणिगतयः प्रेरिताः पूर्वपुण्यैः
प्रश्रचात्तेषां गुणगुणभृतां किं यशो वर्ण्यतेऽत्र (?) ॥६॥
(८) अमुष्मिन् सत्स्थाने समजनि जनानंदनकरैः
शिवैः शैवैराज्ञाशमितजनतातापकलुषैः ।
अमीषां शिष्यौघैर्नवततततमस्तोमशमनैः
स्फुरद्दिभ् संकीर्णा रविकरनिभैर्भाति जगती ॥७॥

(९) तत्राभवन् भवभयाभयदाः प्रतीता भट्टारका उरित[८] मूर्तिशिवाभिधानाः ।
भूतिप्रिया वृषगता विबुधाधिनाथा मारद्रु हो जगति शंकरतामुपेताः ॥८॥
दोषोत्तीर्णाः श्रुतिपरिगता दुर्धराः स (?) (१०) प्रवीणाः
शुद्धाः सम्यक् सकलकरणावर्जनोत्कर्षकान्ताः ।
स्वान्तध्वान्तोद्दिभ्वरिपुहरा मुष्टियोगाऽभिरामा
यैरभ्यस्ताः प्रकटितगुणा ज्ञाननाराचविद्याः ॥९॥

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श्रेष्ठविसृत्पलीपतिमहेसमीपे (११) स्थि
श्रीयामलद्विशतिकादिकृतश्रमाणां ।
व्याख्यां मनोमलहरामममलां निशम्य
येषाममंसत बुधाः स्फुटमेव धाम ॥१०॥
तेपाममेयमहिमामल (१२) मंत्रशक्तिसंपातपूतकलिकालकलंकपंकाः ।
शिष्या वभूवुरिह रुद्रशिवा इतिस्वैः पुण्यैर्यशोभिरुपदीपितदिग्विभागाः ॥११॥
क्षोणीमण्डलमध्यिमेखलमिदं भ्रांत्वाखिलं निर्मला
विद्यामाप्तुमनोभिरुन्नतगुणैर्वैदग्ध्यमासादितं ।
वैराग्यं च निसर्गतो गुणवतां ज्ञानं च शुश्रूषया
यैरापं करुणारसा (१४) र्द्रहृदयैर्धर्म्मोपि शर्म्मोत्तरः ॥१२॥
येषां तपस्विजनजीवितरंक्षणेऽभूत्पुण्यात्मनां करतले लगुडप्रहारः ।
कुर्वन् विकारमपि राजति कालकूटरेखाकलंक इव यः
(१५) शितिकण्ठकण्ठे ॥१३॥
येषां दीक्षादिकर्माणि कुर्वतां क्रमतो लधू ।
अवोधिर्द्र लोकः कर्तारौ करावपि सचेतनौ ॥१४॥
हृदाम्भोगम्भीरा धरणिधरऽधीरा स्थितिभृत-
(१६) स्तितिक्षामेदिन्यो जनशुभगता शीतकिरणाः ।
स्फुरद्बोधानन्दा भवजलधिसंतारतरयः
पवित्रा द्वित्राः स्युर्जगति यतयस्तादृशगुणाः (१७) ॥१५॥
ज्येष्ठो मे जनसंयमो वत यमो भ्राता कनीयानपि
क्रूरात्मा स शनिः पिता स च रविर्मूतिश्च मे श्यामला ।
इत्थं वंशजमात्मनश्च चरितं नि (१८) र्णेक्तुकामेव यां
कालिन्दी समियाय सा भगवती गंगेति किं वर्ण्यते ॥१६॥
सेयं यस्यास्त्रिदशतटिनी भाति तीरोपकण्ठे
हाराकारा त्रिभुवन (१९) पतिर्यत्र विश्वर्वश्ववरोपि ।
कास्याः काश्याः स्तुतिरिह गुणैर्मर्त्यलोकें दुरापैः
स्वल्लीनाख्यं स्फुटमनुपमस्थानमुच्चैश्श्वकास्ति ॥१७॥
तत्र (२०) संघ्याजपेणाचस्विाध्यायध्यानतत्पराः ।
दीक्षां व्याख्यां च कुर्वन्तो वसन्ति स्म सुखेन ते ॥१८॥
गंगाजुष्टां विविधविबुधां विश्वकद्राजधानीं
काशीं (२१) दासीकृतसुरपुरीं धीधनास्तां विहाय ।
देवं द्रष्टुं पशुपतिमथानुग्रहीतुं च लोकान्
नेपालं ते गुरुगिरिगजैरागमन् दुर्गमाग ॥१९॥
(२२) इयं वाचोयुक्तिः परिमलसहा नैव नितरा-
महं त्वेतन्मन्ये पशुपतिरयं विष्टपपतिः ।
रवसेवामक्तानां तरुणकरुणापूर्णहृ (२३) दयो ।
जनानामानैषीत्परमपदलाभार्थमिह तान् ॥२०॥
ते जयन्त्यनुगृह्णवन्तःकालं स्थित्वाथ कंचन ।
पुन काशीं गता विश्वनाथेनाकारि (२४) ता इव ॥२१॥
तत्राथ संस्कृत्य शिलेष्टकाभ्यां धनैरिह (त्यैः शिव) मंदिरद्वयम् ।
वियोगताम्यत्पशुनाथभाविता इवागतास्ते नगरीमिमां (२५) पुनः ॥२२॥
अस्यां श्रीरघुवंशमौक्तिकमणि (र्जातो जना) नंदनः
सान्द्रश्चन्द्र इवान्वितोतिमधुरैरानन्ददेवः करैः ।
उच्चैः शक्ति (२६) धरः कुमारपदवीं प्राप्तोपि तैर्दीक्षितो
(दान्तः सिद्धिमवर्ण) नीयमहिमा प्राप (त्परा) मैश्वरीं ॥२३॥
शीर्येट ऽर्जुनसमः प्रेक्ष्य (२७) गुणांस्तेषु गुणप्रियः ।

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भक्तिमर्जुनदेवोपि (विदवे विबुधं) ष्विव ॥२४॥
वसन्तदेवो विज्ञानी धीमान् सोमेश्वरस्तथा ।
य (२८) शोमल्लश्च तैरेव कुमारा दीक्षिता अमी ॥२५॥
। ऽऽऽऽऽ रमनुगृहीता इति न मे
वचो वक्तुं शक्तिः प्रवरगणनायुक्तिभि (२९) रपि ।
मणीनां मुख्यानामपि हि किरणा (देः कथमिव)
(मनी) षी रत्नाद्रेः क इह गणनायां प्रभवति ॥२६॥
दीक्षां ज्ञानसमर्प (३०) णाखिलमलालेपप्रलोपाऽत्मकां
दृग्देवी शिव ऽऽ॥ मता निष्ठां प्रतिष्ठामपि ।
श्रद्धाभक्तिसमन्वितेन मनसा शिष्यैर्विनी (३०) तैरपि
द्रव्यं ढौकितमात्तमायतदयैर्लोकोपकाराय तैः ॥२७॥
कि दोनान् परितोषयाम गुणिनः किं पूजयामामरान्
किं (३२) वाऽनेन धनेन कि कृशधनानानंदयाम द्विजान् ।
आ ज्ञानं (यदु) पाश्रयाद्यदुदितं यस्मिश्च्च तस्येशितुः
प्रासादं करवाम तेन (३३) नगरे तत्रेति तैर्निश्चितम् ॥२८॥
ते प्रयाग इवात्रामुं (पुण्ये सिं) धुसमागमे ।
चेतः प्रसादं प्रासादं प्रभोः शंभोरचीकरन् ॥२९॥
(३४) नाट्येश्वरान् ... ... भ्यस्थितोऽयं श...म --दतः
स्मेरमुखः करोति संभाषणानीव समागतानाम् (३५) ॥३०॥
शु(क्लं) ... पादे जय ... शः सुधाधवलितस्यादीपयन्नंवरम् । निर्भिद्य क्षितिमु-
(३६) त्थितस्य ... ... ॥३१॥ कृत्वा मध्यममार्गमन्तरनिल-
(३७) :पूर्ण क ... ... सेवात्मना शंभोर्व्योम्नि करन्धनिर्ग-
(३८) तमिव ... ... स्तिष्ठति शंकरः ॥३३॥
(३९) ... .. ... णालये वसेत् । अभ (क्तेषु) च व
(३९) ..... (चराच) रं च गत्वा ...ह स्वै षट् क्रि
(४०) ... ... ... हिरण्य (४१) ... ... (क) लसं दत्तं
(४२) ... ... (च) तुः षष्ठि ... यात स ... ...
(४३) ... ... दक्षकस्य (?) प्रशस्तिरियं शुभमस्तु (?) ॥

Source, Jananamani Nepal, *Pashupatinathko Darshan, Sparshan and Poojan Sambandhama Samikshya* (Review, relating to homage to Pashupatinath, its touching and worshipping), Kathmandu: Mahesh Raj Pant, (2043 V.S.), 1986 A.D., pp, 46-50.

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# Appendix 1.II

Copper plate given by Sambasadashiva of Jagajja Malla, dated Samvat 848 (1728 A.D.)

स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीमत्पशुपतीचरणकमलधूलिधूसरीतसिरोरूह श्रीमन्मानेश्वरीष्टदेवतावरलद्ध-
प्रसाददेदीप्यमानमानोन्नतश्रीरधूवंसावतारररवीकूलतिलकहनूमद्ध्वजनेपालेश्वरमहाराजाधि-
राजाराजेन्द्रसकलराजचक्राधीश्वरनीजेष्टदेवदेवेश्वरीकृपाकटाक्षवलितविक्रमोपर्जितवारणा-
करसमुद्भूतगजेन्द्रपतीश्रीश्रीजयजगज्जयमल्लदेवपरमभट्टारकदेवानाम् सदा समरविज- यीनां
प्रभु ठाकूलसन देवपत्तनभूमा वपालाच्छेटोल अचूतेश्वरननी यन्तच्छेगृहवास्तव्य-
साम्बसदाशिवभट्टनाम्ने प्रसादिकृत श्रीगणेश आदिपसूपती आर्ज्यादेवी वाग्मती वी (श्वे)-
श्वर रुदेश्वर भुवनेश्वर कीरातेश्वर ज्ञानेश्वर संखनीह्नारान् सूर्जनारां कीलेश्वर धालि
दको हओयानीस पुजाओ लींगजात्रा तीर्थजात्रा कूंढजात्रा याइवनी तीर्थगुरु नेमुनी जुयेगुओ
पसुपतीस मास उपवास चोड यात यानं लंखु वदगु संखिद्वलस शाम्बया न्हापा वा वितां बुरो
५३ अओहनं ओहि थापस इशानदिसे संखीद्वलनासंज्ञक मनुलेसर राजया क्षेत्रन पश्र्वीमत
साम्वुया बितान उत्तरत मुलमार्गन पुर्व्वत जज्ञद्वल कोनद्वलया दक्ववेंथां मार्गर दक्षिनत थोतें
चात्राधातन दु संखिद्वलक्षेत्र द्वादशरोपनीकं क्षेत्रांकटोपी कर्ष १२ यलया जुजुन
श्रीआदिपसुपतीया नीतिपुजायात स्वानयात त्तओगु कीरांचोकस डागर्चा- नामसंज्ञकं
वागेश्वरी ओप्चान पश्चिम खोरप्चान पुर्व रकुंपुचानं उत्तरं मुलप्रार्गनं दक्षीन थोते
चात्राघानन दु कर्ष ९ अश्र्वमेघजज्ञया वीभुति कु ४ कु राजा लनंजितन फाडा ओहओवलस
साम्बनया कुहयाओ बिओ कुंढया परीक्षा याडाओ थ्वन बापत सुथाली देओया पुजाओ
संखीद्वल पाषओ डागर्चाया चात्राघात याडाओ था पनीस सुनान दतले थका कोकायाय मरु
जुलो शुनानं लोभ याडा कालसा पंचमहापातक लकजुरो थ्वतेया दृप्टसाक्षि श्रीजयप्रकाश
मल्लदेव, सम्वत् ८४८ वैशाखशुदि १५ शुभ ।

Source, Jananamani Nepal, *Pashupatinathko Darshan, Sparshan and Poojan Sambandhama Samikshya* (Review relating to homeage to Pashupatinath, its touching and worshipping), Kathmandu: Mahesh Raj Pant, (1986 A.D.), 2043 V.S. pp, 46-50.

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# Appendix 1.III

## Inscription of Tukan Bahal Caitya

काठमाडौं ह्युमत टोलको तुकँ वहालको बौद्ध चैत्यको शिलालेख

१. ॐ नमो वज्रधातवे ॥ नमस्तस्मै मूनीन्द्राय सर्व्वलोक हि
२. ता यव जगद धार भूताय नित्यं श्री वज्र धातवे ॥ त्रिभुवण गु
३. ण सिन्ध्य सर्व्व लोकेक वन्धुः सुरनर मुनि वृन्दै स्वय नामा जिने
४. न्द्रः भवभय विनिहन्ता धर्म्म मोक्ष प्रदाताः ॥ सकल कलुष
५. यन्ताः धानुवो कस्तं धातु ॥ काष्ठ मण्डप तिख्यातः पुरोचाति मनोर
६. म विराजित धर्म्म नादेः पुरन स्वर्ग्ग संम्मितो । धर्म्मात्मा स्थापितः पुणे
७. चैत्येंकञ्च मनोरमं । चीरन्तारान्त च नाम्नेः तं चैत्यं च मनारमं ॥ त
८. स्थिं भग्ने महाचैत्ये वृक्षं वञ्च समुद्भावः ॥ ततो नगराधिपतिः
९. ॥ रवि वंशोद्भव उष्ण खण्ड समतेज धर्म्मावतार श्री शिव सिं
१०. ह देव सपारित विजय राज्ये ॥ तदा भत्ति पुण्य विहार स्थः शाक्य
११. वंशोद्भ मुनि रत्ने नकं जीर्ण्ण चैत्यं विलोक्यः तस्यात्मनितं उधार
१२. ण मूलन्न गोपार स्याः स्वयंभाषित तेन मित्र पितत्वं प्रमुखा
१३. दयतं चैत्य उधारयिष्याय भाव द्वौ संभाषनेन जीर्ण्णेद्वार विधिं
१४. प्रश्श वावु देवत नाय देशितं । दानपति कीर्ति पु
१५. र्ण्य विहार स्थिते शाक्य वंशोभद्भव विश्वकर्म्मावतार भिक्षु श्री
१६. मणिरत्न नामा । ते मण्डण तोर रंथ्याया पूर्व्व दिशि गृहस्थित
१७. वनिक गोपाल नामा तौद्वौ प्रमुखादी अष्टाजना नाम ती
१८. श्रद्वाभिः अनुत्तर फल प्राप्त कामानः श्री वज्रधातु जीर्ण्णो
१९. धारण कुर्व्वत्ति ॥ नेपालान्दे गुणाश्चियं ..... युतेमासे माघ नि
२०. पक्षे कृष्ण तिथि दशम्यां नक्षत्रे घनिष्ठा भानु वासर रवि ग
२१. ते मेष राशे कुंभराशौ गते चन्द्र ॥ रत्न म्वाशादि प्रष्ठिकां प्रतिष्ठा
२२. पित ॥ तस्या पञ्च तथागतस्थर्थन उष्णीषच्चक्रभार्य्येन्तउधा
२३. रण सम्पूर्ण भवतु ॥ नेपाला हायने युगाग्नि मुनि युते मासे
२४. माधव पक्ष शुल्केकप्टम्यां नक्षत्रे शुंल योगे बारे जीवे मे
२५. ष राशो रविगते चन्द्रगते न ..... ताछिने प्रधान आर्य्य कृति
२६. ..... बज्राचार्य लुगुदेव ..... भार्य्या ध ..... पाठककाचार्य वा
२७. ..... न ..... युता हुति यज्ञः सुवर्ण्ण छत्रातदनं वज्र
२८. धातु ..... प्रतिस्थापित ..... तिरंगण भिक्षु श्री मणि
२९. ..... गोपार ..... वज्राचार्य ..... भिक्षु श्री देव वसु सुन्द
३०. ..... मार ..... हाकुसिं राम ..... मुसिं
३१. भावो ..... से ..... सिक्र राम भावो
३२. ..... मार ..... याडा दिन ॥
३३. सम्वत ७३४ ..... सम्पूर्ण दिन जुरो शुभ ॥

Source, Self Collection

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

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# PHOTOS

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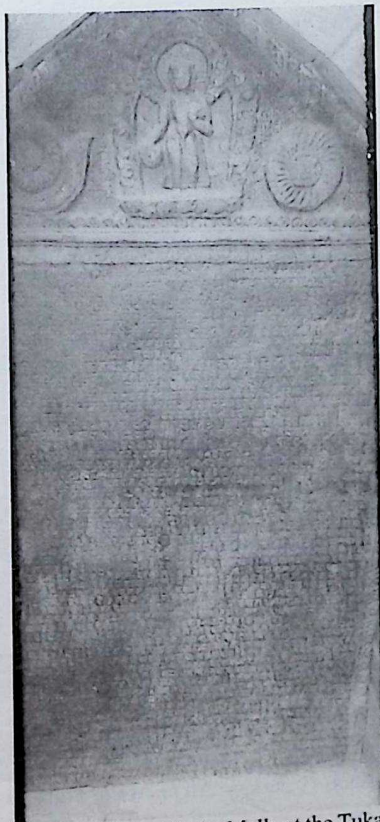
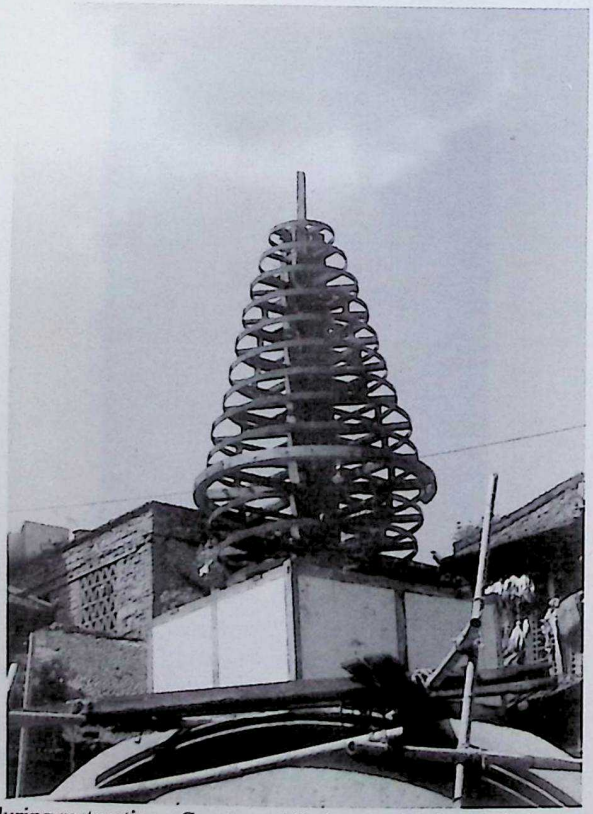
Inscription of Shankaracharya of the 12th Century-
Source:- National Museum, Chhauni



Inscription of Shiva Simha Malla at the Tukan Bahal
dated Samvat 734 (1614 A.D.) Source - Self Collection

Digitization by Hindu Heritage Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Caitya before restoration



Caitya during restoration - Courtesy: All photos of Tukan Bahal are made available by Tukan Bahal Caitya Restoration Committee/DOA
The author was involved in the restoration of the Caitya as Director General of DOA.

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Caitya after restoration

Golden Caitya found inside the dome

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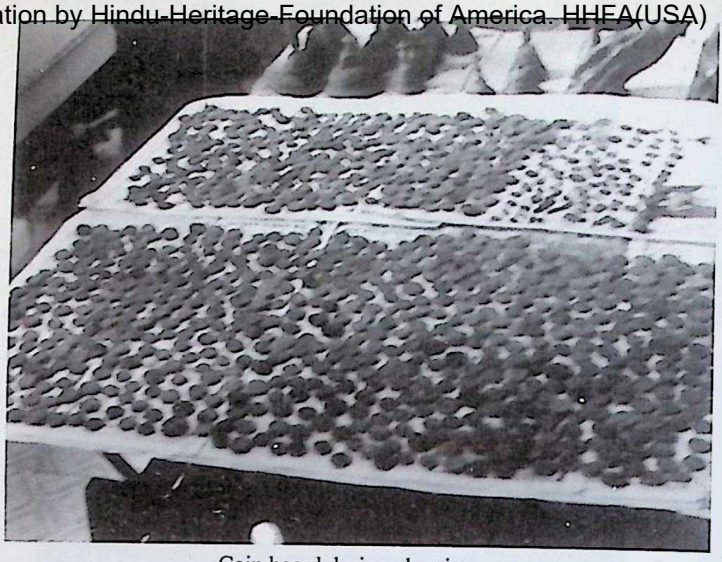
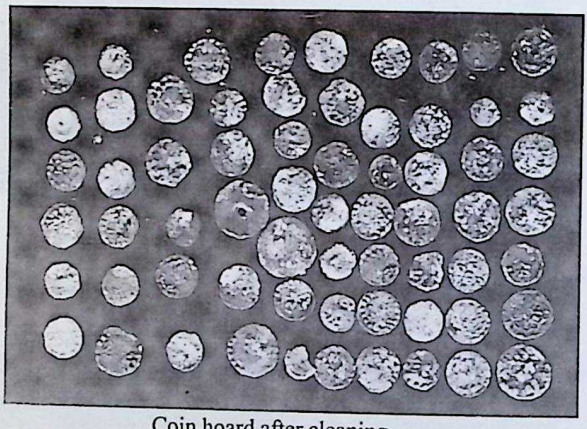
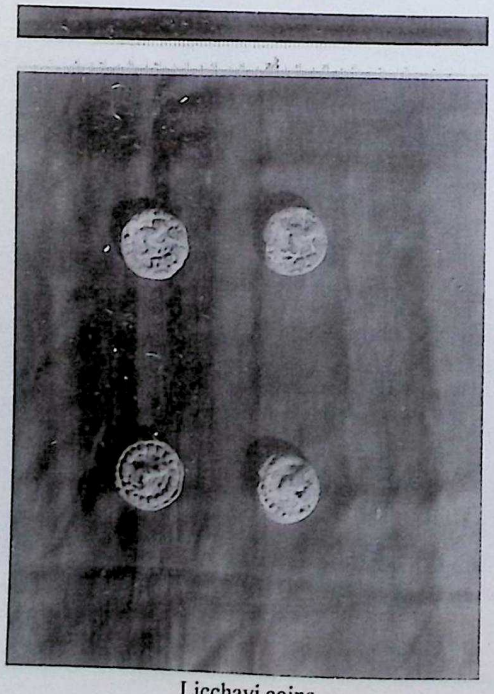


Coin hoard during cleaning



Coin hoard after cleaning



Licchavi coins

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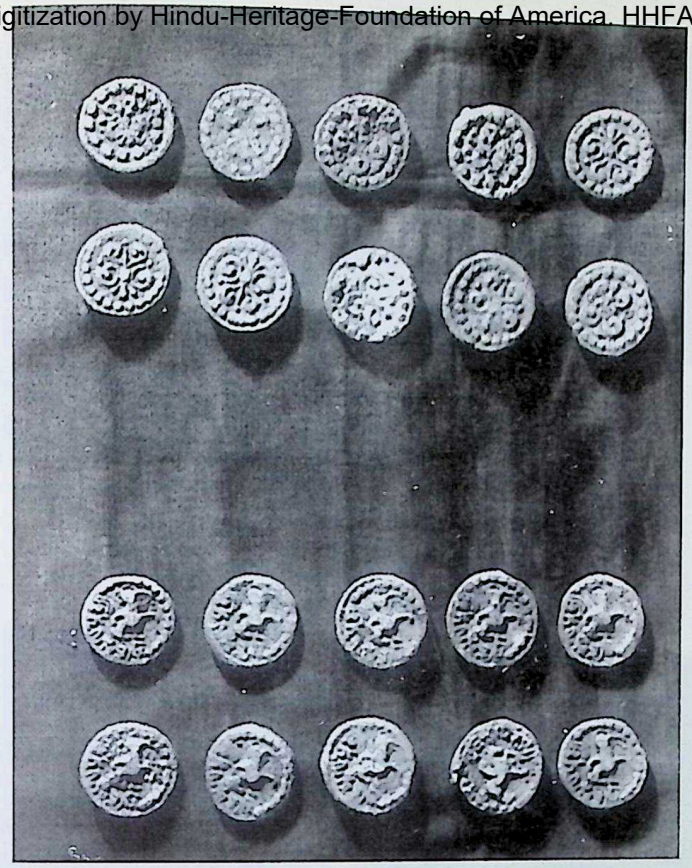
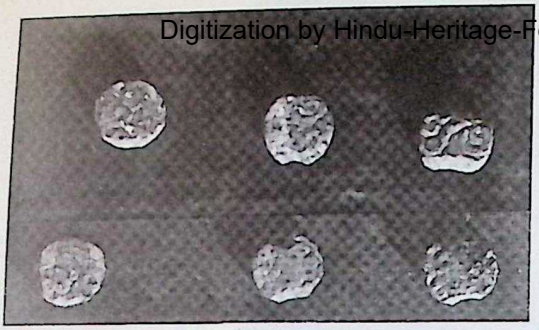


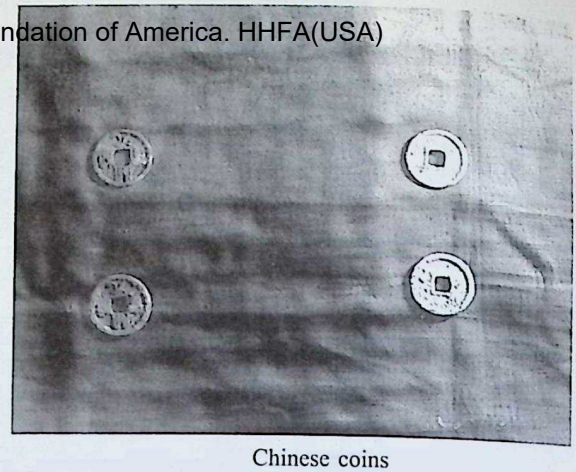
Jishnu Gupta coins

Coin hoard before cleaning

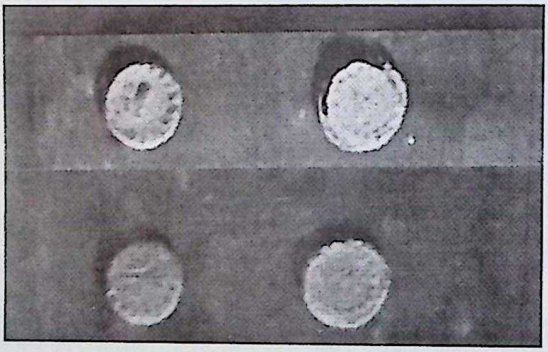
Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)



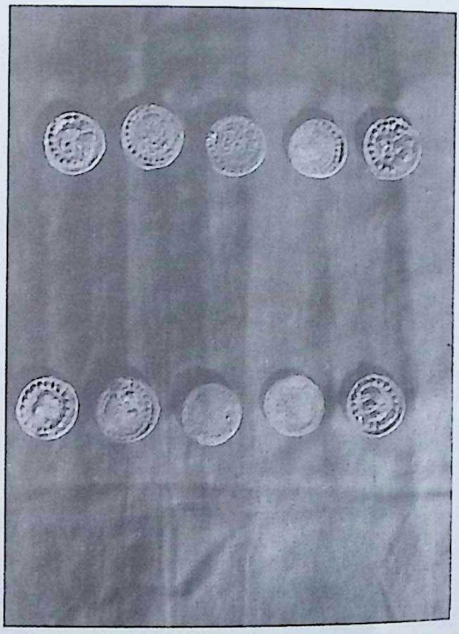
Copper coins



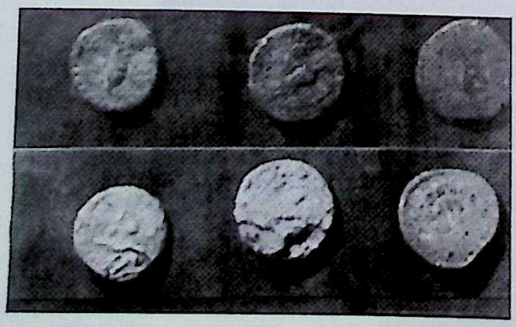
Chinese coins



Shiva coins



Pashupati coins



Manank coins

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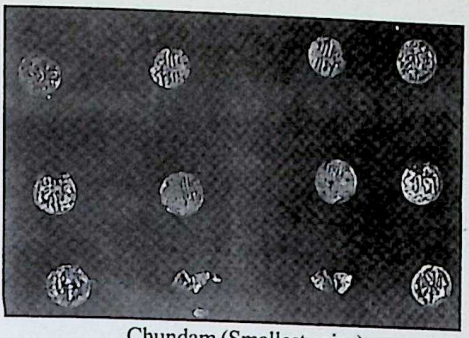
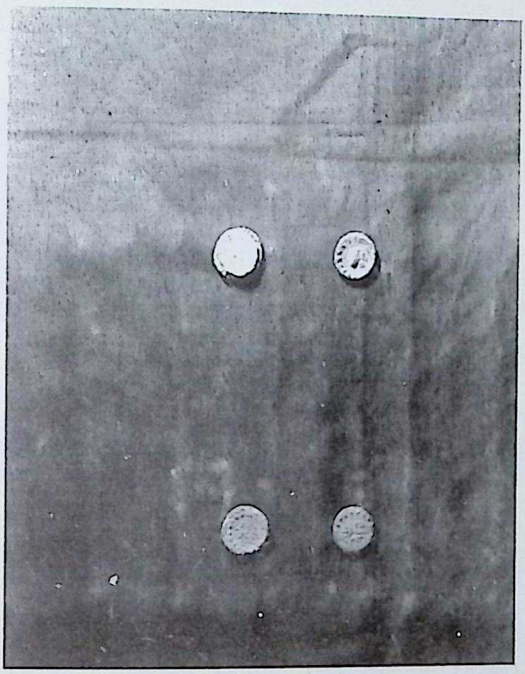


Chundam (Smallest coins)



Smallest coins

Sunga and Kushan coins-
Senïor Archaeologist Sukrasagar Shrestha dated the coins after Gehendra Man, the chemist cleaned the hoard of coins found inside the dome of Tukan Bahal Caitya More than one thousand coins were found inside the Caitya

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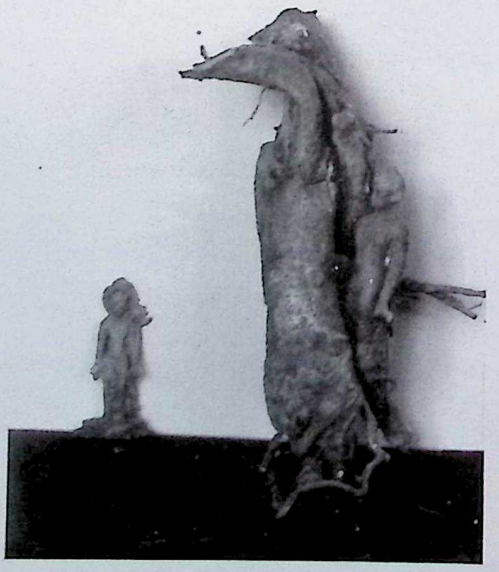
Shiva Lokeshvara

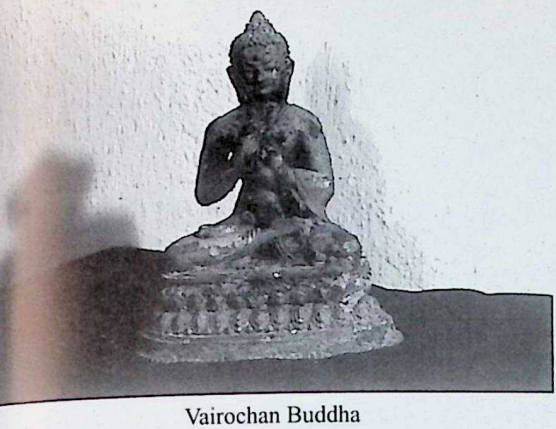
Devavatar Buddha



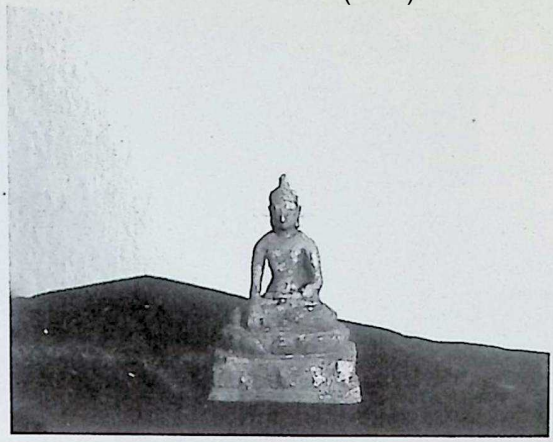
An image within the tree during restoration

Maitreya Buddha

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)



Vairochan Buddha

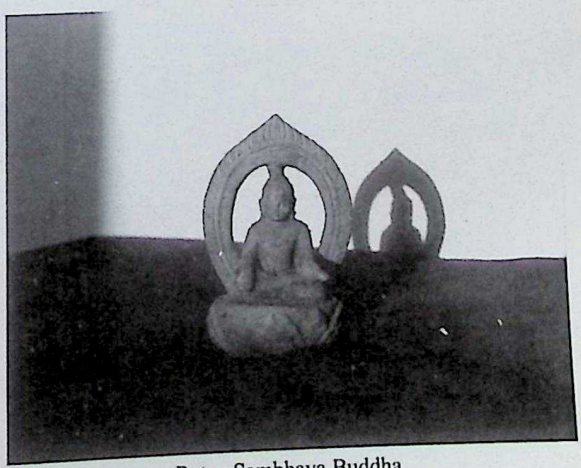


Akshobhya Buddha

Akshobhya Buddha

Ratna Sambhava Buddha

Ratna Sambhava Buddha



Ratna Sambhava Buddha

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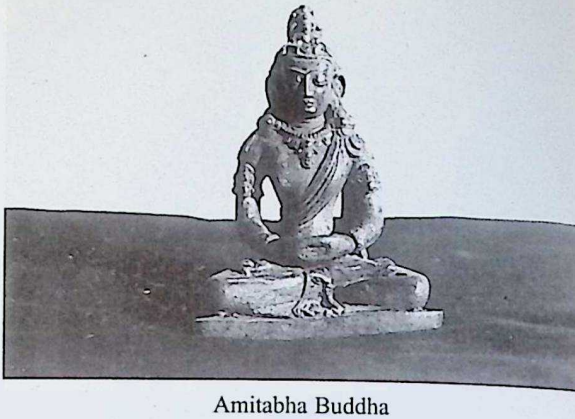
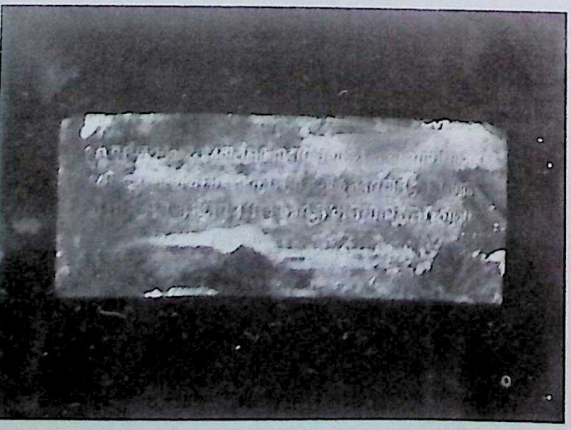
Amitabha Buddha



Amitabha Buddha

Amoghasiddhi Buddha

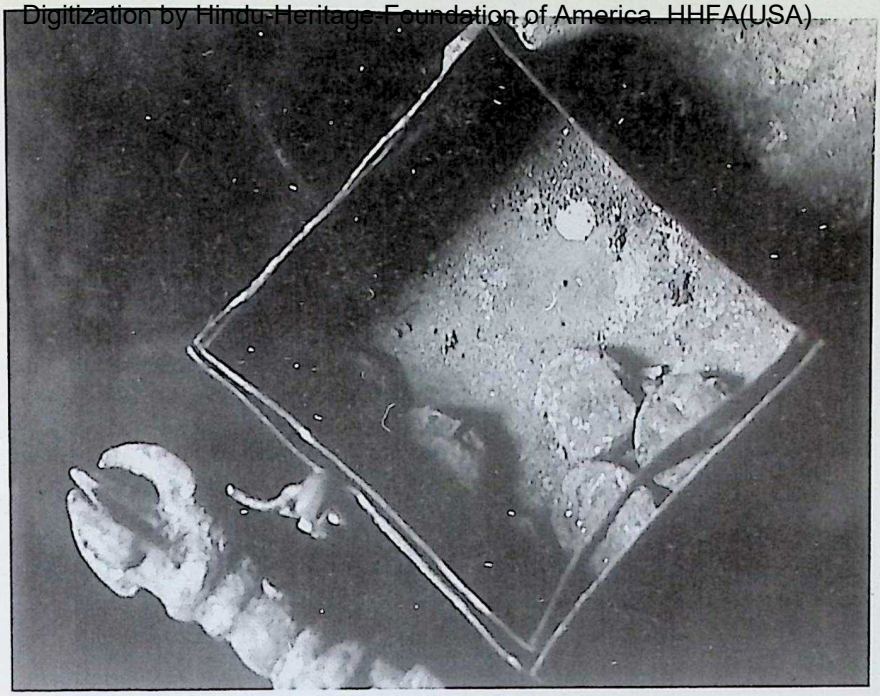
Amoghasiddhi Buddha



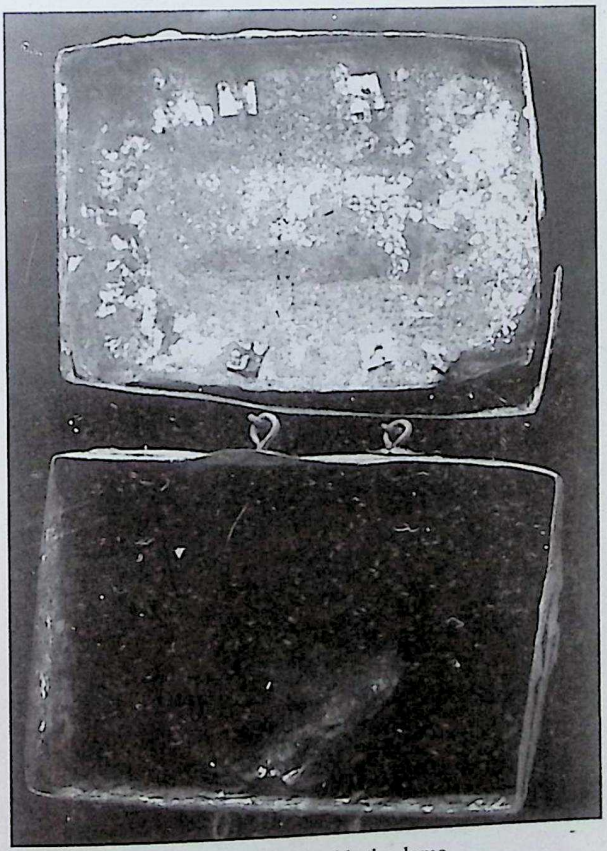
Copper plate inscription of Caitya found during conservation in 1882 A.D.

Dhyani Buddha

Digitization by Hindu Heritage Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

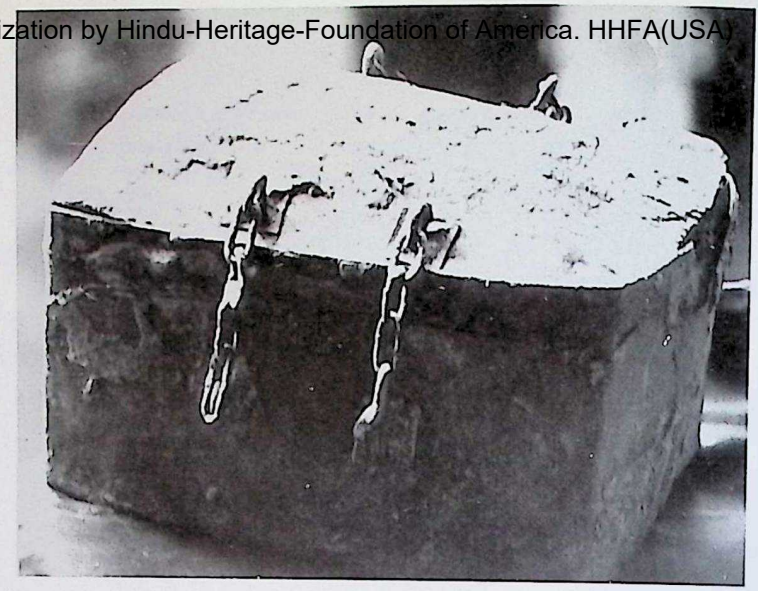


A metal box found inside the dome

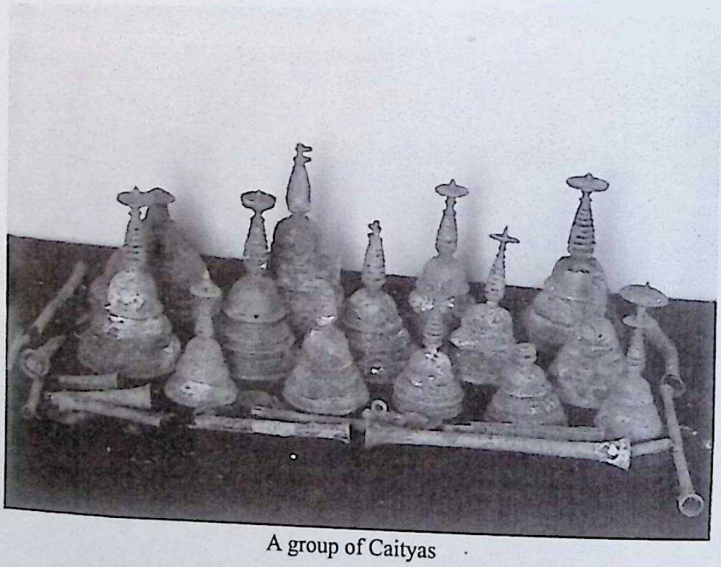


A metal box found inside the dome

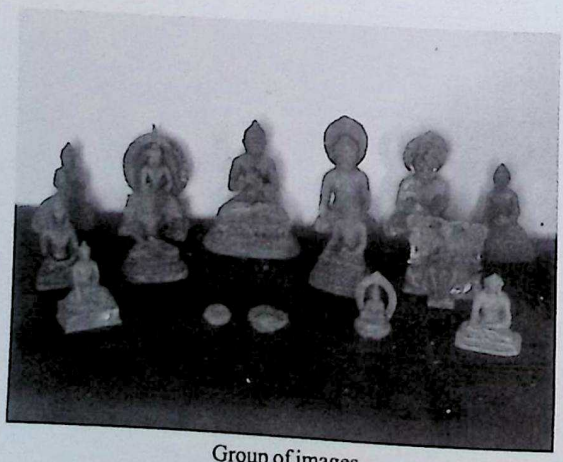
Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)



A metal box containing golden Caitya

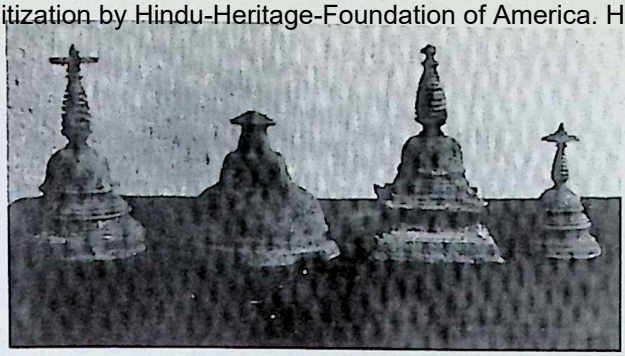


A group of Caityas

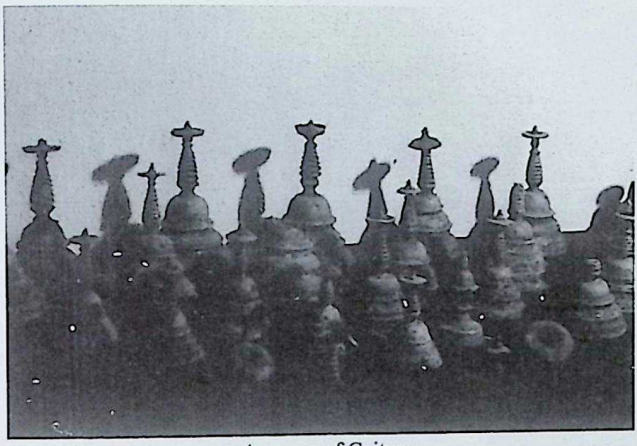


Group of images

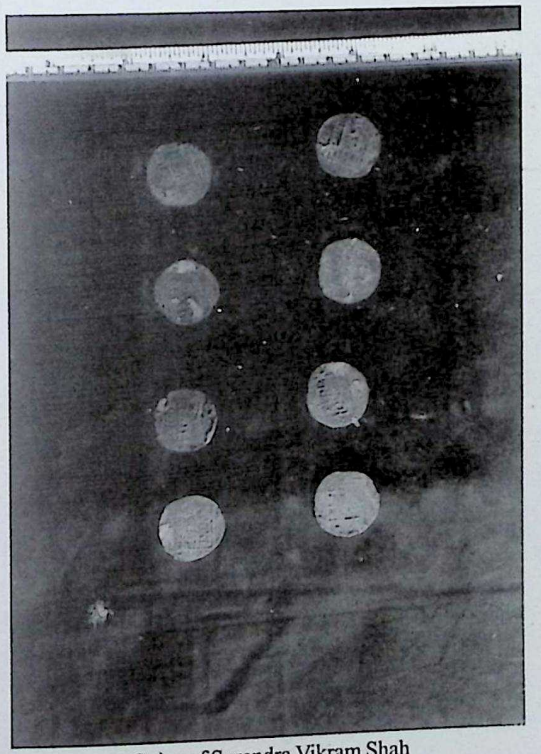
Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)



Types of Caityas found inside the dome

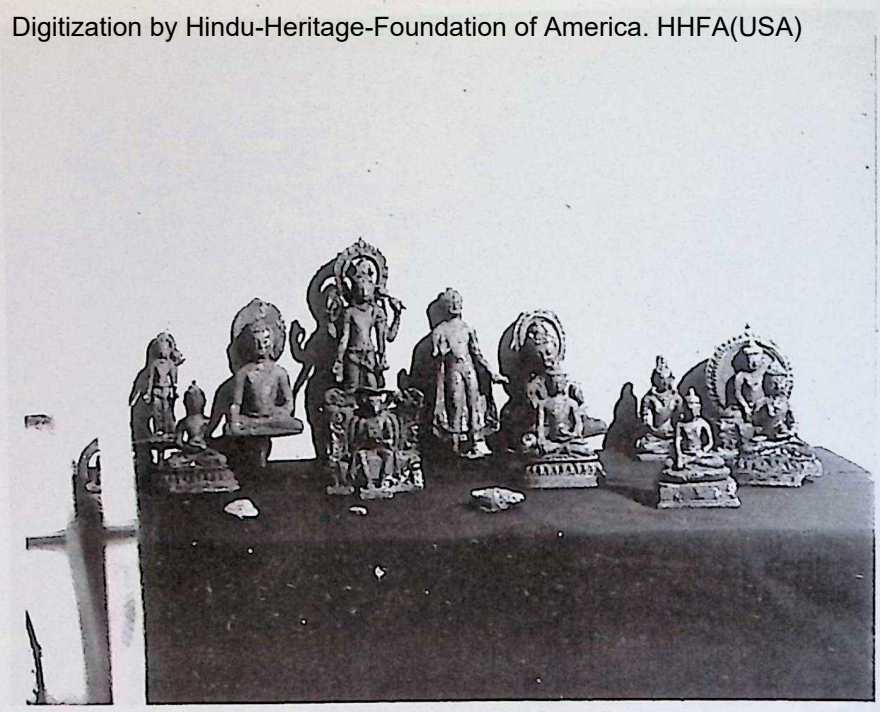


A group of Caityas

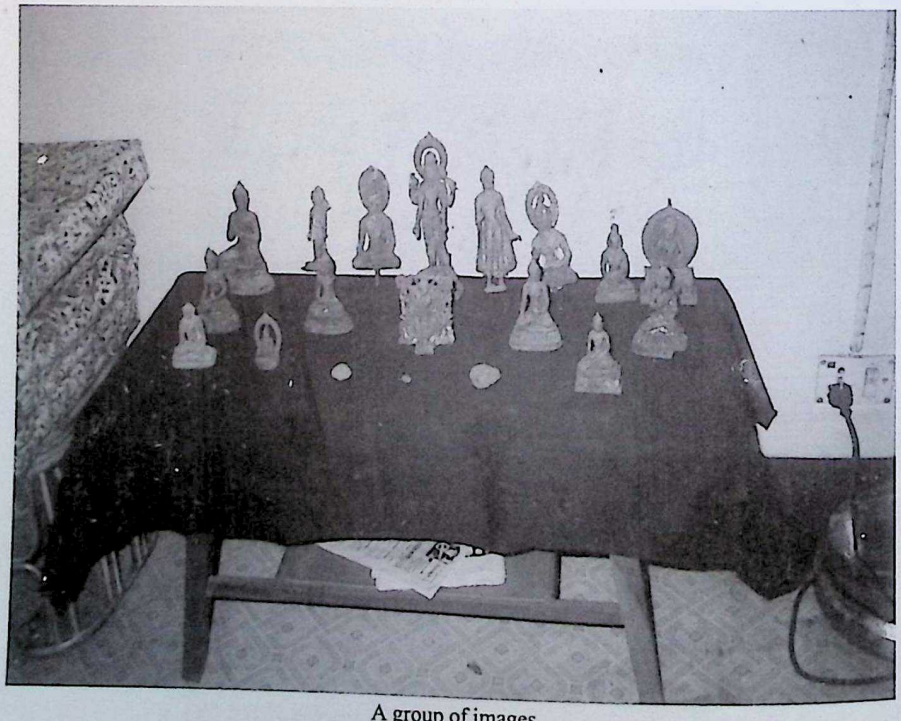


Coins of Surendra Vikram Shah

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

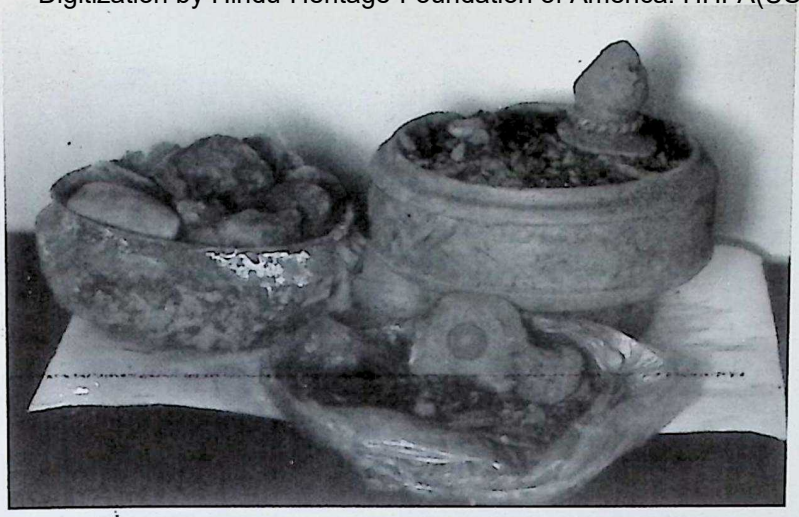


A group of images found inside the dome of the Caitya



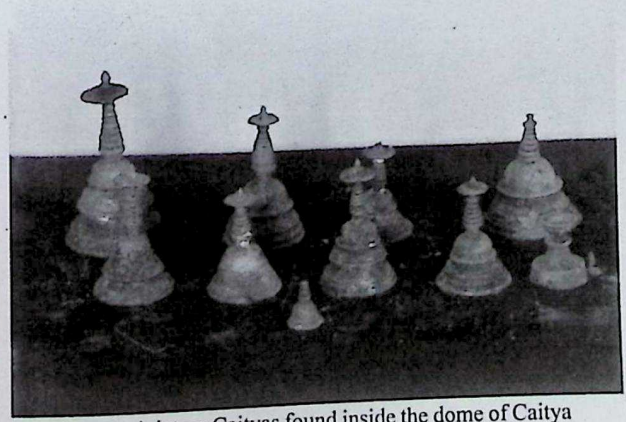
A group of images

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)



Some vessels with Caityas

Some vessels with artifacts



Some miniature Caityas found inside the dome of Caitya

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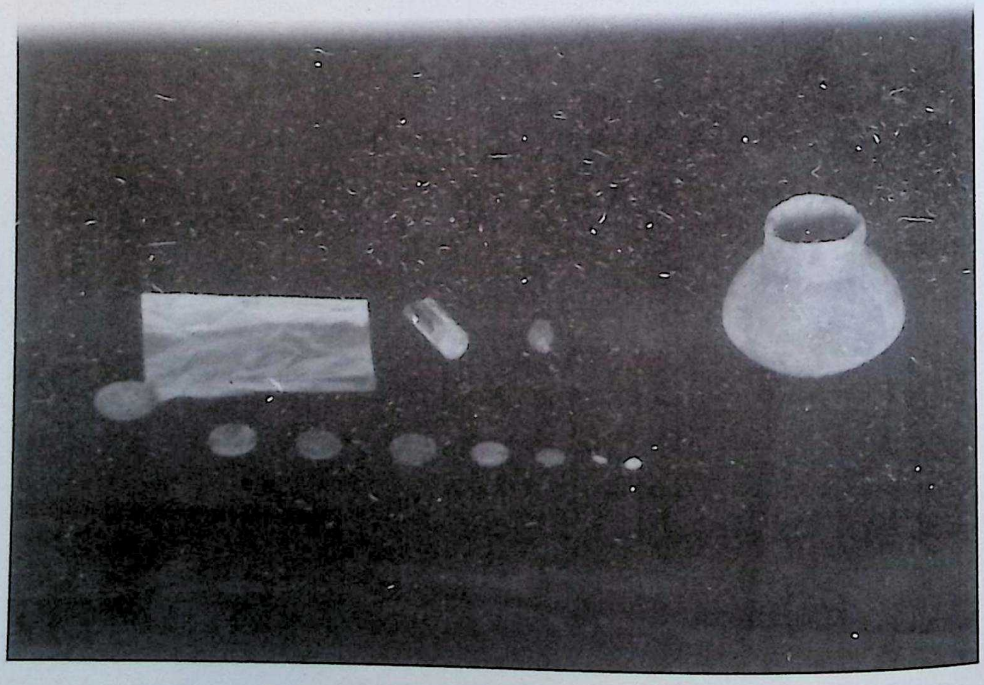
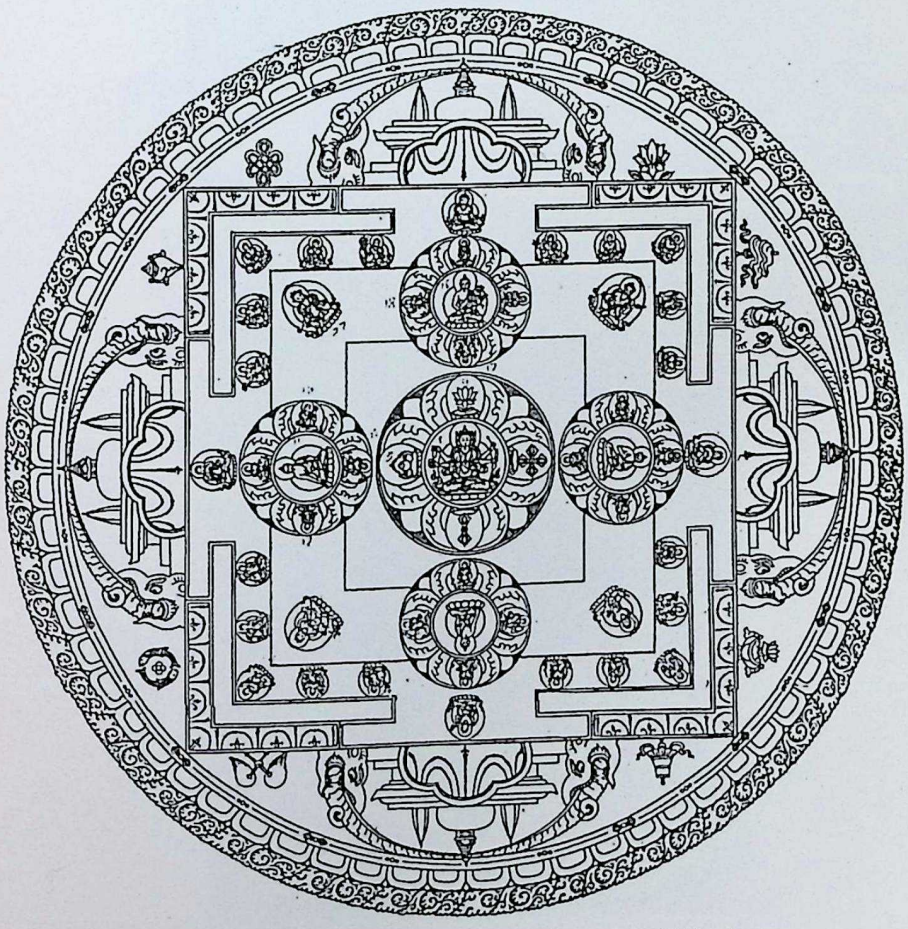
A vessel containing mercury found inside the Caitya



A vessel containing artifacts

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Maitreya Bodhisattva
Manisingh Mahavihara, Musumbahal



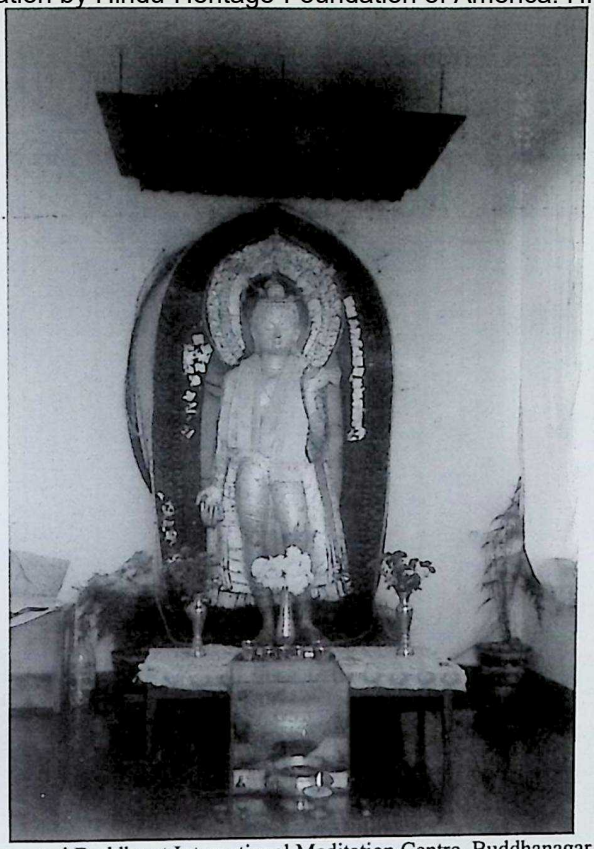
Vajradhatu Mahamandala - Source: Yajnamanapati Vajracharya

Digitization by Hindu Heritage Foundation of America (HHFA(USA)

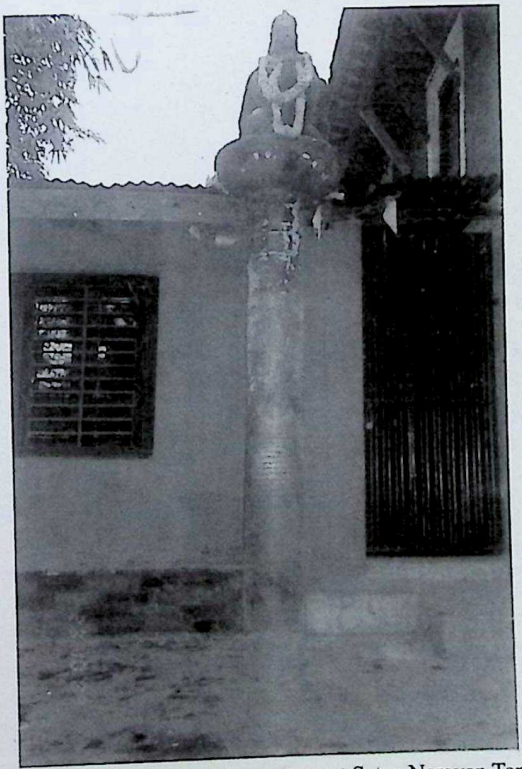
Caitya showing Brahma (Amitabha), Vishnu, Mahesvara, Indra (Akshabhy) and Jalahari at Nhayekan Bahi, Lagan Tole - Source - self collection

Inscription of V.S. 1941 at Nhayekan Bahi, Lagan Tole

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

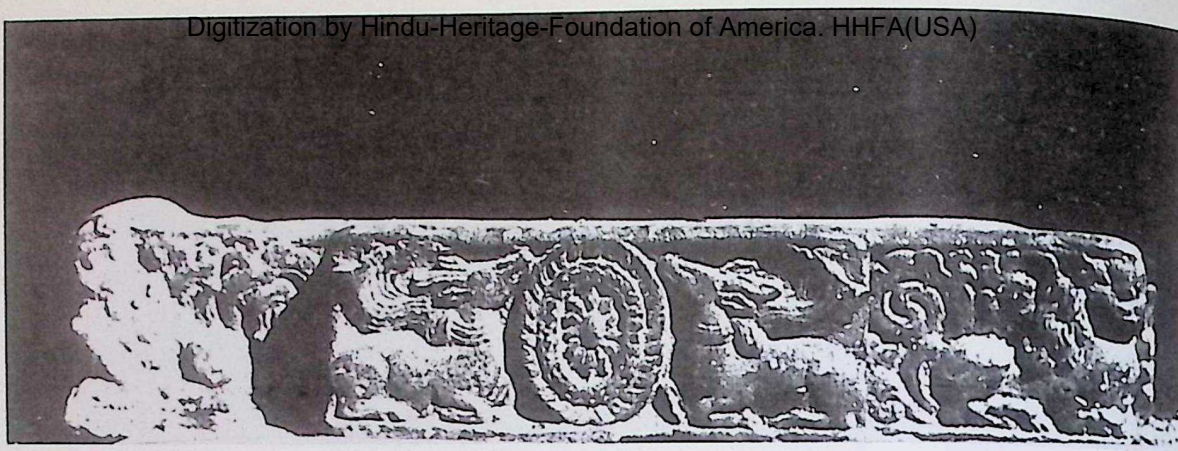


Sakyamuni Buddha at International Meditation Centre, Buddhanagar
Baneshvara of Licchavi Period - Source-self collection

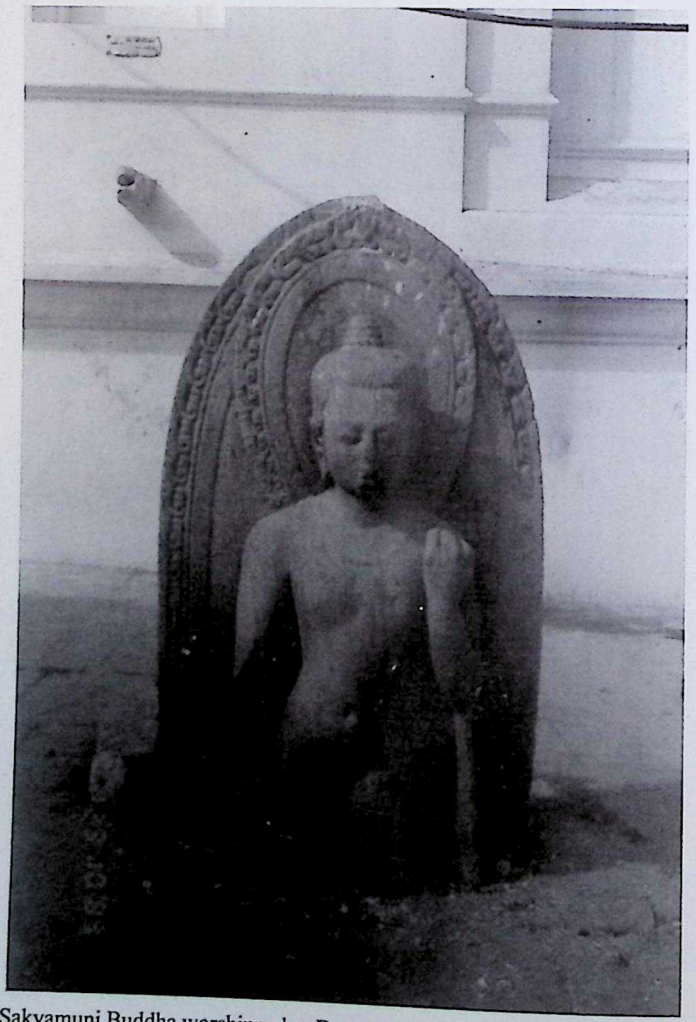


Anuparam's inscription of 5th century at Satya Narayan Temple Complex, Hadigaon.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

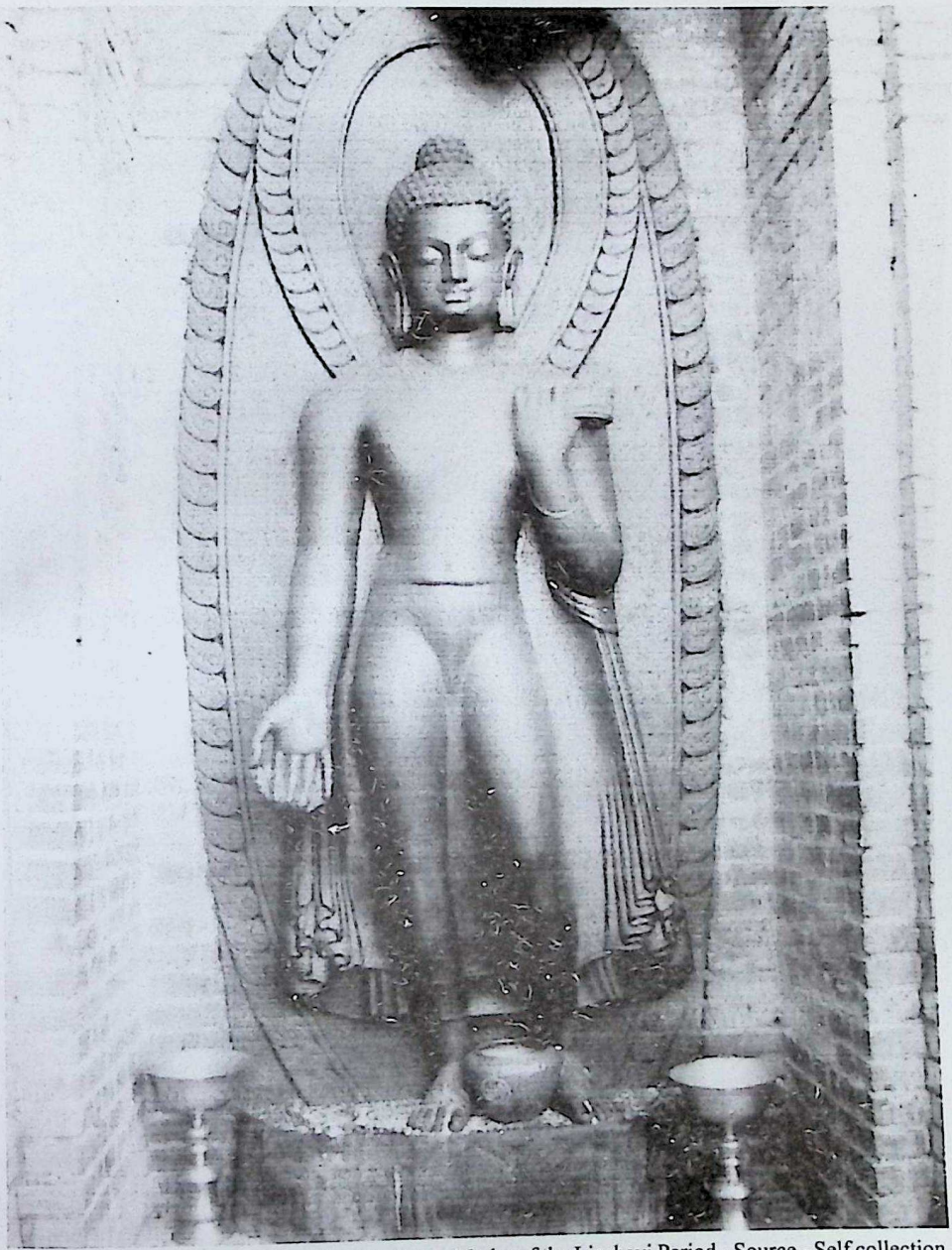


Slab indicating Dharma Chakra Pravarta of Jayavagisvari, Deopatan - Source - self collection



Sakyamuni Buddha worshipped as Devavatar Buddha at Raj Rajesvari Ghat, Pashupati - Source - self collection

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)



Sakyamuni Buddha on Bhavishya Vyakarna Mudra of the Licchavi Period - Source - Self collection

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

Gods Demons Bhikshus Welcome Gautam Buddha in Lumbini

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# Evaluation of the Research Work

After a long gap of time I have come across such thought provoking, informative and relative dissertation presented by Mr. Khadga Man Shrestha. The research scholar has fearlessly discussed his points based on strong arguments and historical evidences. This approach amounts to the genuine labor and originality. Question of discovering new facts does not arise, because no archaeological evidences have been made in this field in Nepal. However, we get detailed and critical discussion of history of Buddhism in Nepal in a very attractive chronological manner. The research scholar has made comparative study of a large number of literary sources of various kinds. It indicates his exhaustive knowledge and rare quality of intelligence in treatment of old and forgotten publications in this subject. He has boldly dismissed many legendary accounts with strokes of evidence and logic. His rational approach and scientific treatment of already popular views are highly appreciable. This is quite essential in historiography of Buddhism.

Of all, the learned supervisor deserves congratulations for his erudation in guiding this Ph.D. Thesis, quite worthy of strong recommendation.

Prof. Dr. Rajendra Ram, Patna University: Vani Vihar , Garahua Tole, Sultangunj, Patna- 800006, India, 16.XI.2006, External Examiner of this dissertation on "History of Buddhism in Nepal Upto 1956 With Special Reference to Vajrayana Buddhism."

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